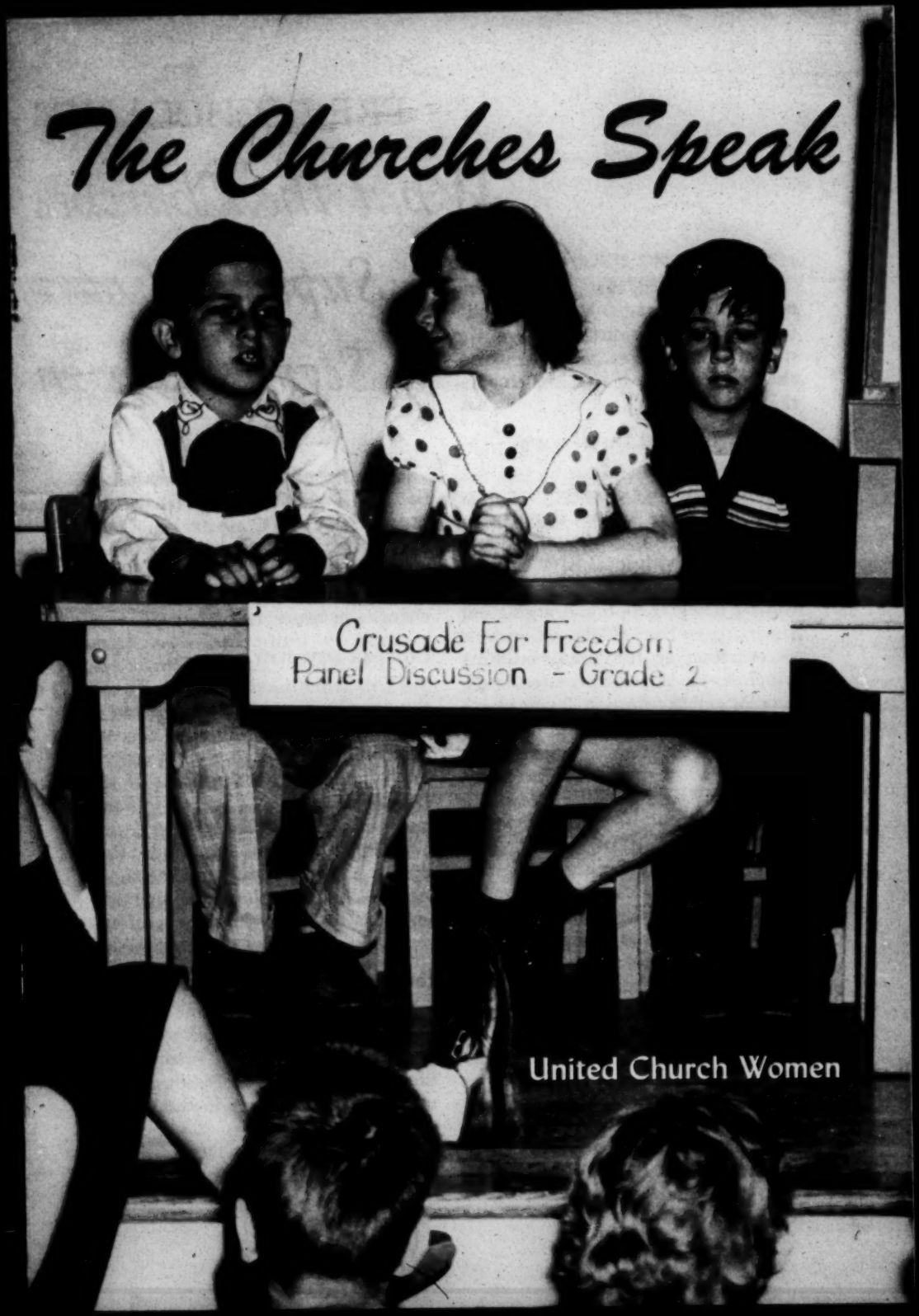
The Churches Speak



United Church Women

FREE SCHOOLS IN

What the Churches

Supreme Court

Segregation in

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

"Be it resolved, that . . . [we] commend the Supreme Court for this far-reaching decision and urge the support and co-operation of our entire constituency in its implementation."

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION

". . . Recommending to our far-flung constituency of more than 723,000 people at 44 Annual Conferences in Continental United States active co-operation with local school boards in implementing the program of immediate desegregation and urging our pastors, presiding elders and people to contribute to the morale-building principles employed to create the climate of public opinion favorable to desegregation in every form of American life."

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION

"We commend the United States Supreme Court in its historic decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in public education. . . . We urge American Baptists to increase their opposition to other areas of segregation—housing, employment, recreation, church participation. We urge local churches to carry forward educational programs dealing with this issue, and we propose co-operation with other Christian bodies of like mind."

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

"We note with appreciation all recent steps made in the direction of elimination of segregation, including the decision of the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution as opposing segregation in the public schools. We appeal to our Brethren to lead out in effecting these social changes in every area of life."

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

"This is the Christian way. This is the American way. This is a nation of law respecting, law abiding citizens. It is to be expected that all of us who are concerned with the issues of the Court's declaration shall possess our souls in all Christian sobriety, dignity, fortitude, patience, and tolerances as, under God's guidance, we seek to discover the most practical formulas for the achievement of nation-wide conformity to the decision."

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN

"WHEREAS the Supreme Court of the United States has declared segregation in tax-supported accommodations and services, including public schools, to be contrary to the Constitution,

"BE IT RESOLVED that we recommend that local churches where

A FREE AMERICA

Have Said on the Decision on the Schools

segregation has prevailed, move toward ways in which they and all churches can open their membership to all persons on a simple basis of faith and character, and that we call upon Congregational Christian colleges, agencies, associations, conferences and institutions to practice non-segregation and non-discrimination in enrollment, employment, church extension and church conservation, and organization.

"BE IT RESOLVED that we call upon all Americans to undertake timely and tolerant implementation of the Supreme Court decision, and that our Department of Race Relations and the Council for Social Action carry forward such activities as will develop public support for the Supreme Court decision."

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

"BE IT RESOLVED: that we approve and commend the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that we call upon our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, to reexamine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel and to initiate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive, community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies.

"That we likewise urge our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, in a spirit of reconciliation to teach forbearance, patience, and generosity on both sides as we attempt to work out the problem of the Disciples of Christ and racial segregation."

EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN

"We express our gratitude for the unanimous decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that segregation 'in the public schools is unconstitutional.' We urge our church members to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for implementing the Supreme Court's decision. We call upon our church members to co-operate with the authorized agencies in their communities as effective means for accomplishing racial integration in the public school system, and to remember that integration must be indivisible in character."

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

"The General Synod remembers in love and understanding the fellow Christians of both races in those areas of our country where tensions are most severe, and it is not un-

mindful that reconciliation as well as reformation is a part of our Christian witness. Yet General Synod cannot but support the principle of integration and urges full support of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States outlawing segregation in the public schools; General Synod urges pastors and members of our congregations to lend their moral support to integration and to support constructive programs toward integration in their communities. Further, General Synod deplores attempts to evade the decision of the Supreme Court by means which weaken and undermine the public school."

METHODIST

"The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult community readjustments throughout the nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands."

PRESBYTERIAN, US

"Having in mind the recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States concerning segregation, the Assembly [1954] commends the principal of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problem involved. It also urges all our people to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudice will not help but hinder the accomplishment of this aim."

PRESBYTERIAN, USA

"We receive with humility and thanksgiving the recent decision of our Supreme Court, ruling that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional—with humility because action by our highest court was necessary to make effective that for which our Church has stood in principle; with thanksgiving because the decision has been rendered with wisdom and unanimity.

"We urge all Christians to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for carrying out the full implications of the Supreme Court's decision.

"We call upon the members of our churches to co-operate with civic organizations, neighborhood clubs, and community councils as effective means for the accomplishment of racial integration in the public school system, and to remember that integration must be indivisible in character, insisting that teachers as well as pupils be accorded full opportunity within the school system on the basis of interest, ability, and merit, without reference to race."

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL

"The Court's ruling is more than a matter of law and order . . . it is also a matter of religious faith and democratic principles. . . . Judged in the light of Christian principles . . . the Court's decision is just, right and necessary.

"We thank God for the new and rich opportunity for health and healing which the decision has opened

up, and for the hope this brings to people all over the world. . . .

"We thank God also that through His Holy Spirit, He has put it into the hearts of many to undertake voluntarily to remove these barriers between the children of our land. These efforts have demonstrated that the decision is as workable in practice as it is sound in principle. It is true and it works."

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

". . . we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men.

". . . we commend the Supreme Court for deferring the application of the principle both as to time and procedure until the nation shall have had time to work out methods by which transition from the present practice may be effected.

". . . we urge our people and all Christians to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ; that we pray that God may guide us in our thinking and our attitudes to the end that we may help and not hinder the progress of justice and brotherly love; that we may exercise patience and good will in the discussions that must take place, and give a good testimony to the meaning of Christian faith and discipleship."

UNITED LUTHERAN

"The ULCA, recognizing its deep involvement in the moral crisis confronting the USA in the current con-

troversy over desegregation occasioned by the Supreme Court decision . . . calls upon all its congregations and people, exercising Christian patience and understanding, to work for the fullest realization of the objectives of that statement.

"We believe that Christians have special responsibilities to keep open the channels of communication and understanding among the different groups in this controversy. Our congregations are encouraged to contribute to the solution of the problem by demonstrating in their own corporate lives the possibility of integration."

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN

"We believe the United Presbyterian Church has always believed in the integration of the races. Therefore, in these days when this issue is astride the conscience of the nation we love, we reaffirm:

1. That God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth.
2. That He is no respecter of persons.
3. That men are created equal and meant to live together in a love that means equality of opportunity and privilege.

"In the light of these principles we thank God that the laws of the land have made segregation illegal in education."

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN

"Because of our high calling of God in Christ Jesus, we reaffirm our belief in human brotherhood and the inclusiveness of Christian fellowship. Therefore, we feel we are impelled to promote a Christian society in which segregation is no longer a burden upon the human spirit.

"We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision as supporting the broad Christian principle of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals.

"We believe that the best solutions to our many problems can be reached when people of all races work together toward a common end, and we urge women to make every effort to bring together individuals in free discussion.

"We are all charged with the responsibility of the training and nurture of children and youth. We pray God's guidance upon us as we seek to shape right attitudes in the home, in the church, in the school, and in all areas of life in which we move.

"We desire to build Christian emotional maturity to meet the new challenges to our patience, understanding, and creative action."

—*This statement was adopted by the representatives of the Christian Social Relations Department of United Church Women from 15 Southern states, meeting in conference in Atlanta, Georgia, on June 21, 1954.*

"The message of the Christian faith is to bring wholeness to life, and the road to be traveled is long. The world is not whole; in many places it is broken into tiny fragments—broken by us who are its citizens. While we often give lip service to the dignity and worth of all God's children, we frequently deny to minority groups in every state of the United States the rights and privileges enjoyed by the majority. This inevitably links us with all those other

countries which are faced with the consequences of a refusal to accept all persons as the children of God, destined to be free and to enjoy wholeness of life.

"We recognize that our domestic policies and practices with regard to human rights are inevitably interwoven with our foreign policy. Upon all of us as church women and as Christian citizens lies the responsibility so to act that all groups within our communities will be assured of equality of opportunity, freedom from fear, and equal justice before the law."

—*From resolutions of the Cleveland Assembly,* November 1955

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

"The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. The decision will have far-flung effects in the whole nation and the world. . . .

". . . In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' The second part of the Great Commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood."

So far as The Church Woman knows the statements of the churches on the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools have never before been gathered together in one place. Perhaps the paragraphs we carry from any given statement may not be the particular paragraphs any one reader might have chosen. But if these paragraphs send any of us back to study the full statements, then perhaps their appearance here is justified. If any reader misses a statement from her church, she should not assume that church has not spoken. We have chosen excerpts from those available to us.

Reprinted from the May 1957 issue of The Church Woman, official magazine,

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175 Fifth Avenue
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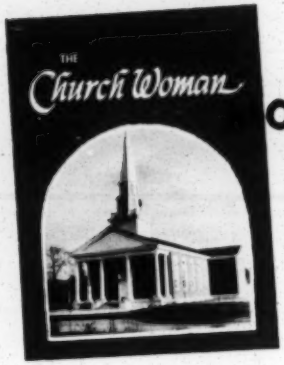

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- "Women in the News" and "Councils in the News"
- Articles of special interest to all church women
- What We Think—a page of correspondence
- A Report from United Church Women's president
- "From the Desk of the General Director"
- United Church Women's Program: World Day of Prayer . . . May Fellowship Day . . . World Community Day . . . Leadership . . . Public Relations
- United Nations Notes

Official magazine, General Department of United Church Women, National Council of Churches.

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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RELIGIOUS BODIES

AND

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

COMPILED

BY

THE BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

SR-8

July 31, 1957

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BAPTIST BODIES

AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION-(Action taken by American Baptist Convention at Seattle, Washington)

We recognize that during the past ten years great strides have been made in race relations in America and that it was a logical next step for the Supreme Court to declare two years ago that our public schools must be integrated to assure equality of educational opportunity.

We fully support the Supreme Court decision and deplore the resistance to this decision in certain states where integration of public education has met organized society.

Our Convention has spoken out against segregation and has repeatedly urged church leaders to work as unceasingly for a nonsegregated church as for an integrated society.

We rejoice that integration is progressing in the churches of our American Baptist Convention. Recent staff and missionary appointments testify to our intent as a religious fellowship to see that there is no racial "wall of separation" in our common service in the Kingdom. At the same time, we confess the urgency of accelerating this trend, which still is marked by futile effort, insincerity, and unwillingness to change.

Since the probability of developing integrated church congregations is contingent on the spread of open housing, we acknowledge our responsibility to work for conditions in our communities which will assure to persons the right to rent or own a home anywhere in the community solely on the basis of personal preference and financial ability rather than on the basis of race, creed or color.

Thus, in prayer and in penitence for our own failures, we pledge ourselves to work at all levels for justice, equality, and brotherhood among the races of America.

NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A., INC. - 1954

According to Christ and Paul there can be no question of race relations, because there is only one race, the human race. Man himself has divided the race on the basis of color.

If man would only stop worrying about petty differences and concentrate on likenesses, there would be no race problem. The problem is not really race relations, but human relations.

Segregation in the church of God is the ugliest thing in the religious world, and a disgrace to a Christian nation.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Action Taken at Southern Baptist Convention in

St. Louis, Missouri, June, 1954

In the light of the recent decision handed down by the Supreme Court of our nation declaring segregation of the races to be unconstitutional, and in view of the position of this Convention in adhering to the basic moral principles of our religion as they apply in race relations, we recommend:

1. That we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men.

2. That we commend the Supreme Court for deferring the application of the principle both as to time and procedure until the nation shall have had time to work out methods by which transition from the present practice may be effected.

3. That we urge our people and all Christians to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ; that we pray that God may guide us in our thinking and our attitudes to the end that we may help and not hinder the progress of justice and brotherly love; that we may exercise patience and good will in the discussions that must take place, and give a good testimony to the meaning of Christian faith and discipleship.

4. That we express our belief in the public school system of our nation as one of the greatest factors in American history for the maintenance of democracy and our common culture, and we express the hope that in the working out of necessary adjustments, its place in our educational program shall not be impaired.

5. That we urge Christian statesmen and leaders in our churches to use their leadership in positive thought and planning to the end that this crisis in our national history shall not be made the occasion for new and bitter prejudices, but a movement toward a united nation embodying and proclaiming a democracy that will commend freedom to all peoples.

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

Action Taken at Southern Baptist Convention in

Chicago, May, 1957

Report of the Christian Life Commission

Some of our people feel that we should avoid any discussion of this issue because of its controversial nature. This is a strange note to inject into the affairs of Baptists. Religious controversy led to the stoning of the prophets, the crucifixion of Christ, the beheading of Paul, and the death of unnumbered martyrs through the ages. The churches of Christ have made progress and have changed the course of history by the introduction of discordant ideas. A conformist church never changes anything.

In this our day of world mission advance, we cannot avoid this issue. The problem is rooted deeply in our history and is the product of a series of tragic social experiences that have left their marks on both the Negro and white citizens of our country. The people of both groups must gird themselves with patience, the white man fighting the pride of his old mastery and the Negro the pride of his new achievements.

Individuals as Persons

We must remember that in this controversy we are dealing with individuals as persons. We cannot depend upon automatic social processes to produce harmony as if all the people of any one race are alike in quality of character or capacity. Nor can we depend on laws that fix the status and define the rights of individuals in one race in relation to those in another. Legal and social patterns that doom all Negroes to a service "place" in American society regardless of their cultural progress can only make for increasing conflict. Laws are futile solutions. They cannot make peace. The Christian cannot stop at the point of law. He is motivated by love and grace.

We must realize that the racial issue is basically a moral and religious question. We do not mean by this that the churches should seek to implement court decisions, although any church, church body, or individual should be left free to express himself on the question. We do mean that the Christian is obligated to accept and follow the teachings of Christ with respect to the dignity and worth of every individual, irrespective of his race or position in human society. Any movement, system, or law that denies this truth by statement, implication, or social practice is not in accord with the teachings of Jesus nor the principles of our Christian faith.

In accordance with these teachings, this Commission protests the violence in all its forms that is used against Negro people in the current segregation issue or at any other time. In recognition of the Negro's rights as a citizen, the law enforcement agencies of local, state and national governments should protect him, irrespective of his position or culture, from lawless attacks on his person or property.

We believe that our nation cannot long endure these lawless attacks made upon the person and property of free citizens in contempt of the law and the courts of justice. The perpetrators of these crimes, regardless of their position or influences in the community, should be brought to legal justice.

Freedom Imperiled

Furthermore, in keeping with our historic Baptist position of the freedom of conscience and expression in religion under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, we call to the attention of the people in our churches and other citizens of our country the fact that any suppression of these freedoms, whether it be by the laws or state or by economic, civic, social, or church pressures, denies the voluntary principles in religion and imperils both religious and political freedom at its source.

We are witnessing today the betrayal of these freedoms by vocal minorities in some communities and churches who are able to arouse sufficient opposition to force the resignation of pastors and to incite retaliation against peaceful citizens who speak or act according to their convictions on racial justice and interracial goodwill. The people of our nation should be reminded that both the voice of God and the verdict of history warn us that those who deny these freedoms to others do not long retain them for themselves.

REPORT OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE COMMISSION

TO THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION,

MEETING AT KANSAS CITY, 1956

Section on Race Relations

A World in Conflict

It is nothing new to say that we live in a world in conflict. Some call it simply a world in change. Others describe it as a world disintegrated. But regardless of what may be our viewpoint, we are in the midst of a great awakening among the peoples. For the first time in human history this awakening is worldwide in its scope. It seems that God is preparing the ground for his ultimate worldwide triumph. This final triumph is in keeping with his plan of the ages. In the death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus, God has made clear what that plan is and what our part in it is to be. He does not promise us there will be no conflicts, but he does promise us the power to overcome them and a peace that will sustain us in the struggle.

The reason for these surging movements throughout the world is unique and challenging. For many centuries of human history the struggle was for material possessions - nations fought for wealth and a place in the sun. While that struggle still continues in some parts of the world, the major conflicts of our century are caused by long submerged peoples fighting for their recognition as persons and their inherent freedoms. The major

cause for their awakening is the spread of the gospel over the earth. Wherever the Christian gospel has been preached it has awakened in the people a sense of their dignity and worth and has set them straining at the shackles of their bondage.

The Courage of Prudence

In view of our responsibility as a major group of world Christians we must be mature enough in our faith and strong enough in our fellowship to face with forthright sincerity the issues among us that vitally affect our gospel witness at home and around the world. There is no reason for us to avoid these issues or couch them in evasive language or sentimental speech. The hard realities of our present situation demands honesty, integrity and a humble sense of responsibility. Our tragic situation calls for courage, but it should be the courage of prudence and of intelligence.

With such courage and conviction we must face the present controversy in our relations with the Negro people. On this issue we are divided in opinion but let us not be divided in fellowship. No one person or group has the wisdom to lead us to a solution of the difficult situation that has developed. Only God in his infinite love and patience can do that. The times call for prayer and deep humility. They call us to repentance toward God and to confessions for hate and hasty words toward our fellow man.

The times call us none the less to meet this issue as Christians should. We must meet it with facts and scriptural truth. We must recognize the fact that the problem of race relations in America is rooted deeply in our history and is the product of a series of tragic social experiences that have left their marks on both our groups.

These deep rooted social attitudes do not easily die. In some areas there can be no quick solution. And those who hope to achieve a peaceful adjustment must gird themselves with patience. The white man should seek to subdue the pride of his old mastery, the Negro the pride of his new achievement.

The Christian cannot stop at the point of law. He is motivated by love and grace. In spite of all the hate that has been shown and the hasty words that have been spoken Christian people must move into this controversy to accomplish friendly and mutually helpful adjustments.

BRETHREN

Church of the BRETHREN (Resolution adopted by the annual conference at Eugene, Oregon, June 12-17, 1956)

We reaffirm our belief that discrimination owing to color is out of keeping both with the teachings of the New Testament and with the stated position of the Church of the Brethren. We realize that, as we attempt to sharpen our efforts to practice genuine brotherhood, we are dealing with an issue that is not sectional in nature, and therefore, we speak firmly and in love to all Brethren who have been less than Christian in this matter, in every area of our land. We commend governmental agencies,

our own churches and those of other denominations who have declared their intention to support the Supreme Court decision. We would repeat that our goal must be no less than an integrated church and public school in an integrated community. Such a goal involves housing, equal access to medical care, jobs in industry, the right to vote, and membership and participation in the affairs of the community and of the Christian body. We commend those in areas where racial tension is acute, and in other areas, who are pursuing these goals in a nonviolent way and pledge to them our continuing support. We appeal to all Brethren to give leadership now, with courage, so that we may move toward this goal with calmness, sympathy, and seasoned judgment, realizing that He who made of "one blood, all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth," shows no partiality among the races.

CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

Resolution adopted by the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches at its biennial meeting at Omaha, Nebraska, June 20-27, 1956:

Racial Integration

We the voting members of the 1956 General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches reaffirm the actions taken by five previous General Councils in pledging ourselves to work for a non-segregated society.

We declare our belief that the gospel of Jesus Christ is for all men without distinction as to race or color. We further believe that the church is by its nature a fellowship whose only test for membership is the individual's faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and the intent to follow him.

Recognizing that our deeds do not fully match our words, we humbly rededicate ourselves, and call upon all members of our churches to rededicate themselves, to the unfinished task of achieving a racially integrated society. We call upon the boards, conferences and conventions, seminaries, colleges, institutional homes, and local congregations of our fellowship to follow practices consistent with clear policies of non-discrimination.

In consonance with these principles we urge that the resources of experience, leadership, and finances in our fellowship be made available to those churches, schools, colleges, and denominational agencies that are endeavoring to move towards racial inclusiveness. We further urge that the Executive Committee of the General Council, in cooperation with the Southeast Regional Council, set up consultations with representatives of the appropriate conventions and conferences looking to their early integration on geographical rather than racial lines.

We urge that the Division of Higher Education and the American Missionary Association initiate a consultation with responsible officials of the colleges affiliated with the denomination to examine all aspects and degrees of racial discrimination and to seek their elimination.

We request a report of progress made in the biennium to be presented to the 1958 General Council.

We note with gratification that our nation, through decisions made by its highest court, is now committed to eradicate segregation, based on race, from public services and institutions, including schools and colleges.

We commend the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations that have employed the judicial processes provided under our Constitution to define and enlarge the scope of human rights for all our citizens.

We further commend the spirit in which the pastors and church members in Montgomery, Alabama, are struggling for non-discriminatory treatment in the busses of that city.

It is our firm conviction that the Constitutional rights of all persons to engage in free and open discussion of all the issues in race relations must be assured, along with the right to vote and to join organizations of their own choice, without becoming the objects of economic reprisals, threats, or acts of violence.

We recognize that the problems of racial integration confront our people in all sections of the country. Residential segregation makes integration difficult in neighborhoods, schools, churches, and other associations even where individuals are willing to accept persons on their merits. Patterns of restriction based on race are maintained in the housing market. Attempts are often made to justify these restrictions on the basis that neighborhood integration depresses economic values. We call attention to authoritative studies indicating that property values in mixed neighborhoods stabilize at the same level as those prevailing in comparable all-white neighborhoods.

We pledge ourselves to support non-segregated practices in selling, buying, and leasing property, and we call upon our fellow Congregational Christians to do likewise. We urge real estate dealers, builders, mortgagors, and government housing agents to follow non-discriminatory practices in their businesses. We urge churches in localities where the racial composition of the population is changing to extend their ministries to all the people in the area and to welcome them into membership. We urge conferences, conventions and boards to encourage such churches with counsel and financial resources.

We are grateful for progress in equal and non-segregated employment opportunities, achieved more easily in a time of full employment. We accept the responsibility to help in consolidating these notable gains and to expand them as rapidly as possible in all parts of the nation.

We recognize that, at the present time, some of our local congregations face extreme difficulties in teaching and practicing racial integration. Humbly acknowledging shortcomings in this respect even where circumstances are relatively favorable, we assure our fellow members who are in particularly difficult situations of our sympathetic understanding. United in Christ, let us encourage and strengthen each other in faith and obedience while we labor, with God's help, to achieve a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society.

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

Resolution No. 85, adopted by the Miami Assembly
of the International Convention, October, 1954

THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST AND RACIAL SEGREGATION

WHEREAS, the Gospel of Christ recognizes all men are made in the image of God and created of one blood; and

WHEREAS, the Disciples of Christ have adopted as their own the statement of the National Council of Churches that "we shall work for a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society," and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court of the United States declared in a unanimous decision on May 17, 1954, that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, and

WHEREAS, we have a specific Christian responsibility in the transition period between what is now the practice and what the Christian gospel demands become the practice we believe that the time now demands that the Disciples of Christ more fervently and prayerfully seek ways to implement the practice of racial non-segregation in our local, state and national life.

WHEREAS, various resolutions namely, Nos. 53, 79, 80, indicate the widespread interest of the Brotherhood in the individual dignity and worth of all men, and

WHEREAS, these resolutions each deal with particular phases of church life when this situation is a total one affecting all geographic sections and the total Church,

THEREFORE, we submit this as a substitute resolution for resolutions Nos. 53, 79, 80;

BE IT RESOLVED: that we approve and commend the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: that we call upon our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, to re-examine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel and to indicate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive, community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies.

That we likewise urge our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, in a spirit of reconciliation to teach forbearance, patience and generosity on both sides as we attempt to work out the problem of the Disciples of Christ and racial segregation.

EPISCOPAL

Resolution adopted at 58th General Convention,
1955 of the Protestant Episcopal Church:

WHEREAS, Almighty God, through His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, has offered salvation to all the races of mankind; and

WHEREAS, Our Church has declared through the General Convention, the Lambeth Conference, the Anglican Congress, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, and the World Council of Churches, that unjust social discrimination and segregation are contrary to the mind of Christ and the will of God as plainly recorded in Holy Scripture; and

WHEREAS, This Church in thanksgiving can proclaim that now in every diocese and missionary district every race has full representation in its Councils; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of these United States has ruled that every citizen shall have open access to the public schools and colleges of the entire nation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, now commends to all the clergy and people of this Church that they accept and support this ruling of the Supreme Court, and, that by opening channels of Christian conference and communication between the races concerned in each diocese and community, they anticipate constructively the local implementation of this ruling as the law of the land; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we make our own the statement of the Anglican Congress that "in the work of the Church we should welcome people of any race at any service conducted by a priest or layman of any ethnic origin, and bring them into the full fellowship of the congregation and its organizations."

The National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church has published, "a study of reactions to the Supreme Court Decision on Segregation with a statement of guiding principles, policies, and practical suggestions," entitled Just, Right, and Necessary.

EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH

Ninth General Synod
1953

General Synod Resolved:

a. The General Synod, committed as it is to a non-segregated church in a non-segregated community, especially commends those congregations, hospitals, and educational institutions within its entire constituency, which have found ways to eliminate the unbrotherly barriers of racial exclusiveness.

b. The General Synod further urges all of our congregations and institutions to take concrete steps beyond the bounds of their own respective constituencies to meet their obligation as Christians to minister to All people in the Whole community and instructs the Commission on Christian Social Action and the Board of National Missions to find ways and means of assisting local congregations that face immediate problems of race relations.

c. The General Synod especially encourages our churches, as well as individual members, to work in every appropriate manner to end racial discrimination in opportunities for housing, education, employment and the other common rights of citizens in a free society.

THE EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH from The Discipline, Par. 1922

RACE RELATIONS

The Evangelical United Brethren Church respects human personality inherent in the people of every race, and protests against social, economic, or political discrimination based merely on racial differences. "He made of one every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." (Acts 17:26)

B'NAI B'RITH

Passed by District 5, B'nai B'rith (seaboard states) in convention May 31, 1954, Daytona Beach Florida; passed by District 7, B'nai B'rith ("Deep South" states) in convention June 15, 1954, New Orleans, Louisiana:

WHEREAS, B'nai B'rith is dedicated to certain principles regarding our duty to mankind, and these principles and duties obtain though men differ in color and creed, and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court has ordered that we initiate full acceptance of our fellow man in one of the basic institutions of American democracy - the public schools, and

WHEREAS, though such an adjustment will be difficult for some of us, we understand that, as B'nai B'riths, we can do no less than the law demands because our faith has taught us that we are all children of God

and that we shall accept one another as brothers, and

WHEREAS, B'nai B'rith, as the world's largest and oldest Jewish service organization, has responsibility for leadership and guidance of its members according to the principles of its great Order,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the delegates assembled at the 1954 annual convention of District Grand Lodge No. 5 of B'nai B'rith believe that the Court, the public schools and the people of this country are united in a common goal of equality of opportunity for all children. We have faith that, working together in a cooperative and democratic spirit, we can attain this goal by orderly and legal adjustment consistent with both religious and democratic ideals.

We pledge ourselves and petition all people to abide by the law as duly interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States.

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

(Adopted June, 1956)

Righteousness is the pathway to peace. The historic decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in our public schools is a forward step upon that path. The Court has now made known its program for implementing its unanimous decision. Mindful though we are of the many problems and passions involved, we call upon our colleagues to offer courageous leadership in helping to bring about the harmonious implementation of the Court's decision.

JEWISH

SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA (Statement by Dr. Abraham J. Feldman, President of the Council formally ratified by the plenary body of the Council on April 11, 1956):

The philosophy of racial brotherhood is basic to adherents of the Jewish faith. This fundamental religious conviction was epitomized in the utterances of the prophet Malachi, "Have we not one Father? Has not one God created us all?" It has been reiterated continuously in the Bible and in the Talmud as well as in medieval and modern Rabbinic pronouncements. The Synagogue stands witness that all men are created in the Divine image, have equal spiritual dignity, are entitled to the same rights and are brethren in the sight of God and man.

This teaching of Judaism has also been affirmed by the best in American tradition. The statement in the Declaration of Independence that 'all men are created equal' and the Bill of Rights of our Constitution conceive of all men as brethren.

We of the Synagogue Council of America observe with pain and alarm the violations of this fundamental principle of human brotherhood in the injustices, discriminations, and humiliations from which the American Negro suffers. In the face of such flagrant violations of the Divine commandments of human brotherhood and equality, we of the household of Israel raise our voices in protest, along with our brethren of other faiths. We ask that in accordance with Divine injunction all discriminations against Negroes be removed, that all barriers against their full participation in the economic, professional, patriotic, industrial, educational, artistic, and recreational life of the country be abolished.

The Synagogue Council of America devoutly hopes that the law-abiding citizenry of our country, in cooperation with the courts and our civic and educational authorities, will join in a concerted effort to hasten the implementation of the decrees of the Supreme Court of the United States which enjoin the ending of segregation with the greatest practicable expedition.

The Synagogue Council of America herewith calls upon the Jewish community throughout the land to help foster a nationwide resolution among all our fellow citizens of all colors and creeds to live together with their neighbors in harmonious cooperation, a determination to be on their guard against evil rumor and false report intended to inflame one segment of our people against another, and a readiness to bring to the problem of race relationship, a constructive will for a righteous solution.

"In our prayers we shall petition our Heavenly Father for the wisdom and strength of will to translate the Divine behest of 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' into daily practice, and for the inspiration to rise to the challenge of the ideals of our religious and democratic traditions which vouchsafe the inalienable rights to all our citizens, regardless of color or creed. May the Almighty bring us all to the realization of the Psalmist's vision, 'Behold, how good and pleasing it is for brethren to dwell together in harmony.' "

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

(Statement of principles adopted by 43rd General Assembly in Los Angeles, California, February 15, 1955)

Having consistently opposed every form of discrimination because of our fundamental belief in the equality of all men under God, we rejoice in the unanimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. We regard this decision as a major chapter in the history of the growth of true equality under the law.

As proponents of Judaism, which first enunciated the concept of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we pledge ourselves to do all within our power to make this decision of the highest court in the land meaningful in our respective communities.

We therefore urge our congregants and congregation in all sections of the country to join with forward-looking racial, religious, and civic groups in the community in using their influence to secure acceptance and implementation of the desegregation decisions in every community in our land.

LUTHERAN

AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH

(Statement Submitted by the Board for Christian Social Action and recommended by the 1954 church Convention for consideration by congregations and incorporation of its principles into their life and work.)

Segregation and social stratification, both based on essentially external differences, regrettably occur in Christian churches. Segregation stems mainly from hereditary differences in skin color or physical appearance. Social stratification arises largely from differences in levels of living or social standing. Such man-made distinctions of race and class belie the fundamental unity of the human race as God created it. The presence of segregation and stratification in the churches undermines the power inhering in the Gospel for uniting men through Christ in fellowship with the Father.

In the Church of Christ, though each person possesses talents peculiarly his own, and each has his unique functions to fulfill, yet all persons are alike in being individually of sacred worth. All are created in the image of God; all stand convicted of sin and in need of redemption; all are invited by Christ to come to Him. St. Peter was moved, against his own inclinations, to confess, "Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality" (Acts 10:34). St. Paul, describing the Church of Christ, declared, "Here there cannot be Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free man, but Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:11).

Wherever and whenever the churches help to foster race or class distinctions between people, and wherever and whenever they support attitudes of superiority or inferiority between persons, groups, or classes, they violate God's pattern. St. James warned against distinctions based on wealth or power, saying, "But if you show partiality, you commit sin, and are convicted by the law as transgressors" (James 2:9).

Christian churches unfailingly, therefore, must condemn segregation and stratification as the evil fruit of natural man's pride and his arrogant assumption of superiority over those who appear to be different from him.

Yet, Christian churches must recognize in race and class feelings the operation of the "consciousness of kind" principle. The members of the various races and classes feel an essential oneness and a common

bond with one another. Such voluntary associations of people having kindred interests and experiences are a normal part of the social order.

Christ recognized and worked within the realities of the social structure of His day. He did not seek a leveling of the difference between races and classes. Instead, His goal was that the new spirit of God's love should govern the hearts and lives of members of every class and race. Thus would the normal human loyalties to race and class be given a nobler meaning. Race and class differences would become opportunities to serve personality needs and to enrich human life.

The facts of race and class groupings offer the churches an opportunity for a ministry and a message directly pertinent to the life experiences of the members of each race and class. Under Christ's influence, pride and prejudice are renounced in race and class relations. Snobbery and discrimination are rejected. Jealousy, envy, quarreling and dissension have no place. The fruits of His Spirit, working in reborn lives, can bring joy, peace, patience, kindness, gentleness, and self-control into the dealings of race with race and class with class.

Were His Spirit truly to rule in men's hearts and lives, problems of race segregation and social stratification would disappear. The free and voluntary actions of men who love neighbor as self because of God's love for them will exceed in justice and equity the compulsion forced by decree upon the unwilling.

It is incumbent upon Christians, their churches, and their church agencies, so far as it lies within their power, to practice to the full the realistic insights of their faith in dealing with issues of race and class. Pride and smug assumptions of superiority or privileged position draw the Master's censure today as they did for the sons of Zebedee.

It is the unique task of the churches, shared by every Christian, to seek to bring the power of the Word and Sacraments to bear upon individuals, thereby changing their hearts and lives. This course alone promises the ultimate corrective for the evils of segregation and stratification.

AUGUSTANA EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

(Resolution passed at Synod, Moorhead, Minnesota, June 11-17, 1956)

WHEREAS, we recognize the growning tensions between the several races in our land and our Christian responsibility to work for better understanding.

a. We reaffirm the position of our Church, that all people have equal rights before God, and are entitled to equal opportunities.

b. We counsel our members to exercise love and understanding in all their dealings with persons of minority groups.

c. We urge our members to use their influence in the securing of full rights of citizenship for all, and in discouraging any activity in their communities which would seek to circumvent orderly judicial procedure in the implementation of the Supreme Court decisions of segregation.

d. We commend those who have sought to oppose wrong by non-violent means.

e. We recognize that the evils of racial discrimination are not restricted to any one section of the nation, and we encourage our people to oppose all forms of racial discrimination whether they be found in the North or in the South.

f. We point out to our members, especially those in the northern states, that discrimination in housing, real estate transactions, and employment is just as much a violation of Christian principles as discrimination in places of public assembly, public transportation, or schools.

g. We again encourage our congregations to include all unchurched persons in their communities in their programs of evangelism without distinction as to race, color, or national origin.

h. We particularly commend those congregations who have refused to abandon communities where major population shifts have brought large numbers of non-white persons into the vicinity of their churches.

i. Where there are members of local churches in which racial integration is taking place, or is likely to take place, who are unwilling to continue their membership in such congregations for this reason, we encourage such members to examine their consciences in the light of Holy Scriptures, and in the doctrines and decisions of the Church, specifically that God has created all men in His image, that Jesus Christ has given His life for the salvation of all men, that the Holy Spirit would call all men into the fellowship of the Church.

j. We remind congregations of their inescapable responsibility to bear witness in its locality to these truths, as well as the privilege of demonstrating that the Christian fellowship transcends barriers of races and class.

k. We urge pastors of congregations to which such disaffected members may be seeking letters of transfer to encourage then to remain in their own congregations and to demonstrate Christian acceptance of and love toward those whom they have deemed different from themselves.

l. We call the attention of the National Lutheran Council to the above resolutions.

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

(Resolution adopted by the Church Council and, by action of the convention, incorporated in the minutes of the 22nd General Convention of said Church on June 25, 1956):

WHEREAS, The plain message of the Gospel is that Christ is the Redeemer of all peoples everywhere, and God does not in any measure, distinguish between persons, and that in Christ the Christian is brother to every man;

BE IT RESOLVED, That we humbly deplore our frequent failure to exemplify Christ as we ought in human relationships, and urge every member of our Church to continually examine his daily human contacts in the Light of God's Word and pray His Spirit to use us more effectively to show that all men of all races and backgrounds are one family in His love.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH-MISSOURI SYNOD

(Resolution passed at convention in St. Paul, Minnesota, June 20-30, 1956)

RACE RELATIONS IN NATIONAL AND WORLD-WIDE CHURCH WORK

WHEREAS, Every redeemed individual, regardless of race or ethnic origin, is most precious in the sight of God; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty and desire of the Church to bring the Gospel to these souls in order to win them for Christ; and

WHEREAS, The Church will measure its task and opportunities in the light of our Lord's imminent return to judgment, and will hold itself accountable to its Lord, looking forward to the great day of His appearing when men of all nations and kindreds and tongues shall gather around His throne and praise Him eternally for having washed their sin-stained "robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (Rev. 7:14); therefore be it

RESOLVED, a) That the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod affirm its adherence to and application of the Scriptural principles of fact concerning race relations and church work as adopted by its representatives in conjunction with the representatives of sister synods of the Synodical Conference, and as reported in the PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-SECOND CONVENTION OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNODICAL CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICA OF AUGUST 12-15, 1952, to wit:

"1. God will have <u>all men</u> to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." 1 Tim. 2:4.

"2. His plan of salvation embraces <u>the world</u>. 'God so loved the <u>world</u> that He gave His only-begotten Son, that <u>whosoever</u>

believeth in Him shall not perish, but have everlasting life.' John 3:16. 'He is the Propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.' 1 John 2:2.

"3. God's grace in Christ Jesus should be proclaimed to all nations in accordance with the Savior's Great Commission to His church: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.' Mark 16:15. 'Ye shall be witnesses unto Me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.' Acts 1:8.

"4. In the execution of Christ's command, viz., 'to preach the Gospel to every creature,' no line of demarcation should be drawn relative to nationality, race, or color, 'for there is no respect of persons with God.' Rom. 2:11; Eph. 6:9; Col. 3:25; Acts 10:34.

"5. The holy Christian Church, the communion of saints, is the recipient of Christ's injunction to 'teach the nations to observe all things whatsoever He has commanded.' Not only did Christ instruct His Church to 'teach all nations,' but also to 'baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' Matt. 28:19, 20.

"6. The Church's chief function and task is to spread the news of Christ and His salvation to men, women, and children, irrespective of any national or race make-up, so that souls may be won for, and retained with, Christ, in whom alone they 'have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace.' Eph. 1:7.

and be it further

RESOLVED, b) That in all problems which arise in connection with the application and conduct of these above-mentioned principles of Scriptures, all members of our church unreservedly obey the Savior's command "that ye love one another," and practice Christian charity, forbearance, and understanding with each other, knowing that the same Lord is Head over all, and that His Spirit dwells by Word and Sacrament in all the Churches; and be it further

RESOLVED, c)

1. That all congregations of Synod regard all persons regardless of race or ethnic origin living within the limits of their respective parishes, and not associated with another Christian Church, as individuals whom God would reach with the Gospel of His saving grace through the ministry of the local congregation;

2. That congregations operating in changing communities be encouraged to continue operations in those areas rather than relinquish their properties through sale to other denominations, and that the various District Mission Boards be encouraged to subsidize these congregations when this becomes necessary, so that the souls in those communities, regardless of race or ethnic grouping, may be won and served;

3. That synodical institutions, agencies and offices continue to make no distinction, based upon race or color, in their entrance requirements or employment policies; and be it finally

RESOLVED, d) That since Christians are constrained to do justice and love mercy, we acknowledge our responsibility as a church to provide guidance for our members to work in the capacity of Christian citizens for the elimination of discrimination, wherever it may exist, in community, city, state, nation and world.

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL

The AME Church stands upon the principle of human equality and the dignity of man. Though founded by persons of African descent in a protest against race prejudice in the Church of God, it has never refused persons of either its membership or ministry because of race or color.

Today we reaffirm this position and call upon our ministry to actively seek to integrate all persons into the church.

We rejoice that the ecumenical church today is recognizing race prejudice and the resultant disabilities which it imposes when sanctioned by social organizations and governmental agencies as a major sin of our generation.

We pledge to continue to work and pray to do all within our power to hasten the day when every citizen in every part of our great nation can depend upon every department of government to protect him in the full exercise of each duty and privilege of citizenship.

We recognize the dilemma of our democracy when it urges the duty of all to vote and give civic service while at the same time closes its eyes to murder, economic reprisals, brutality and intimidation against colored people whose only crime was their determination to exercise the right of participation in the government under which they live.

We assure our full support to all lawful agencies working to eliminate this malignant growth upon the body of democracy.

We deplore the spectacle of law enforcement officers publicly working to develop programs of law evasion and urging resistance to the

declared law of the land. We recognize with gratitude the efforts of the President of the United States and persons in all sections of the country and all walks of life who are endeavoring to speed the day when our country will stand forth in deed and fact as one country, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

We further deplore the exploitation of racism in national world politics and the unwillingness of both governments and church to affirm the full rights of every human being, providing equal opportunity and responsibility for each person to become the best possible.

We therefore, implore the church at every level and all local, state, and national governments to exert every moral, legal and judicial influence to implement the Christian Ethic of Brotherhood and the World declaration of Human Rights.

(Text of statement issued by Council of Bishops at the 35th Quadrennial AME General Conference at Miami, Florida, May, 1956)

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION

Board of Christian Education - School and College

August, 1954

Resolution Re: School Integration

WHEREAS, the A. M. E. Zion Church was organized in 1796 as a protest against segregation and proscription based on color in the John Street Methodist Church, New York City, and

WHEREAS, the A. M. E. Zion Church has for 158 years subscribed to and actively engaged in all the movements under the Constitution calculated to bring about the fulfillment of the implications of the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution and the Bill of Rights; and

WHEREAS, the A. M. E. Zion Church has been part and parcel of the Abolitionist Movement, the Underground Railroad, the post-slavery struggle for education and freedom of opportunity and the modern Civil Rights crusade for human equality and full citizenship of all Americans; and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court of the United States has recently, May 17, 1954, declared segregation in public schools unconstitutional and has ordered the desegregation of all public schools in the United States;

BE IT RESOLVES, that the Board of Christian Education - School and College, assembled at the Quadrennial General Convention on Christian Education and the General Assembly and National Council of Christian Youth of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church shall go on record as:

1. Thanking God for the Supreme Court decision and reaffirming our confidence in the inevitable fulfillment of American Democracy under the Constitution.

2. Recommending to our far-flung constituency of more than 723,000 people at 44 Annual Conferences in Continental United States active cooperation with local school boards in implementing the program of immediate desegregation and urging our pastors, presiding elders and people to contribute to the morale-building principles employed to create the climate of public opinion favorable to desegregation in every form of American Life.

3. That we authorize, empower and urge our Secondary Schools and Junior Colleges to amend their charters and/or their rules and regulations, if necessary, so as to provide for integrated faculties and student bodies.

CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Resolution unanimously passed by the General Conference, meeting in Memphis, Tennessee, May 17, 1954:

We commend the Supreme Court of the United States for its heroic and just decision regarding the matter of declaring segregated schools to be unconstitutional, and we urge all people to accept this decision as a fair and just one; and that we all unite in an effort to secure for all people alike the fullest and richest blessing under what we regard to be the most epochal and significant decision rendered by our Supreme Court since the days of reconstruction.

METHODIST

The Methodist Church
(Adopted by the General Conference, Minneapolis, Minn. 1956)

The teaching of our Lord is that all men are brothers. The Master permits no discrimination because of race, color, or national origin.

The position of The Methodist Church, long held and frequently declared, is an amplification of our Lord's teaching. "To discriminate against a person solely upon the basis of his race is both unfair and unchristian. Every child of God is entitled to that place in society which he has won by his industry and his character. To deny that position of honor because of the accident of his birth is neither honest democracy nor good religion." (The Episcopal Address, 1952 and 1956).

There must be no place in The Methodist Church for racial discrimination or enforced segregation. Recognizing that we have not attained this goal, yet rejoicing in the progress made, we recommend that discrimination or segregation by any method or practice whether by conference structure or otherwise in The Methodist Church be abolished with reasonable speed. The growing spirit of brotherhood throughout the church strengthens our confidence that, under the leadership of the Holy Spirit, we will continue to go forward.

There is a changing racial climate in our world, largely growing out of the teachings of the Christian church. The conscience of society has become increasingly sensitive regarding racial discrimination and injustice. Methodists unite with people of all lands and all faiths in a determined effort to eliminate these unchristian practices. We look to the ultimate establishment of a truly Christian society.

The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult community readjustments throughout the nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands.

It is our desire to accomplish the realization of Christian brotherhood and full participation by all in every aspect of the church's life. We join other people of good will around the world in moving toward the day when all races shall share richly without discrimination or segregation in the good things of life. Therefore, we resolutely go forward with the work begun with respect to race relations in the church and in our world.

In this spirit, we recommend the following:

1. That the institutions of the church, local churches, colleges, universities, theological schools, publishing agencies, hospitals, and homes carefully restudy their policies and practices as they relate to race, making certain that these policies and practices are Christian.

2. That Methodists in their homes, in their work, in their churches, and in their communities actively work to eliminate discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin. That parents, teachers and others who work with children and youth help create attitudes which make it easy to live in harmony with those of other races.

3. That Methodist churches in changing neighborhoods, rather than seeking new locations, early prepare their people to welcome into their fellowship all races as they become a part of their community.

   That our pastors, upon whom rests the responsibility of receiving individuals into church membership, discharge that responsibility without regard to race, color, or national origin.

4. That bishops, district superintendents, pastors, and lay leaders seek ways for the implementation of better fraternal relations between the Central Jurisdiction and other jurisdictions where they are adjacent by closer co-operation at annual and district conferences and at local church levels.

5. That Methodists at national and international meetings of the church make provisions for equality of accommodations for all races without discrimination or segregation.

6. That the many racial and national groups which make up our Methodist world fellowship be afforded the opportunity without discrimination to enjoy full participation in all the activities of the church.

WORLD METHODIST CONFERENCE

Section IV of "A Message to the Methodists of the World from the Ninth World Methodist Conference," meeting at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, in September, 1956:

The Conference, composed of representatives from many nations and ethnic groups united in fellowship in Christ, deplores the embittered strife which bedevils human relations. The Conference is entirely convinced that the Church is committed by its very nature to the establishment of a human society in which discrimination based on race or color will no longer exist. The Conference expresses its active concern for those of any color or race who are suffering from political, economic, educational, social, or religious discrimination, or segregation, and the earnest desire that Methodists themselves will initiate, contend for and foster, within their own Societies, a genuine and all-inclusive fellowship.

THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

(Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly, June, 1955)

5. RESOLVED: That in the area of racial and cultural relations, we urge Christians to practice and seek to spread equality of opportunity for all people; equal pay for equal work; equal protection by law; equality of suffrage; equal recognition of persons as persons without respect to religion, class, or race.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

(Excerpt from report of the Council of Christian Relations adopted by the 94th General Assembly in 1954, and Sustained by Succeeding General Assemblies)

Since segregation of the white and Negro people continues to diminish it is time to determine the church's relationship to this trend. This state of flux is due to two dynamic forces at work, the Federal Constitution and the Christian conscience, the one legal and the other spiritual, the one finding expression in statutes and court decisions, and the other in personal conduct, in the voice and policies of the church. If it be judged that segregation is not merely the separation of two peoples, but the subordination of one people to another, we can, on good evidence, observe that the courts have shown more sympathy toward the Negro than has the church. The church would then find itself in the embarrassing position of having to adjust its sense of morality to measure up to the mores of the state. This would belie its pristine nature. Our Christ was and still is ahead of the times; the customs, traditions, and laws of it. The church must strive to keep apace of its Master or become bereft of His spirit.

Our religious convictions form the dynamic for the making, amending and repealing of laws. We recognize three levels of relationship, the legal, the ethical, and the spiritual. A law is the least common denominator of human behavior. It is a restraint so generally acceptable that it can be enforced without curtailing freedom. Behind every set of laws is a code of ethics which contains the unwritten laws of corporate life. Unwritten laws, as they become generally taught and observed, are subsequently codified. Behind every code of ethics is a concept of God so that ultimately, every human relationship, whether it be voluntary or prescribed by statute, is determined by what a man believes about God. It will be a sad day for the church if these three levels of relationship should be inverted, that is, if our belief in a personal God should permit us to foster a relationship inferior to that which impersonal law demands. If this should happen, the church would lose its status as the conscience of society, its intangible ble, controlling and quickening force.

With special reference to the resolution placed in the hands of the Council of Christian Relations by the 93rd General Assembly for study and recommendations the Council recognizes that in Presbyterian procedure, the General Assembly does not direct that certain changes in educational and cultural patterns be adopted. On the other hand, the Council understands that the General Assembly may properly urge the adoption of such changes in the practices of the Church. In keeping with this procedure, therefore, the following recommendations are offered:

1. That the General Assembly affirm that enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics and that the Church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead rather than follow.

2. That the General Assembly, therefore, submit this report for careful study throughout the Church, and that it especially urge:

(a) That the trustees of institutions of higher education belonging to the General Assembly adopt a policy of opening the doors of these institutions to all races.

(b) That the Synods consider earnestly the adoption of a similar recommendation to trustees of institutions under their control.

3. That the governing bodies of the various conferences held throughout the Church consider the adoption of a similar policy.

4. That the sessions of local churches admit persons to membership and fellowship in the local church on the Scriptural basis of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ without reference to race.

5. That in this time of crisis and concern, we commend to all individuals in our communion and especially to all leaders of our churches the earnest cultivation and practice of the Christian graces of forbearance, patience, humility and persistent good will.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

(Excerpt from Report of the Council on Christian Relations
Approved by 1957 General Assembly)

Within the bounds of our own Assembly there seems to exist a striking example of the violation of the right to worship. Members of the Koinonia community near Americus, Georgia, state that their communal life is not primarily a social or agricultural experiment but an experience in worship. They have professed their allegiance to this nation, they have denied affiliation in any subversive party, they have violated no laws and have made a significant contribution to farming techniques in this area. Yet because their experiment knows no barrier of color they are treated as enemies of society. Their property has been strafed, dynamited, and burned; their children maligned, their lives jeopardized. Even worse, many "respectable" citizens of the area have joined in an economic boycott designed to destroy their financial stability and drive them to ruin. The General Assembly would remind the citizens of this area of the danger of trying to destroy those who dare to live by their Christian convictions, even though they may differ from them in their opinions. The General Assembly commends all Christian individuals and groups in Georgia who have spoken out so strongly against this denial of freedom to worship. Other examples might be given from other areas of attempts to destroy freedom of worship as a basic right of all Americans. The Assembly calls on Christians everywhere to be alert to this grievous threat to freedom of religion.

It is in the Protestant tradition to support the public school system for a free public education as the handmaiden of democracy. Ignorance and prejudice are the weapons of tyranny. Yet we find our school system in jeopardy. There is a shortage of qualified teachers, buildings are

inadequate or obsolete, indecision reigns as a result of the Supreme Court decision. This condition shall continue unless we give the teaching profession the respect it is due, and support financially a service we have received too cheaply. Therefore, the General Assembly urges its members to make every effort to maintain an adequate public school system for all elements of its population and to provide proper compensation for its teachers.

It commends those teachers who have regarded their work a Christian vocation, refusing more lucrative offers to stay at their positions; those mothers of families who fill the breach during this critical shortage; and those qualified young people who are now training to teach as a Christian service to their community. The General Assembly would call attention to the fact that the Christian faith has never countenanced racial discrimination and that the supreme law of the land requires that it no longer be practiced in the public school system. Therefore, during this period of transition every member of the Assembly is urged to work in his own community for an honest and durable adjustment.

One ought to have the freedom of becoming the person intended by his Maker that he should be, and to serve in the place and way for which he was given life. Work in which one may have a sense of fulfilling God's purpose for him should be available to all. Recent figures indicate that less than 3 % of the total labor force in the United States is unemployed. Yet many people, because of racial or national background, encounter great difficulty in obtaining that work for which they are best prepared by their gifts and temperament. In a survey of the employment practices of major business firms in one large American city it was discovered that 18% of 20,000 job orders placed during the last six months with commercial employment agencies barred Jews from consideration. (Anti-Defamation League, Rights, January 1957.)

While there has been a trend in the last ten years toward the use of Negroes in federal, state, and municipal employment, far too many capable people are unable to get into the professions and certain salaried jobs. When such channels open up, it often necessitates moving to a section of the nation strange to them. Discriminatory practices in promotion and upgrading are often found among business firms and other agencies.

As Americans we believe in the "pursuit of happiness" for all citizens. If happiness is to be the lot of the man at work, there must be mutual respect and loyalty between the employer and the employee. This is especially important in an age when automation plays such a prominent part. As mass production tends to depersonalize the activity of the individual worker, it is all the more important that the relations between the employer and employee be Christian. This means the will for the good of the other on the part of each.

There is need also today to consider the lot of the aging, lest their right to satisfying work be taken from them. There are approximately 13,500,000 people over the age of 65, and this number is increasing. Christian business men in places of influence can render a fine service toward the happiness of a great many by giving thought to this problem in the planning of their business.

One of the subtlest deterrents to the effectiveness of the Christian faith is restrictive fellowship. Even that faith itself when pridefully employed becomes a divider rather than a binder. When a particular church or denomination recruits its membership from one stratum of society, it mistakes social compatibility for Christian fellowship. In much of American life churches and secular organizations restrict their fellowship on the basis of economic, cultural, racial, and national factors. It is a type of short-sighted selfishness which prevents such groups from recognizing the good in another and from receiving the good of another. Churchmen are supposed to be the ambassadors of reconciliation. They cannot perform this function if they practice aloofness toward those of a different status. A social climate must be created which will encourage a free concourse of men of good will regardless of their race, status, or national origin.

PRESBYTERIAN

Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.

(Adopted by the 168th General Assembly in Philadelphia, Pa., May 29, 1956):

IN RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

Noting that there are serious racial problems to be faced in all sections of our country;

Observing that the problems confronting Christians in the South, the region affected most deeply and directly by the Supreme Court decisions outlawing racial segregation in public schools and other public services, are generally quite different from the problems confronting Christians in most other areas of the nation;

Realizing that the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. is not a sectional but a national body with members and churches in every one of the 48 states,

The 168th General Assembly addresses itself selectively to our churches and members throughout the nation with respect to the Christian responsibility that the Word of God and the mind of the Church lays upon them, in facing the critical problems of race relations.

No Problem

Realizing (1) that nowhere in our land can Negroes, and to a lesser extent other minority persons, escape the indignity of segregation or discrimination in one form or another, and (2) that the community or church that feels it has no problem because there is no present crisis may have an especially difficult problem;

Recognizing that though an increasing number of churches are actually seeking to bring all persons in their neighborhoods into membership without distinction as to race or social status, nevertheless, many churches while morally supporting integration, are failing to implement their stand

in terms of positive evangelistic effort, and some churches appear actually to be opposing integration,

The 168th General Assembly enjoins ministers and members of our churches:

1. To stop talking about having "no problem" in situations where tension does not exist and the problem is therefore concealed,

2. To stop being content with a mere confession of guilt apart from deeds of repentance,

3. To stop pointing the finger of accusation at areas of high tension or conflict,

4. To begin serious, prayerful study where there is no present tension,

5. To bring about in small groups encounters and frank conversations with minority persons of comparable education and experience, and specialists in the field of human relations,

6. To welcome people of all races in the life and work of their churches,

7. To evangelize in the homes of nearby residents without regard to race with the purpose of bringing them into the fellowship of the church.

Residential Segregation

Emphasizing that it is the policy and purpose of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. to work for a nonsegregated society as well as a nonsegregated church;

Noting (1) that in many sections of our country real progress has been made in eliminating segregation in such fields as employment, transportation, hotel and restaurant accomodations, education, and other public services; (2) that in these same sections residential segregation usually continues to be a major problem; (3) that where residential desegregation has occured it has nearly always been in older housing areas that tend to change from segregated white to segregated non-white because of the flight of white residents; and (5) that in most communities practically no new homes have been made available to non-white families,

The 168th General Assembly

Calls upon Christians who are comtemplating the sale of property to see as of first importance the need of minority families for equal housing opportunities and adequate housing, and to make their houses available to all qualified purchasers without regard to race;

Directs the attention of homeowners to several studies, available from the Department of Social Education and Action, of the effect of non-white purchases on adjacent property values, demonstrating that values do not necessarily decline, and in fact often rise, after such purchases;

Urges sessions to bring Christians together in covenants of open occupancy which will stem the tendency toward "panic selling," and stabilize their neighborhoods on a nonsegregated basis.

Victims of Reprisals

Noting with respect to the Supreme Court decision affecting racial segregation in public schools:

1. That the governments of at least six states have committed themselves, with substantial support in public opinion, either to oppose absolutely or to delay as long as possible compliance with the decision;

2. That in some areas of our country groups calling themselves by such names as the White Citizens Councils have formed for the express purpose of using "every lawful means" to maintain racial segregation in all areas of life;

3. That economic pressure, intimidation, social and political pressure are commonly used, while racial violence, bloodshed, and murder are not unknown;

4. That men supporting desegregation have lost jobs, have had their mortgages foreclosed, insurance policies concelled, credit cut off, and wholesale deliveries of goods stopped;

5. That some individuals, both laymen and ministers, of many denominations have taken courageous positions in their churches and communities and

6. That several ministers of the Gospel are known to have been forced out of their pulpits because of statements they had made or positions they had taken relative to this issue;

7. That a significant number of Presbyterian, U. S. A., members have been subjected to indignities, intimidations, beatings, cross-burnings, and harassing litigations,

The 168th General Assembly

Assures members of our Presbyteries and churches who may be under persecution of the corporate support of our Church and directs the Stated Clerk to give them encouragement, counsel, and other assistance as he may judge to be appropriate;

Urges Christians individually and corporately to help bear the burdens of their fellowmen under persecution, by sending gifts of money to Church World Service for the relief of persons designated as "political refugees in our own country."

Job Discrimination

Noting that discrimination in employment consigns Negroes and other minority persons to the least desirable jobs without consideration of their personal qualifications or training, thereby depriving them of dignity and vocational opportunity,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Presbyterian employers to take such steps as may be necessary to break the pattern of discrimination in employment;

Urges Christians to give individual and corporate support to employers who have courageously employed Negroes on a nondiscriminatory basis, prevailing pattern and attitudes of their community to the contrary;

And urges Christians to give support in the most appropriate ways for a federal Fair Employment Practices law.

Rights for All

Recognizing the efforts of those responsible persons and organizations that have sought through the courts by legal means to secure constitutional rights for all citizens,

The 168th General Assembly

Urges Christians to give them their prayerful support and to participate in their efforts.

Corporate Action

Noting that every major denomination has voiced support of the Supreme Court's decisions, but that pressures on individuals and churches at the local level to conform to the prevailing mood have been extreme in many localities;

Being aware that some Christians, both laymen and ministers, have supported the programs of White Citizens Councils and like groups, and a few have assumed positions of leadership in them, and that many Christians are urging ministers not to take positions against segregation;

Acknowledging the impossibility of apportioning degrees of guilt or innocence for a sin that afflicts the whole body of the Church, and that it is the Church's mission to be a prophetic voice of God's Judgment and an instrument of his reconciling grace;

Remembering that the Scripture enjoins us all to "teach and admonish one another" (Col. 3:16), and to "stir up one another to love and good works" (Heb. 10:24), and believing Christians acting corporately and together are stronger in the Spirit than when left to act only as individuals,

The 168th General Assembly

Enjoins presbyteries and, especially, church sessions to consider prayerfully, in the light of the testimony of Scripture for love and justice, the common voice of the Church Universal against racial segregation, and the developments cited above, the corporate response God asks of them in the specific situations in which they find themselves; and

Urges sessions of churches located in communities of racial tension to find ways of bringing Christians and other citizens together in small groups across racial lines to discuss their common problems and goals relative to desegregation.

A PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE 98TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA, MEETING IN KNOXVILLE, TENN., JUNE 13-18, 1956

Statement of Desegregation

We believe the United Presbyterian Church has always believed in the integration of the races. Therefore, in these days when this issue is astride the conscience of the nation we love, we reaffirm our first principles:

1. That God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth.

2. That He is no respecter of persons.

3. That men are created equal and meant to live together in a love that means equality of opportunity and privilege.

In the light of these principles we thank God that the laws of the land have made segregation illegal in education.

Furthermore, believing that segregation is a violation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ we hereby recommend that the Ninety-Eighth Assembly adopt the following resolutions:

1. That local congregations minister to their own immediate communities, regardless of race, color, national origin, economic or cultural background, win each person to the Lord Jesus Christ and offer full membership and fellowship to all.

2. That all Church-controlled and Church-related institutions extend their ministries to all qualified persons without prejudice to race or cultural background.

3. That boards and agencies of the Church make appointments to staff positions and other employment opportunities in conformity to this principle of integration.

4. The boundaries of presbyteries accord fully with the principles of integration.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Catholic Interracial Council (May 18, 1954)

We are gratified with the clearness, completeness and unanimity of

the decision of the United States Court in the school segregation cases.

This is a logical step in the expansion and perfection of American democracy. The next step is the creation and practice of community educational patterns consistent with the spirit and intent of the court decision.

We are confident that throughout the country thoughtful citizens will support with appropriate efforts this historic reaffirmation of the principle of equality of all men before the law.

FROM STATEMENTS OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS

Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey, S.T.D., Archbishop of San Antonio, Texas (April 5, 1954): "...The day of racial injustice has passed. The day of Christlike charity has arrived.

Henceforth no Catholic child may be refused admittance to any school maintained by the Archdiocese merely for reasons of color, race or poverty. Students applying to our schools who possess the necessary qualifications of morality and academic standing no longer may be denied a Christian education because of their color."

Most Rev. Albert L. Fletcher, Bishop of Little Rock, Arkansas (September, 1954): "...But now the highest civil court in the land has judged segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional. This decision clears the way legally for the Church to act more freely in giving to all races the same benefits she is able to provide for the practice of their holy religion.

It is especially urgent that Catholic Negro children be admitted to any Catholic school available in places where there is no Catholic school especially for them. Hence every reasonable effort should be made by the pastor and people to make it possible for these children to attend a Catholic school of the place....

Finally, let me remind some Catholics that persons of every race, creed and nation should be made to feel at home in every Catholic church. Every Catholic church is God's house, not only because it is dedicated to Him; not only because we pray and sing there in His honor; not even because we hear His gospel preached there. Every Catholic church is God's house in a more personal way -- it is where He dwells, body and soul, in the Blessed Sacrament. He is the Host -- we are the guests. All are His, not our, invited guests. Anyone who is good enough for Him to invite, certainly ought to be good enough for us to accept. His Church, you know, is catholic."

Most Rev. Vincent J. Waters, Bishop of Raleigh, North Carolina (August, 1954): "...Beginning with the Fall semester of 1954, our Catholic parochial high schools of the Diocese of Raleigh will register and accept for class work all Catholic high school students no matter to what race they belong, provided that they are Catholics and qualified for high school work."

"...Open all facilities of our Catholic hospitals to Catholic Negroes, in any places where this has not been done already, and to non-Catholic Negroes as far as extra room may permit. Permit qualified Negro physicians and surgeons to take care of these patients whenever possible, especially by offering opportunities for work to Negroes to help solve their problems."

Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, Louisiana - text of letter read Sunday, February 19, 1956, from all Catholic pulpits in the Archdiocese:

DIFFICULT INDEED is the approach to a propitious solution according to Christian principles of justice and charity of the problem of racial integration in our schools, especially in the Deep South where for more than a century and a half segregation has been accepted without serious questions or challenge.

"For months we have prayed, studied and consulted about the problem with a sense of our responsibility for the welfare of all souls that constitute the spiritual family for which in virtue of our office as Archbishop we are responsible before God.

With an appeal to the Holy Spirit we now submit for careful consideration the following results especially regarding the moral difficulties which segregation presents.

"1. RACIAL SEGREGATION as such is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial for the unity and solidarity of the human race as conceived by God in the creation of man in Adam and Eve. Male and female, He created them and breathed into them the spirit of life and commended them to increase and multiply and fill the earth.

"Throughout the pages of the Old Testament and the New there is constant recurrence of this truth, that all mankind has in Adam and Eve one common father and mother and one common destiny namely to serve God in this world and find eternal happiness with Him in the world to come.

"In 1954 Pope Pius XII directed attention to the fact that Christ gave to all the Apostles the mandate to make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and behold, I am with you all days, even unto the consummation of the world.'

"The Holy Father in the same document indicates that Christ sent His Apostles, as he had been sent by the Father, to teach all nations everything they had heard from Him (cf.Matt.XXV III, 19-20). The Apostles are, therefore, by divine right the true doctors, and teachers in the Church.

"In the same allocution Pope Pius XII also states that under the guidance of the Holy Father and the Bishops religious teaching may be worked out by capable priests, who as specialists apply the principles of Canon Law and Moral Theology to such questions.

When their conclusions are approved by higher authority, they are regarded as safe norms of conscience and conduct. This is precisely the procedure which we must apply to the problem of race segregation.

2. RACIAL SEGREGATION is morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and universality of the Redemption. The Eternal Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, came into the world to redeem and save all men, to die for all men on the cross, to make the life of grace available through the Church and the Sacraments for all men, to embrace all men in His Mystical Body on earth and in the life of glory in heaven.

"Racial segregation would draw the color line across the inspiring plan of the Redemption and thus sin against the divine providence, the love and the mercy that conceived and carried out the wonderful Mystery.

"Speaking for the Old Testament on this unity of the human race we have the Prophet Malachi stating: Have we not one God created us? Have we not all one father? Why then doth every one of us despise his brother, violating the covenant of our fathers?

AND ST. PAUL has these pregnant words to offer for the New Testament in his letter to the Corinthians: For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body whether Jews or Gentiles, whether bond or free; and in one spirit we have all been made to drink.'

"And our present Holy Father Pope Pius XII refers in a recent allocution to '...that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever people they belong.'

" 'A marvelous vision,' the Holy Father calls it, which makes us see the human race in the unity of one common origin in God, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all and in us all; in the unity of nature which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual immortal soul; in the unity of dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural right avail themselves, to sustain and develop life; in the unity of the supernatural end, God Himself, to Whom all should tend, in the unity, of means to secure that end.'

3. RACIAL SEGREGATION is morally wrong and sinful because it is basically a violation of the dictates of justice and the mandate of love, which in obedience to God's will must regulate the relations between all men.

"To deny to members of a certain race, just because they are members of that race, certain rights and opportunities, civic or economic, educational or religious, recreational or social, imposes upon them definite hardship and humiliations, frustrations and impediments to progress which condemn them to perpetual degradation which is only a step removed from slavery.

"Such indignities are grievous violations of Christian justice and charity, which cannot be justified in this modern age of enlightenment and loudly proclaimed democracy. Of violations of charity St. Thomas Aquinas says in his work about the Two Precepts of Charity: That men having the same nature are morally bound to love one another. It is Thomas teaching that... every animal loves its like (Eccles. XIII, 19), wherefore since all men are alike in nature, they ought to love one another. Therefore to hate one's neighbor is contrary to, not only the divine law, but also the law of nature.'

"4. BECAUSE THE emancipation during the War between the States involved certain physical and economic hardships, racial segregation was regarded with toleration but never justifiable as a permanent racial adjustment.

"Even the Catholic Church considered it wise and necessary to give separate church and school facilities to Negroes to afford them the

opportunity to practice their faith more freely and educate their children more fully than was often possible in mixed congregations, but this arrangement was never intended to be permanent.

"This is attested by most Reverend Archbishop Francis Janssens, D.D., who initiated the programs with the remark that he did so very reluctantly and in the hope that it would be possible after a brief period to have all Catholics worship under the same roof.

"WE COME NOW to the reasons for segregation at least in the school. These reasons are for the most part unwarranted generalizationsin which it is aimed to give the impression that all members of the Negro race and especially all Negro children are tainted with virtually all the alleged defect.

"The amazing fact is that as a race they are not still more generally lacking in mental ability, culture, moral self-control, immunity from social diseases, criminal propensities, etc., when you consider the neglect and barriers to which they have been exposed in education, general culture, economic opportunities, respectable housing facilities, contact with stable social institutions and the more dignified ways of life.

"Although living and moving in the maelstrom of city or rural life, the laws and customs built up around the mystic term segregation have practically relegated Negroes to an island-like existence. They emerge to work, toil and serve even in the intimacy of the white home and family, but segregation cuts off the free avenues to progress in the better things of life that are synonymous with Christian civilization. This condition in itself is an indictment against continuing segregation indefinitely as its advocates envision.

THIS STATEMENT WOULD become unbearably long were we to analyze even briefly the alleged mental defects moral and criminal propensities, economic shortcomings and social disabilities and dangers which form the general basis for continuing segregation.

We are having these allegations examined objectively by competent judges and may announce the result in due time. For the present we can only state that there are differences between the races on these points, but there is also much generalization and much emotionalism.

We wish to assure the clergy, the religious and the laity of the Archdiocese that we are giving to this important problem our most serious thought, study, and consultation, not to speak of the many prayers which we offer daily for Divine light and guidance, because we realize the importance of the issue which is involved.

Nothing would please us more than to be able at the present moment to render a decision that would serve as a guide for priests, teachers, and parents. However there are still many vital circumstances which require further study and consideration if our decision is to be based upon wisdom, prudence and the genuine spiritual welfare of all concerned.

HENCE WE PLEAD with all of you for preserverance in prayer in order that the final decision may be in conformity with the will of Christ and the highest interest of souls according to the mind of Holy Mother Church. May we likewise unite in prayer that the decision, when made, will be accepted in the spirit of Christian charity and justice and in that unity of mind, heart and will which must always characterize the family of God.

"This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention or discord or hatred but in a spirit of conciliation and with a desire to achieve peace through justice and charity.

Prayer and calmness of spirit are much needed in all our hearts and for these we plead in the name of the Divine Prince of Peace: Peace I leave with you, my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you.

May this peace be shared by all of us now and during the time of deliberation, and may it endure in our midst for all times! Such is the prayer of Your Shepherd in Christ.

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH

Resolution Adopted at 1956 Annual Meeting at Boston, Mass.

WHEREAS: Unitarians are on record as desirous of facilitating the process to nonsegregation in our American public schools, and the full recognition of the rights of all minority groups in our democracy.

WHEREAS: We cannot close our eyes to the realities of a new and belligerent obstructionism, nor to the considerable areas of discrimination that still remain; and

WHEREAS: Law enforcement agencies of several states have failed to cope with the problems involved; and the Federal Government is apparently unable, through the Department of Justice, to deal with the situation under existing statutes;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the American Unitarian Association assembled at its 131st Annual Meeting Urge our churches and fellowships to exert their utmost moral and spiritual influence to further the aims of the Supreme Court decision, to overcome the fears and prejudices of those who oppose it, and to preserve the integrity of our public school system;

Urges the President of the United States to appoint a bi-partisan committee to study both the immediate and the long-range problems of securing school integration in communities that now oppose it, to suggest the best procedures, to urge that a time table be followed, and to report at suitable intervals on progress that is being made in this matter;

Calls upon the Department of Justice to seek out ways and means which will enable it to guarantee law and order in all American communities;

Urges the Congress of the United States to consider and pass specific laws to implement federal prosecution of crimes against the Constitution, in particular, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation; and laws which

will safeguard the right to vote wherever it is denied or threatened on account of race or color.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE THOMAS JEFFERSON CONFERENCE OF THE UNITARIAN CHURCH, APRIL, 1956 (REPRESENTING CONGREGATIONS IN SOUTHEASTERN STATES).

"WHEREAS: Unitarians have an historic and frequently-recorded obligation to uphold human brotherhood and freedom for all men; and

WHEREAS: Men of good will of all opinions and persuasions are earnestly working on local and regional levels for peaceful solutions of the difficult problems of racial tensions in the South; and

WHEREAS: We recognize the difficulties of implementing a wise and just course of action which goes against the deep-seated emotions of a significant number of people;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:"

"(1) That we members of the Thomas Jefferson Conference of Unitarian Churches and Fellowships, in annual meeting assembled, to hereby reaffirm our support of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States dealing with compulsory segregation of the races;

"(2) That we favor every attempt to meet and search for areas of agreement and mutual understanding among men of all races and persuasions, and stand ready to foster and join with all such attempts;

"(3) That we respectfully urge the President of the United States, the governors of the separate states, and all persons in civil authority to call and persistently support, within their respective jurisdictions, conferences of good citizens of both races in order that groundwork of healthy communication may be established and just solutions to these problems may be found."

THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH OF AMERICA

(Resolution adopted by the 1955 General Assembly.)

In as much as the Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that there shall be speedy desegregation in public schools, and as we are in agreement with the principle of racial equality which this decision implements, we hereby resolve that we urge the Universalist Churches of America to assume and maintain leadership roles in their communities to create climates of opinion which will hasten equal educational opportunity.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U. S. A.
(Statement Adopted by the General Board, National Council of Churches, May 19, 1954, Chicago, Illinois)

Re: Decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on Segregation in the Public Schools

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. The decision will have far-reaching effects in the whole nation and the world.

It offers the promise of further steps for translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals. The decision is a milestone in the achievement of human rights, another evidence of the endeavor to respect the dignity and worth of all men.

The complexity of implementing the decision is recognized by the Court which has set the cases for further reargument on the formulation of the decrees. To put the decision into effect will test the goodwill and discipline of people in many communities. Adjustments will be more difficult in some localities than in others. In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The second part of the Great Commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN-NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN THE U.S.
October 1953

The decision of the U. S. Supreme Court relative to segregated schools in this nation is now pending. Whatever this decision may be, Christian women face the immediate urgency of finding ways to meet the impact of the decision on their community patterns and practices. It is recommended that State and local councils acquaint themselves and their communities with the decision and help all groups concerned to understand its implications and to make the adjustments that may be necessary.

UNITED CHURCH WOMEN CSR CHAIRMEN FROM THE FIFTEEN SOUTHERN STATES

(June 21, 1954-meeting in conference in Atlanta, Ga.)

1. Because of our high calling of God in Christ Jesus, we reaffirm our belief in human brotherhood and the inclusiveness of Christian fellowship.

Therefore, we feel we are impelled to promote a Christian society in which segregation is no longer a burden upon the human spirit.

2. We accept with humility the Supreme Court decision as supporting the broad Christian principle of the dignity and worth of human personality and affording the opportunity of translating into reality Christian and democratic ideals.

3. We believe that the best solutions to our many problems can be reached when all people of all races work together toward a common end, and we urge the women to make every effort to bring together individuals in free discussion.

4. We are all charged with the responsibility of the training and the nurture of children and youth. We pray God's guidance upon us as we seek to shape right attitudes in the home, in the church, in the school and in all areas of life in which we move.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Resolutions adopted at the Second Assembly
of the World Council of Churches, Evanston, Illinois, Aug. 15-31, 1954

The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches declares its conviction that any form of segregation based on race, color or ethnic origin is contrary to the Gospel, and is incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. The Assembly urges the churches within its membership to renounce all forms of segregation or discrimination and to work for their abolition within their own life and within society.

In doing so the Assembly is painfully aware that, in the realities of the contemporary world, many churches find themselves confronted by historical, political, social and economic circumstances which may make the immediate achievement of this objective extremely difficult. But under God the fellowship of the ecumenical movement is such as to offer to these churches the strength and encouragement to help them and individuals within them to overcome these difficulties with the courage given by faith, and with the desire to testify ever more faithfully to our Master.

From its very beginning the ecumenical movement by its very nature has been committed to a form of fellowship in which there is no segregation or discrimination. The Assembly of the World Council of Churches rejoices in this fact and confirms this practice as the established policy of the Council.

This Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches recognizes that one of the major problems of social justice in situations involving racial and ethnic tensions is that of securing for all the opportunities for the free exercise of responsible citizenship and for effective participation by way of franchise in both local and central government activity. It commends this matter to the attention of all Christian people for such action as,

under God, they may be led to take in order to secure the solution of this problem.

ADDITIONAL CHURCHES

Assemblies of God: Mr. Curtis W. Ringness, Assistant Secretary of the General Council, wrote that "No pronouncement has been made by the General Council of the Assemblies of God on segregation."

National Baptist Convention of America: No answer was received in time to be included in this compilation.

Churches of Christ: Mr. B. C. Goodpasture, Editor of The Gospel Advocate, wrote as follows: "The Churches of Christ have no central organization or headquarters. Each congregation decides what it should do in the light of New Testament teaching. The New Testament teaches that Christians should obey the law of the land in so far as they are in harmony with the teaching of the Bible. It is our opinion that the churches generally will deal with the segregation question on this principle."

Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints: No answer was received in time to be included in the compilation.

Church of Christ, Scientist: Mrs. Catherine G. Rumner, Corresponding Secretary of the Christian Science Board of Directors, wrote as follows: "In the Mother Church there has never been segregation in the seating arrangements nor in the Sunday School. There are many members of the Negro race who are members of the Mother Church. They are admitted under the same regulations as are all the others who apply for membership, and these regulations may be found in the Manual of the Mother Church by our Leader, Mary Baken Eddy.

"Each branch church makes its own rules as to membership in accordance with the provisions of the Church Manual, Article XXIII, Section 1, which include the statement:

" 'The Mother Church of Christ, Scientist, shall assume no general control of the other churches, and it shall be controlled by none other. Each church of Christ, Scientist, shall have its own form of government.' "

Church of God (Anderson, Indiana): Mr. R. Eugene Sterner, Director of Church Service, wrote: "The Church of God, with headquarters in Anderson, Indiana, has taken no official action on the segregation issue. Indeed, this movement is incapable of a united action, inasmuch as it is not, in the ecclesiastical sense, a denomination. Therefore, there is no titular head of the church who would be capable of issuing such a statement."

Church of God (Cleveland, Tennessee): Mr. H. D. Williams, General Secretary and Treasurer, wrote: "Our church has not entered this controversial issue. We do have a very progressive work among the colored people in the United States, also outside the United States.

"In the United States they have their own Overseer, they have their annual convention where the appointments of various church officers are made. We have found this to be a very practical and pleasant way of carrying on our work with them. Our colored work outside the United States is under our Foreign Missions Board."

Churches of God in Jesus Christ: Mr. Harold Doan, General Manager of the General Conference, wrote on August 29, 1956: "The Churches of God in Jesus Christ have just completed their annual General Conference and will not meet again as a body until next year. The churches as a conference have taken no definite stand, nor passed resolution on the subject of segregation.

"Most of our churches are in the North and the matter has not been one of personal concern affecting any of our organized churches. Since we are congregational in government and are very loosely organized, any such resolution as you have in mind would have to be passed by the delegates to our General Conference.

"It may seem that we are avoiding the issue, but to date the matter has not been an issue within the church."

Church of the Nazarene: No answer was received in time to be included in this compilation.

Greek Archdiocese of North and South America: The following is an excerpt from the resolutions passed by the 13th Biennial Clergy-Laity Congress, held in Washington, D. C., September 30-October 6, 1956: "We, the clergy and lay representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church in North and South America, assembled at its Biennial Ecclesiastic Congress at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington...convey our brotherly greetings to all of our fellow Americans, irrespective of race, creed or social status, and urge them to cooperate with one another in the spirit of complete understanding and Christian brotherhood for the solution of the pressing domestic and international problems facing us."

United Lutheran Church in America: No answer was received in time for inclusion in this compilation.

Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America: No answer was received in time for inclusion in this compilation.

Religious Society of Friends: No answer was received in time to be included in this compilation.

Jehovah's Witnesses: The Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society wrote that no resolution has been passed on the question of segregation, but that their position has been clearly stated in a number of their recent publications. An article in Awake!, April 22, 1956, states: "The fact is that true Christians must have no distinction among themselves: There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor freeman, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in union with Christ Jesus. (Galatians 3:28). New World Trans. However, true Christians of both races know that the only real solution to the old world's many social problems and injustices will

come not in man's way, but only when Jehovah God, through his Son Christ Jesus, abolishes all the fears, inequalities and injustices of Satan's old world and replaces them with the blessing of God's righteous new one. Thus, rather than embroiling themselves in political agitation on behalf of their own or some other race, or kicking against the established system, they put their efforts into the far more important work of preaching the good news of God's kingdom to all people showing them the blessings that will come through God's direct intervention, but not in man's way."

Seventh-Day Adventists: Mr. W. R. Beach, Secretary of the General Conference, wrote that the Seventh-day Adventist Church has not felt the need in recent years of making a pronouncement or issuing a statement on the problem of segregation. He gave several quotations from standard publications of the church to illustrate that the church has condemned segregation down through the years. Specifically on the practices of the church, we wrote that Negro and Caucasian brethren fellowship without discrimination in their general meetings and conferences.

"Many of our churches in the north have colored members. They associate with the others on a basis of full equality. Where we have a large number of Negro believers it has proved more satisfactory to have churches for the colored constituency. These churches have been organized into conferences. This, too, was carried out in cooperation with the Negro brethren and agreed to be church, not in the spirit of segregation, but rather that the work of God may go forward under more favorable conditions and more efficiently."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

All of the statements included in this compilation, with the exceptions indicated below, were obtained from the organizations responsible for them.

From New South, Vol. 11, No. 10 (October, 1956), published by the Southern Regional Council, statements by the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.; B'nai B'rith; United Church Women; Catholic Interracial Council; Most Rev. Robert E. Lucey; Most Rev. Albert L. Fletcher; Most Rev. Vincent J. Waters.

From Interracial News Service, May-June, 1956, published by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., statement of the Council of Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

From "Denominational Statements with Reference to a Racially Inclusive Fellowship," published by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., statement of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.

The statement by the Most Rev. Joseph Francis Rummel was furnished by the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

New South

- Observations On Little Rock
  Kenneth B. Clark
- Dallas Ministers
- Principles to Guide
- Racial Views and Christianity

New South

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New South Notes

The first integrated school year at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, has ended. Only time will tell what the future holds for the strife-torn school of 1957-58. Much has been written about the white community, especially the portion composed of the small hard core of bitter segregationists. Here, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, noted social psychologist, gives some observations on the effects of mob violence and student harrassment on the Negro community, an element largely untouched by the daily press. It is an enlightening article and one which could help mold a better future for Little Rock and Arkansas.

New South again is pleased to note that more and more responsible Southerners are speaking out on the current racial crisis. In this issue are statements by two religious groups. Both are excellent. The first is a general statement on race relations adopted by the recent General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., meeting in Charlotte, N. C. The statement was presented to the Assembly by the Council of Christian Relations. The second statement is signed by 300 ministers of Dallas, Texas, and concerns race relations, Christian principles, and law and order. This statement is extremely good since Dallas is under order to desegregate its schools.

Rounding out this issue of *New South* are two editorial reprints from Georgia newspapers. The first concerns the Southern Baptist Convention and race relations and is from the *Macon Telegraph*. The second concerns the Supreme Court and is reprinted from the *Daily Times* of Gainesville.

Observations on Little Rock

By Kenneth B. Clark

Little Rock, Arkansas, returned to the news recently as the school year ended. The federalized troops of the National Guard were withdrawn, the first Negro student was graduated from Central High School, and both the Arkansas Gazette *and its editor, Harry Ashmore, received Pulitzer awards for their handling of the issues that disrupted the community last fall.*

Developments in Little Rock's white community—or at least some segments of it—have been widely publicized. Here, Dr. Clark gives New South *readers an insight into the relatively neglected reactions of the Negro community, with special attention to the Central High Negro students and their parents.*

The shape of the future in Little Rock is shrouded in doubt, but Dr. Clark's sensitive report sheds light on some of the factors that will influence the events to come.

My observations of the Negro community in Little Rock occurred during December 1957. These observations and my discussions with various individuals in the Negro community were mainly concerned with the events surrounding the use of federal troops to assure the attendance of the nine Negro students to the previously all white high school in Little Rock. My tentative conclusion was that these developments have had no harmful effect on the Negro community. On the contrary, the morale of Negroes in Little Rock appeared to be quite high. The present high morale seems to be supported by a sense of pride in the dignity and courage of the Negro students, admiration for the leadership and skill of Mrs. L. C. Bates, Arkansas N.A.A.C.P. leader who aided the Negro students, and a firm determination on the part of all segments of the Negro community that there shall be no retreat in the process of school integration.

In general, it appears that the Negro community in Little Rock has become more unified as a consequence of these recent tensions. There seem to be no significant differences of opinion between the upper middle-class, professional group of Negroes, and the working-class Negroes. What differences there are seem superficial. Working-class Negroes are more likely to express their feelings about the presence of Negroes in Central High School in a little more flamboyant terms. For example, a Negro bootblack stated: "I know one thing. Those white people better not be foolish enough to hurt one of those colored children. They're not bothering anybody. They better

Observations

(Continued)

leave them alone. It'll be hell in Little Rock if they lay a hand on one of those kids." A Negro waitress in one of the night clubs in Little Rock stated in fluent language her admiration of the nine Negro students who were then attending Central High School. After expressing her admiration, she said: "When you gonna get some more of our children in that school? They can always pick on a few. They wouldn't be smart if we had a couple of hundred kids there. I sure wish that my child was old enough to go to that school."

Upper middle-class, professional Negroes are more restrained in their expression of admiration and respect for the children and Mr. and Mrs. L. C. Bates. They generally indicate their support by calling the Bates' and inquiring whether there is anything that they can do to help. They also have increased their general interest in the affairs of the NAACP and their financial support of the organization's effort. In general, however, their backing is expressed in the form of what appear to be genuine compliments and congratulations of the Bates', expressions of pride in the dignity and restraint of the nine Negro students;[1] and basking in the reflected glory which their collective behavior has brought to the entire Negro community. They seem no less determined than the working-class Negroes, but they clearly express their determination for continued progress in integration in different terms. This seems to be true not only in Little Rock but also in such surrounding communities as Pine Bluff and Hot Springs.

From one perspective, it may be stated that the Negro community has become more isolated from the white community. There is evidence that some types of peripheral contacts with whites have become strained or have been terminated by the tensions surrounding the integration of Central High School. On the other hand, many of the upper middle-class Negroes contend that this is more apparent than real. They argue that there were really no genuine and meaningful contacts between the white and the Negro community prior to the recent tensions; that what appeared to be a fairly smooth and adequate relationship was merely the Negroes' accommodation to an inferior status and the whites' willingness to accept this accommodation as evidence of good relations between the two groups. The changes which have developed since the difficulties at Central High School are seen by these individuals as the understandable reaction of many whites when Negroes seek to improve their status in the community. Rather than seeing these changes as negative, Negroes tend to see them as inevitable manifestations of the true nature of the relationship between the groups.

The Negroes believe that the pro-segregationist whites have seized the initiative and have succeeded in intimidating the more liberal and moderate members of the white community. These Negroes seem quite clear in their evaluation of the moderate, less extreme

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[1]*One of the students, Minnie Jean Brown, has since been expelled for retaliating against her tormentors.*

whites. They do not have very much compassion or respect for them. They tend to believe that their lack of courage and the ease with which the extreme pro-segregationist whites were able to immoblize them reflected a basic lack of conviction on the part of the moderate whites and a tendency not to jeopardize their own status by taking a position for justice and law and order when it involved problems of race relations.

There are some exceptions which Negroes in general tend to recognize. There are some whites who maintain positive and close relations with the leaders of the Negro community. Their aid has been invaluable although, for obvious reasons, most cannot be publicly identified.

While there appeared to be no direct, overt, and systematic collaboration between Negroes and white groups in Little Rock at the time of my observations, some of the Negro leaders believed that the majority of the white people are determined that there shall be no further incidents which will add to the difficulties and stigma that the city has already received in the national and international press. The following incidents illustrates the basis for their opinion:

A Negro girl boarded one of the desegregated buses in Little Rock and took a seat beside a white woman. The woman, who was obviously an extreme pro-segregationist, began to berate the Negro girl and insisted that she should move to the back of the bus. When the Negro girl refused to move, the white woman became more extreme in her denunciation and name-calling. A majority of the people who were on the bus were white. As the woman threatened and raved, they became more and more tense and seemingly embarrassed. The white woman got up and made a threatening gesture toward the Negro girl as if she were going to strike her. As she did this, a number of white people jumped up and restrained the white woman. Another white woman led the Negro girl to a seat beside her. As this was done, the whole bus relaxed and the incident was closed, except that the pro-segregationist woman kept muttering something about the large number of "nigger-lovers" who now infested Little Rock. It may be of further interest to note that this incident was reported to Negro leaders by one of the white people on the bus and later confirmed by the Negro girl who was involved.

There is little or no indication that the Negroes of Little Rock have been intimidated by the intense and at times violent behavior of the pro-segregationist whites. They look upon the activities of these pro-segregationists as pathetic and ridiculous attempts to save a lost cause. They even have a tendency to look upon the violence as essentially ridiculous even though cruel.

The Negro community may be characterized as fearless, determined, and stolid. There is a relentless refusal to move backwards. This stolidity is supported by a strong feeling that they are on the right side of this issue, that history is on their side, that international and national imperatives make the position of the pro-segregationists untenable. The Negro community does not seem to be in a mood for further compromises or temporizing of their right to attend non-segregated schools. They seem pre-

Observations

(Continued)

pared to present many other Negro students for entrance in Central High School and other white schools in the city.

Adjustment of the Nine Negro Students

From general observation of these students in a social situation; observing them individually in their homes and in their relation with their parents, their brothers and sisters, and their friends; from some individual discussions with them, and discussions with individuals who know them and have been observing them throughout the current school term, I have arrived at the following conclusions about their overall adjustment:

(1) These students have reacted extraordinarily well to the tensions, threats and anxiety surrounding their attendance at Central High School. They are aware of the problems and dangers. Many of them have borne directly the brunt of organized harassment and hostility perpetrated by a hard core of about fifty white students in Central High School. In general, they react to the jostling, name-calling, taunts, and threats with disciplined restraint.

It must be pointed out, however, that being different personalities they differ in the weight that they give to this harassment. Some tend to minimize the significance of this ordeal and dismiss all but the most severe incidents as being petty. For example, one of the girls insists that she will not report the large number of minor incidents and is proud of the fact that the only time she appealed to the school authorities was when a white boy attempted to push her down the steps and threatened her by saying, "I'm going to get you out of this school if I have to kill you."

Others are quite disturbed by the cumulative cruelties which they had had to bear. They seem too proud to whine about it, but they reveal their anxiety by indirect indications of dread.

(2) Most of the students seem to be reacting most positively to being thrown into the public spotlight. There seems to be no evidence of any severe distortion in their perspective of themselves.

They accept with a quiet grace and dignity the many indications of respect and admiration which come from the Negro community. It is my belief that they have been helped to maintain an even balance in this regard by the keen insights and guidance of Mrs. Bates and their seemingly excellent relationships with their parents and brothers and sisters.

(3) Their relations with their former classmates and the community in general also seem to be quite good.

An example of this was the fact that when one of the nine gave a party during the holidays, many more of her friends at the all-Negro Horace Mann High School came than were expected. There was good natured banter. On the other hand, some of the Negro children — presumably a small minority — who are still attending Horace Mann School have expressed rivalry or jealousy by indicating that they would not want to go to Central High School. All of the students are aware that this sentiment exists, but none of them seems unduly

disturbed by it. They tend to dismiss it as a sign of acceptance of segregation on the part of the individuals who hold this opinion. They are supported by the fact that the majority opinion in the Negro community rejects this negativistic point of view.

(4) In general, these students are quite aware of the importance of their pioneer role. They have been made so keenly aware of this that they are willing to accept the personal discomforts and abuse "so that other Negro students will have an easier time."

There seems to be little or no evidence that they have suffered significantly so far. They have received a great deal of public attention, support, and acclaim. They have managed to maintain their personal balance and stability. If there is a significant danger inherent in this situation and their relationship to it, it is the danger that they do not seem sufficiently aware of the very real possibility of physical harm which might be inflicted upon them.

Summary Impressions:

(1) The Negro community has been unified rather than disrupted by the Central High School desegregation incidents. There is some evidence that prior to the actual event one would have characterized the Negro community in Little Rock as uncoordinated and consisting of many groups with conflicting and divergent interests. Now it appears that the school integration issue has served to mobilize and unify the group and has increased its morale and pride significantly.

(2) The present psychological health of all the Negro students seem to be good. They are accepting their role with poise and dignity. They have been helped significantly by the wise guidance and counsel of Mrs. Bates, by the warmth and support of their families, and by the admiration and respect which they have received from the immediate community and from the nation. Of special significance also is the evidence of international concern and support which they have continuously received.

(3) On the negative side is the fact that the overt, spontaneous expression of hostility towards them which reached its peak just before and for some time after the presence of federal troops in Little Rock has been replaced by a more systematic, effectively directed campaign of harassment and petty cruelties inflicted by a hard core of between 50 and 100 white students. These incidents of cruelties and abuse are particularly severe in gym classes, the lunch rooms, and in the halls between classes. They are less likely to occur in the classrooms. It appears that this hard core group has been organized and its activities directed by adults outside of the school. They seem to have orders to concentrate on particular individuals.

They have successfully isolated the Negro youngsters by directing their initial campaign of intimidation against those white students who in the early weeks of the term attempted to show signs of friendliness and acceptance of the Negro students. These white students were maligned and threatened — in some cases to the point of hysteria.

Observations

(Continued)

They informed the Negro students that they would no longer be able to show any open signs of friendliness towards them. Furthermore, the adults who direct the activities of these white students seem to have been successful in immobilizing most, if not all, of the school officials through name-calling and other forms of intimidation. As a result, the school officials do not seem free to deal effectively with any except the most extreme forms of cruelty. Through this many-pronged attack, the small group of pro-segregationists have succeeded in making the day-to-day life of the Negro students within Central High School almost intolerable. They have not succeeded completely only because of the determination, stolidity, humor, and courage of the Negro community in general and the Negro students and Mrs. Bates in particular.

It is my belief that these students will continue to attend Central High School and that perhaps more Negro students will present themselves for admission during the next school term. One serious danger should not be discounted, however; if the organized hoodlums are not effectively restrained and are permitted to continue their campaign of harassment and cruelty they will seriously harm one or more of the Negro students. If this happens, I believe Little Rock will be in for a serious racial disturbance.

Little Rock demonstrates that one cannot judge before the fact the readiness of the Negro community to endure the hardships or meet the challenge associated with desegregation. It appears that the actuality of desegregation and the demands made upon the individuals and the community when the issues are joined tend to mobilize the positive potentials in the community and reduce the effect of the negative. The potentials for greatness are actualized by the realities rather than in anticipation of these realities.

Unfortunately, this does not seem to be equally true in the appraisal of the effect of the desegregation incident on the white community. This latter impression, however, must be held with the reservation that no systematic study of the white community was conducted by this observer. Furthermore, his impressions reflected the perspective of a Negro seeing the situation through the eyes and feelings of the Negro community.

The primary tragedy of Little Rock is not to be found in anything that has happened to the Negro children or in any psychological scars which they must bear—disturbing as these have been. Apparently, centuries of oppression have immunized them and given them the necessary protective defenses for survival. The real tragedy of Little Rock is what is happening to the white children in Central High School—the fact that potentially decent human beings are being required to bow to the brutality of a tightly organized white minority. And this reflects a larger tragedy: The decency in the whites of the South is not backed by the fervor and conviction or the courage which is shown by fanatical racists. Without regard to the integration issues—without regard to what happens to Negroes, for they will survive—this is a serious omen for the region and for the nation as a whole.

Also see "Principles to Guide" p. 11

Dallas Clergy Call For Law and Order

Signed By
300 Dallas, Texas,
Ministers

Dallas, together with the rest of the nation, faces serious social issues which must be resolved. We, the undersigned ministers, here declare our conviction that racial problems and their solution are moral and spiritual as well as political matters, and that our understanding of the demands of God impels us to speak. God-fearing citizens cannot ignore their responsibilities in civil society. We speak as individuals only, not as representatives of any group or organization.

We admit, in deep humility, our own sins of prejudice in many areas, and the failure of our religious bodies to solve problems of racial relationships.

We recognize that there are honest differences of opinion among sincere people concerning desegregation in the public schools. One of the most prized possessions of a free society, however, is the right to discuss differences openly. We are certain that thoughtful citizens, although they may differ in their views on the race question, agree that these differences can be resolved only by following democratic principles, such as respect for the rights of individuals, free speech and due process of law through the courts, without recourse to violence and lawlessness.

The only solution to this or any other problem of human relations lies in the application of the New Testament concept of Christian love in which we seek for others that which we desire for ourselves. We remember that Jesus said, "By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another." We remember that the Holy Spirit led Peter to say, "God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean."

These Scriptures, among others, call us as Christians to go beyond simple justice to the practice of our Lord's

Law and Order

(Continued)

commandments. We must treat every individual as a person made in the image of God and one for whom Christ died. This impels us to express our concern in the social and political situations of our times.

All of this leads us to the conviction that enforced segregation is morally and spiritually wrong, and in light of these beliefs we present the following principles:

1. These problems can be solved only as people seek God's help. We should seek not to justify our own views in his sight, but to obtain his guidance in all our actions. We urge that people of all faiths pray earnestly that God will give understanding, patience and guidance in meeting these social issues.

2. Law and order must be maintained as Dallas faces desegregation of its public schools. The Supreme Court has ruled that segregation in the public schools on the basis of race is unconstitutional. The lower Federal courts will inform Dallas about local application of this decision. Their rulings will be the law, and must be respected. If individuals or groups defy court decisions, they are inviting anarchy in which no one's rights will be preserved. We urge that all citizens encourage and support the declared intention of city officials and law enforcement agencies to see that law and order are maintained in Dallas.

3. Churches, service clubs and community organizations, newspapers, radio and television have a responsibility to aid in the solution of this problem. We urge that these groups and enterprises join together in seeking actively to promote the spirit of harmony and peace among all people, both by aiding forces of order and goodwill, and by discouraging destructive actions.

4. The citizens of Dallas have a responsibility to assist the School Boards as they attempt to lead the community. In order that the School Boards may have the understanding support of the community in desegregating the public schools, we urge that plans be made public as soon as possible.

5. Christian parents can be of a great help in creating proper attitudes toward race. We urge that all parents, by conversation and example, set a pattern of responsible Christian citizenship in a democracy which recognizes justice, fair-play and respect for the sacredness of human personality.

6. The exchange of views among people of different races is necessary for a reasonable solution to the problem. We urge that religious, civic and educational groups of all races seek to understand each other by a free interchange of ideas and opinions in order that there may be full confidence and cooperation in arriving at solutions.—Signed by 300 Ministers from 13 Denominations.

When the first Negro applied for entrance to Harvard University in 1848, there was some protest from white students. Edward Everett, then president of Harvard, made this statement: "If this boy passes the examinations he will be admitted; and, if the white students choose to withdraw, all the income of the college will be devoted to his education."—From *Harvard Today*.

Principles to Guide

Approved By

Presbyterian Church, U.S.

The past year has been marked by numerous incidents of violence due to racial tension. These incidents have usually occurred in areas where efforts have been made to obey the law of the land with regard to the desegregation of public schools, or where there have been interracial meetings. In one case a home was bombed following the publication of a book setting forth differing points of view regarding the race problem. In another case, a man was picked up at random by a mob and mutilated after an unsuccessful effort had been made in the community to enter a child in school. A school was destroyed in a community which had begun the process of desegregation. Another city received international attention when troops were brought in to protect students in an integrated school. An interracial religious community continued to be harassed, property damaged and life endangered by unapprehended assailants.

As the year came to a close, out of 3,008 bi-racial districts in the South, 762 had desegregated. All but 15 of these were in border states. A number of states continued to circumvent the law of the land. Some people are willing to abolish the public school system rather than comply with the law.

In the face of increasing racial tension there are signs that influential ministers and laymen are beginning to assert their Christian convictions and speak out against un-American and un-Christian procedures. In Atlanta 80 ministers issued a clear statement including six principles which sought to arouse the conscience of responsible Christian citizens. The principles upon which the statement was based were:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.
2. As Americans and as Christians we have an obligation to obey the law.
3. The public school system must not be destroyed.
4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.
5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.
6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom.

The statement was commended by local newspapers and generally well received. Similar statements have been issued by church groups in other communities. Some southern governors have given their support to this approach to a difficult problem. Notable and praiseworthy was the address of Governor Collins to the Men's Convention in Miami.

All laymen and ministers who have taken a stand based upon obedience to law, respect for human dignity, and freedom to enjoy the blessings of a free nation are to be commended and assured

Principles

(Continued)

of the gratitude and prayers of the General Assembly.

As the Christian people of the South face those problems of race which now present us with an unparalleled obligation and opportunity, the General Assembly proposed for careful consideration the following principles which in its judgment should guide them:

1. All people have been created in the image of God and are to be treated as such. Therefore, we should confront problems of race against the background of a world perspective.

2. Though differing in outward appearance men are essentially one; they have fundamentally the same needs, aspirations, hopes and fears.

3. It is God's will that the law of Christ, i.e., love or goodwill, be operative in all human relationships.

4. To do unto others as we would have them do unto us, we must seek sympathetically and imaginatively to understand their point of view, their needs, aspirations and fears; this is a rule for individuals, groups and nations.

5. The Christian conscience cannot rest content with any legal or compulsive arrangement that brands any people as inferior; which denies them the full right of citizenship on the ground of race, color or social status; or which prevents them from developing to the fullest possible extent the potentialities with which they, as individuals, have been endowed by the Creator.

6. The recent decision of the Supreme Court regarding segregation in the public schools must be recognized as the law of the land, and obeyed as such until and unless it is changed by legal and constitutional methods.

7. The public school system must be preserved and strengthened. To withhold the benefits of a public school education from any child; to prevent any community by punitive means from carrying out its educational responsibility is an unwise and dangerous expedient.

8. Freedom of speech must be preserved at all costs, without the danger of economic or political reprisal for those who express opinions contrary to our own.

9. Violence, and furious or unrestrained language which may incite thereto, must be avoided; all organizations, hooded or otherwise, which seek to take the law in their own hand, and all movements which would prevent citizens from resorting to law in their own defense must be opposed.

10. The right to vote must be made secure for citizens without restrictions based on race or color, without preventive stratagems which make a mockery of democratic processes.

11. Communication between responsible leaders of the two races in the South must be developed, strengthened and maintained. It is essential that individual church members seek to be led by the Spirit of Christ in their daily contacts with those of other races, and so preserve the fellowship of believers in Him as Lord and Savior.

12. To the Christian people of the South there is now given an opportunity to demonstrate the effectiveness of the gospel in solving a difficult problem in human relations whose far-reaching effects are incalculable. God grant that we may not fail our nation or our Lord in this period of crisis.

Racial Views Cannot Alter Principles of Christianity

Reprinted From Macon Telegraph

It is disturbing that ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ could attack a report of the Southern Baptist Convention urging Baptists to "help and not hinder the progress of justice for all peoples." Individual church interpretations of what this Christian duty entails will necessarily vary.

But the concept of justice, fellowship and humanity is basic to Christian faith. We had thought the goodness, purity and desirability of these principles were practically universally praised and preached, if not practiced.

A Georgia minister believes racial fellowship is synonymous with integration and he said as much in opposing the report before the convention. We admire him for his sincerity and frankness in saying what he thinks.

We cannot agree, however, with the position in which this minister and no doubt a considerable number of others in our state have placed themselves.

The report overwhelmingly approved by the convention but attacked by a minority seemed to us to say essentially what is taught in every church and Sunday School in our state.

In truth, it did call for strengthening "fellowship with people of every race." Would opponents of the report have fellowship weakened or done away with entirely? The New Testament offers small comfort for those who look to it for support of this argument.

The report also denounced social usages that "deny basic American freedoms" to any citizen. Certainly opponents do not mean to say they would deny these freedoms. There can only be a divsion of opinion on what constitutes "basic freedoms" and what is meant by "denial."

The report contended "racial antipathy" at home has impeded missionary work abroad. That is a matter for the denomination to determine. Since the Baptist Convention overwhelmingly accepted the report, presumably the conviction was strong that missionary work has been hurt.

Essentially, the report merely expressed anew Christian principles long accepted as guideposts for living and dying.

Unfortunately these principles themselves came under attack because some felt they amounted to a plea for integration of the races.

Whether they do is a matter for each man to determine in his own heart. But there can be no doubt the principles themselves are as immutable as the Christian faith.

Supreme Court Will Uphold The Law, Come What May

Reprinted From Daily Times, Gainesville, Georgia

The nation observed "Law Day" recently, recognizing the effect of our law on our lives and law as the basic rule of our government and, indeed, our civilization. While paying homage to the rule of law, some of our lawmakers and many interested citizens continued to push plans to limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court . . . Apparently they saw no inconsistency in their attitude.

Today's constitutional debate, spurred by men known not as conservatives but as "constitutional radicals," concerns the high court's role as one of the three great branches of our government. Opponents of the court maintain it has meddled in legislative affairs. While there is some justification for that attitude, we must remember that the Supreme Court's duty is to interpret the Constitution and to see that it performs its obligations of protecting the rights of individuals above all other rights. . . .

The law is a continuing rule and is the instrument that protects not only our persons but our system of government and way of life over the long haul. Attempts to alter the rule of law to fit circumstances for this week and this hour may be expected. The test of the value of the law and the guide of its meaning to us is that it withstands short-run onslaughts. If we altered the law with each passing passion, we would have no law and no order. Neither would we have protection from anarchy.

There is little enough in life as it is that can withstand sudden whim. Though God is eternal, even religion is subjected to the buffeting of extemporaneous interpretation. Sudden anger or sudden revelation, call it what you will, turns into splinter ideologies and new congregations.

In the law, however, we have Western civilization's basic reference points. From its beginning in early monotheism to Runnymede and the Constitutional Congress it has been built upon and expanded.

Trying to short-circuit the establishment of the law by building fences around sections of the Supreme Court's authority is as dangerous as packing the court with pre-disposed judges. We don't think it can be done.

. . . Unquote

"What I saw at the Governors' Conference did not lend me too much encouragement about the South's continuing to preserve its way of life. I was unable to find solace from Democratic governors, even many from the Southeast."

Governor Marvin Griffin
of Georgia
Quoted by
INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

• • •

"Certainly no one can quarrel with Congressman Hays' premise (see quote elsewhere on this page). The Christian church cannot and must not avoid the great controversial issues of our time. The church itself was founded in the midst of controversy and has lived with it ever since. The major social issues are not dancing, card playing, smoking or, serious as it is, drinking. The great war is on for men's minds and Christians must participate."

From an editorial
in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

• • •

"(The) traditional methods of extending help to Negro neighbors won't suffice. Imagination must accompany our compassion. I realize we cannot have complete unanimity in these matters, (but) it would be tragic for us to assume that we can function as a Christian body without assigning to trusted representatives of the convention the task of pointing out our Christian duty with respect to social evils and current conflicts."

Rep. Brooks Hays, President,
Southern Baptist Convention,
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

• • •

"If all the Negro farmers of Mississippi suddenly found OIL on their tenant farms, then twenty years from now a heap of white folks would file claims with affidavits attached to prove that they are 1/64th Negro, like it happened with the former Indian 'savages'."

Harry Golden
in THE CAROLINA ISRAELITE

• • •

"The right kind of democracy will bring economic liberty. The economically disenfranchised must be given equal opportunities for daily work. Our leadership must more and more insist that every man, regardless of race or creed or economic status, must be given an equality of opportunity . . . The walls of hatred that are being erected between groups and nations and races must be broken down. It may be that this is our finest world opportunity to use the battering-ram of the gospel of love to break down these walls that have recently been erected between the races."

W. C. Vaught, Jr., Pastor,
Little Rock Immanuel Baptist Church
Quoted by ASSOCIATED PRESS

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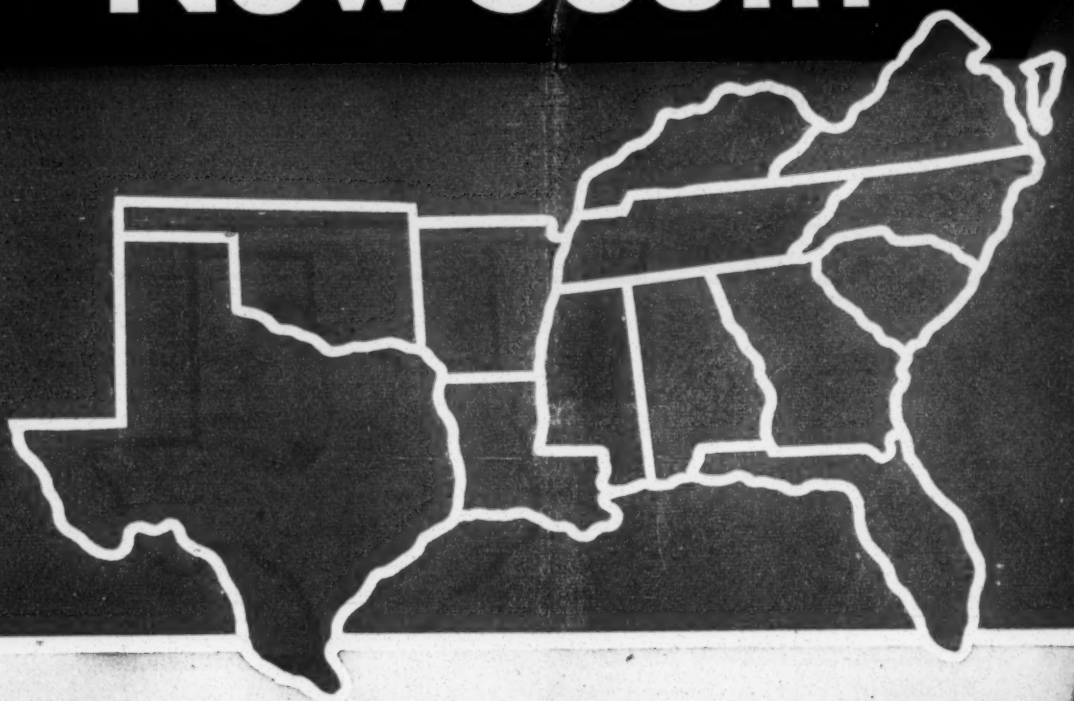

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New South Notes

Increasingly, religious leaders, as individuals and groups, are speaking out on the question of desegregation and on racial problems in general. Several years ago, *New South* published in a special edition statements of individual church bodies in which they called on persons of good will to work toward an orderly solution to our racial problems.

As desegregation moves nearer to the deep South, there has been increased racial tension; and so, once again, religious leaders are speaking out in an effort to help solve the problem evolving from the segregation controversy. *New South* in this issue reprints statements by the bishops from three leading church groups and reports on statements from two religious bodies.

On November 13, 1958, the Methodist Council of Bishops issued another statement on the race crisis. In this statement, the bishops review earlier statements and renew their plea for all citizens to obey the law.

On October 17, 1958, a pastoral letter from the Protestant Episcopal Bishops was read in the bishops' assembly. The letter, among other things, lists five truths as they see them and calls upon the church membership to seek communication in an effort to solve our current problems.

The third statement, which in tone is in keeping with the other two, is by the Catholic Bishops of the United States and was released November 14, 1958.

The other statements reported on in this issue came from the Eighth Assembly of the United Church Women and from the National Council of Churches.

Obedience to Law*

The Methodist Council of Bishops

In November, 1954, the Bishops in their message to the Church gave formal support to the decision of the Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, abolishing segregation in the public-school system. In that statement, we affirmed that the ruling of the High Court was in keeping with the attitude of the Methodist Church as expressed in its official pronouncements, both in the Social Creed and in the episcopal address of 1952. These pronouncements were affirmed in the general conference of 1956.

In addition, the general conference of 1956, apparently anticipating the difficulties which would be involved in the enforcement of the decisions, approved the following statement with respect to the decisions of the Supreme Court relative to segregation:

"The decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult community adjustments throughout the nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this, all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love, lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands."

We reaffirm our support of the Supreme Court in the decisions relative to segregation in the public-school system, and earnestly urge all our people to accept the rulings of the courts in good faith. We seek with the guidance of the Holy Spirit to create that kind of social climate which will work toward the elimination of friction between any and all racial groups and ultimately achieve the realization of Christian brotherhood in all community relationships — North and South and everywhere in the world.

We heartily commend those lay people, pastors and Bishops who have demonstrated Christian courage in critical areas. In these days of extreme tensions we commend our people who, while not always sharing the same attitudes on integration, are determined to demonstrate in their own lives the qualities of understanding, tolerance and brotherhood.

We are disturbed by a growing disregard of law evidenced by the bombing of synagogues, churches, schools and even private dwellings. We would remind our people that equal justice can be had only under law. To obey the law only when it suits us is to invite others to do likewise, and that ultimately leads to anarchy.

We, therefore, call upon our people to treat obedience to and respect for law as a Christian moral obligation, and to see to it that, if and when any law needs to be revised, strengthened or eliminated, it be done not by resort to force or violence but by legally established legislative procedure.

**Issued November 13, 1958*

Meet, Know, and Listen

Pastoral Letter from Protestant Episcopal Bishops

October 17, 1958

This letter is written against the background of our unforgettable experience at the recent Lambeth Conference. For forty days we had once again the privilege of meeting with Bishops of the Anglican Communion from many parts of the world. We came from every continent, were members of every race and many nations, and revealed in our fellowship—not only the encouraging growth of our communion—but also that it is part of the Holy Catholic Church which includes members of every race and nation. We saw anew, against the background of the world's terrible divisions, the oneness of mankind in Christ; we saw that "in Christ there is no East or West"; we saw that only a world body, freed from the passions and enmities that divide men, can bring a healing and reconciling word to our world. The Lambeth Conference was a symbol of that unity toward which the whole world groans and travails.

The most urgent and frightening fact in our world is the terrible divisiveness setting men against men—rival nationalisms, opposing philosophies, competing economic systems, and fierce racial tensions. An old order is struggling in pain to be born. In this fierce competition and contest for one solution or another all mankind is swept along. As we dealt with these divisions in our Lambeth deliberations we recognized the stubborn depths of the problem, the passionate fears and resentments that divide men.

We recognized that we in America share this common world problem; for America is divided, not only by deep racial tensions, but by the breakdown of communication between those of different convictions, sometimes even between clergy and people. Since wholeness is health; since division is sorrow

and sickness; since in this terrible world division can mean death, we write to you on the subject of unity and reconciliation. We do so with a great sense of urgency, not to tell you what to do in your specific situations, but rather to share with you five great truths that will help us all to act more truly wherever we may be.

First, even if no report had been issued by Lambeth, it would still have been a notable experience; for at the conference we lived with one another under the same roof, broke bread together, prayed beside one another and knelt side by side at the Holy Communion. We enjoyed the deepest fellowship.

In our world's travail toward unity we would remind you that there is nothing that can take the place of this face-to-face meeting, this deep fellowship, this communion of souls. It is tragically easy to treat other people as "things" and without personal acquaintance to forget that all mankind desires, needs, hopes and fears the same things. The meeting of others is a creative experience, giving to each the knowledge of our common humanity, lifting us out of our private worlds, giving us the humbling knowledge that often our proudest thoughts are not true but the slanted thinking of our particular group, and thus making us more open to God's purposes for us.

Because real meeting elevates the soul and purifies the mind, we ask you, as Christian people, amid all the tensions and visions of our world, to meet and know and listen to your brethren of other races and groups. It was Archbishop William Temple who said that if any man thinks in terms of the common good and seeks the common good, he is a converted man, but such thinking and acting can come only as we rise above our particular groups by a first hand knowledge of, and deep fellowship with, those who are our Brethren in Christ. It was not simply Lambeth which represented mankind; our own Episcopal Church has within its fellowship rich and poor, white and Negro, Orientals, Indians, and Latin Americans. Meet and know your brethren in Christ.

Government

Second, since Lambeth Palace is close to the Houses of Parliament, many of us were led to reflect anew on the meaning of law and government. In Christian thought government is a structure appointed by God for the common good. Its function and responsibility is to care for the outer order and framework of our common life. All of us need to be protected. We need the orderly and impartial administration of justice for the protection of our property, our safety, and our hard-won rights.

St. Paul recognized this when he appealed to Caesar, and when in the Epistle to the Romans he wrote. "The powers that be are ordained by God." The law is a minister of God for good. It is God's instrument. It makes civilized life possible, and enables us to live together in peace. It restrains our selfishness and wildness, and, while it cannot change our hearts, it does provide the indispensable outer framework of our unity.

The people of this land do not need to be reminded at this moment of the evils of tyranny, but we do need to be

Meet

(Continued)

reminded now of the evils of anarchy. Anarchy, the absence of law and order, is a greater evil than tyranny, and leads to tyranny. Anarchy is the absence of order; tyranny is an order of sorts.

It is for this reason that Christians are taught to honor government and to pray for "all Christian rulers, that they may truly and impartially administer justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice." Without that outer framework of order no unity is possible, and any man who seeks to undermine the rule of impartial justice is inviting disaster for the nation. It is only for the gravest and clearest principle of conscience relating to a serious moral issue that one may contemplate civil disobedience. And, because all order is at stake, such disobedience can only be justified when it is based on a higher ethical principle than the law represents. Never is it right when the disobedience is the expression of a lower ethical standard than the law would enforce. We call upon you, therefore, at this time to honor and obey the laws of this land.

Judgment

Third, we saw vividly at Lambeth the judgment of God upon all our divisions and conflicts. This judgment is a great fact that concerns us all and because of which we all will suffer. The judgment of God—what is it? It is not some extraneous power falling upon us with no relationship to our behavior. It is not the capricious will of any arbitrary tyrant. It is not the opinion of bishops. It is not a quotation from the Bible.

God's judgment is the response of a just God to the offenses of mankind against His living will. It is the inevitable result we bring upon ourselves when we move against the grain of His universe. It is the inevitable result of our inner contradictions. It is God frustrating our purposes when we oppose His will. This judgment is as real as God is, and as powerful, for it is God himself seeing our sins and acting in history to accomplish His will in spite of our sins. You will find the judgment of God reported in your daily newspaper, in the event of history, in the clash and contradiction of rival ambitions and fears, in the hatred and suspicion we earn when we fail to deal justly with those with whom we share this narrow world.

Majority

We must remember that the majority of mankind belongs to the colored races, and that the American racial problem is discussed the world over. Much of the goodwill which early missionaries gained has been lost. Much of the goodwill which our nation once enjoyed has been lost. If America continues to lose friends as others become convinced that we do not mean what we say about justice and equality, the reason will be obvious. The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether. These judgments are the plain cost we pay in God's universe for not practicing what we preach, and for not being ready to grant to others the opportunity and equality we cherish for ourselves.

Two strong motives, therefore, should drive us to our duty. One is the love for all men which the Holy Spirit pours into our hearts, the divine spirit that

urges us toward unity. But if our hearts are sometimes dull, let us then do the will of God because the fear of His judgment grips our hearts. "Imprint upon our hearts," says the prayer book, "such a dread of Thy judgments, and such a grateful sense of Thy goodness to us, as may make us both afraid and ashamed to offend Thee." This is God's world, and He punishes us together as we move against His will. If Africa and Asia should turn finally against us, it could well be because the colored races became convinced they must look elsewhere for justice. It is only when we lift our eyes from our immediate problems to see God's reign, His Grace and wrath, that we think and act truly.

Fourth, it must be evident to all that as more than three hundred bishops at Lambeth debated the deepest problems of the day—racial and group tension, nuclear warfare, the problems of the family—that these debates were often charged with the deepest emotion. But our unity was never threatened, because we built—not chiefly on emotion—but on the calm and clear light of reason. Voices were not raised, arguments were never personal, and our fellowship, therefore, was never threatened.

Emotion

The division of the world—national, class, and racial—are always accompanied by deep emotion. But emotion on this subject, as we can observe in many American communities, is deeply divisive. Indeed, in some communities unity is an impossibility because people have in their emotional blocs lost the ability to communicate one with the other. If we build on emotion, the end is conflict.

We need to give a larger place to the liberating, manly, and noble quality of reason. Of course we share with the rest of God's creation on the emotional drives of life—fear, rage and hunger. But part of what the Bible means when it speaks of our being made in God's image is that we can reason. By the calm, impersonal unifying process of shared thought we are set free from the control of passion to find one another and the commonwealth of humanity. If we carefully search for truth, we will be led together to God, who is the source of all truth.

Talk Together

Let us not think that like children we can shout down other people and their wishes and interests. They are not ghosts, nor children to be frightened away. There is only one way for free men to overcome conflict and that is by talking together in reasonable self-control, and thus finding a third way which will lead to peace. Christians who believe in the God Who is the source of all truth ought to be the first ones to claim this privilege of reason.

Therefore, we ask everyone in this nation to keep his voice down, his arguments impersonal, and to recognize "the stubborn depths of the problem, the passionate fears and resentments that divide men." We ask everyone to recognize that reason and not emotion will unite our torn communities, that discussion must be carried on by all without any note of superiority or servility, and that when we confront one another, we are to do so in a brotherly fashion.

Meet

(Continued)

Finally, we speak about the church, to which, by God's mercy, we all belong. We are the church's people; but the church is not ours. It is God's creation, the body of which Jesus Christ is the head and all baptized people are the members. Nobody can destroy it, for it is built on a rock and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Our Lord Christ is mankind's one true hope of unity, for by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free. By His redeeming love Christ has broken down the middle wall of partition between us, and has made us one in Him. And He has given us the honor of sharing that unity, and of continuing his reconciling work. The church, when it truly understands itself, is thus the reconciling community in the life of the national community. And every parish or mission, however small, is the great church at work in its neighborhood, a manifestation at the local level of the all-embracing love of Christ and of the world fellowship re-revealed in part at Lambeth.

In our world, as St. Paul wrote, two spirits contend one with another for the hearts of men. The first spirit is the self-centered spirit of man leading inevitably to hatred and division. The cries of "my class," "my race," "my clan" rend the world community. This is the spirit of the world—the spirit of pride, exclusiveness, and separation. "Now the works of the flesh," says the Apostle are " . . . hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies."

The other spirit ever guiding the church (as we saw at Lambeth and know from this convention) is the spirit of God drawing men together. It is this Holy Spirit Who leads us to love our brethren, who humbles our spirits as they are convicted of sin, Who leads us to a unity not of our making. This spirit raises us above self to see God's will and plan for all men. It is the spirit of humility, of inclusiveness, and of love ever warring against our hard hearts. In our work of reconciliation we must never think of ourselves as alone, but always as guided and sustained by Christ Himself present and working in our midst. "But the fruit of the spirit," says St. Paul, "is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance. . . . If we live in the spirit, let us walk in the spirit."

We have spoken about five great truths that can help us to see and do God's will wherever we may be—the creative meeting of souls, the sacredness of law, God's judgment on our divisions, the light of reason, and the membership we share together in the church guided by the spirit.

We said at the beginning that we were not attempting to tell anybody what to do in his specific situation. Provided they have a true perspective, we believe that God's children are quite able to make the necessary, creative decisions which are part of our reconciling task. If we suffer in that endeavor, count it always a privilege to suffer for God and His truth.

Care for your souls, brethren, amid the passions and prejudices of our day, and remember that truth alone is strong.

Root Out of Hearts All Bitterness and Hatred

Catholic

Bishops of U. S.

November 14, 1958

Fifteen years ago, when this nation was devoting its energies to a world war designed to maintain human freedom, the Catholic Bishops of the United States issued a prayerful warning to their fellow citizens. We called for the extension of full freedom within the confines of our beloved country. Specifically, we noted the problems faced by Negroes in obtaining the rights that are theirs as Americans. The statement of 1943 said in part:

> In the Providence of God there are among us millions of fellow citizens of the Negro race. We owe to these fellow citizens, who have contributed so largely to the development of our country, and for whose welfare history imposes on us a special obligation of justice, to see that they have in fact the rights which are given them in our Constitution. This means not only political equality but also fair economic and educational opportunities, a just share in public-welfare projects, good housing without exploitation, and a full chance for the social advancement of their race.

In the intervening years, considerable progress was made in achieving these goals. The Negro race, brought to this country in slavery, continued its quiet but determined march toward the goal of equal rights and equal opportunity. During and after the second World War, great and even spectacular advances were made in the obtaining of voting rights, good education, better-paying jobs and adequate housing. Through the efforts of men of good will, of every race and creed and from all parts of the nation, the barriers of prejudice and discrimination were slowly but inevitably eroded.

Hearts

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Because this method of quiet conciliation produced such excellent results, we have preferred the path of action to that of exhortation. Unfortunately, however, it appears that, in recent years, the issues have become confused and the march toward justice and equality has been slowed if not halted in some areas. The transcendent moral issues involved have become obscured and possibly forgotten.

Nation Divided

Our nation now stands divided by the problems of compulsory segregation of the races and the opposing demand for racial justice. No region of our land is immune from strife and division resulting from this problem. In one area, the key issue may concern the schools. In another, it may be conflicts over housing. Job discrimination may be the focal point in still other sectors. But all these issues have one main point in common. They reflect the determination of our Negro people, and we hope the overwhelming majority of our white citizens, to see that our colored citizens obtain their full rights as given to them by God, the Creator of all, and guaranteed by the democratic traditions of our nation.

There are many facets to the problems raised by the quest for racial justice. There are issues of law, of history, of economics and of sociology. There are questions of procedure and technique. There are conflicts in cultures. Volumes have been written on each of these phases. Their importance we do not deny. But the time has come, in our considered and prayerful judgment, to cut through the maze of secondary or less-essential issues and to come to the heart of the problem.

The heart of the race question is moral and religious. It concerns the rights of man and our attitude toward our fellow man. If our attitude is governed by the great Christian law of love of neighbor and respect for his rights, then we can work out harmoniously the techniques for making legal, educational, economic and social adjustments. But if our hearts are poisoned by hatred, or even by indifference toward the welfare and rights of our fellow men, then our nation faces a grave internal crisis.

No one who bears the name of Christian can deny the universal love of God for all mankind. When Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, "took on the form of man" (Phil. 2, 7) and walked among men, He taught as the first two laws of life the love of God and the love of fellow man. "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, that you have love, one for the other" (John 13, 35). He offered His life in sacrifice for all mankind. His parting mandate to His followers was to "teach all nations" (Matt. 28, 19).

Universal Faith

Our Christian faith is of its nature universal. It knows not the distinctions of race, color, or nationhood. The missionaries of the church have spread throughout the world, visiting with equal impartiality nations such as China and India, whose ancient cultures antedate the coming of the Saviour, and the primitive tribes of the Americas. The

love of Christ and the love of the Christian, knows no bounds. In the words of Pope Pius XII, addressed to American Negro publishers 12 years ago, "All men are brothered in Jesus Christ; for He, through God, became also man, became a member of the human family, a brother of all" (May 27, 1946).

Even those who do not accept our Christian tradition should at least acknowledge that God has implanted in the souls of all men some knowledge of the natural moral law and a respect for its teachings. Reason alone taught philosophers through the ages respect for the sacred dignity of each human being and the fundamental rights of man. Every man has an equal right to life, to justice before the law, to marry and rear a family under human conditions, and to an equitable opportunity to use the goods of this earth for his needs and those of his family.

From these solemn truths, there follow certain conclusions vital for a proper approach to the problems that trouble us today. First, we must repeat the principle—embodied in our Declaration of Independence—that all men are equal in the sight of God. By equal we mean that they are created by God and redeemed by His Divine Son, that they are bound by His Law, and that God desires them as His friends in the eternity of heaven. This fact confers upon all men human dignity and human rights. Men are unequal in talent and achievement. They differ in culture and personal characteristics.

Some are saintly, some seem to be evil, most are men of good will, though beset with human frailty. On the basis of personal differences we may distinguish among our fellow men, remembering always the admonition: "Let him who is without sin . . . cast the first stone . . . " (Jn. 8, 7). But discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color, and, as such, injurious to human rights regardless of personal qualities or achievements, cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity.

Secondly, we are bound to love our fellow man. The Christian love we bespeak is not a matter of emotional likes or dislikes. It is a firm purpose to do good to all men, to the extent that ability and opportunity permit.

Reasons

Among all races and national groups, class distinctions are inevitably made on the basis of like-mindedness or a community of interests. Such distinctions are normal and constitute a universal social phenomenon. They are accidental, however, and are subject to change as conditions change. It is unreasonable and injurious to the rights of others that a factor such as race, by and of itself, should be made a cause of discrimination and a basis for unequal treatment in our mutual relations.

The question then arises: Can enforced segregation be reconciled with the Christian view of our fellow man? In our judgment it cannot, and this for two fundamental reasons.

1. Legal segregation, or any form of compulsory segregation, in itself and by its very nature imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people. Even if the now-obsolete Court doctrine of "separate but equal" had been carried out to the fullest extent, so that

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all public and semipublic facilities were, in fact, equal, there is nonetheless the judgment that an entire race, by the sole fact of race and regardless of individual qualities, is not fit to associate on equal terms with members of another race.

We cannot reconcile such a judgment with the Christian view of man's nature and rights. Here again it is appropriate to cite the language of Pope Pius XII: "God did not create a human family made up of segregated, dissociated, mutually independent members. No; He would have them all united by the bond of total love of Him and consequent self-dedication to assisting each other to maintain that bond intact" (Sept. 7, 1956).

Historical Fact

2. It is a matter of historical fact that segregation in our country has led to oppressive conditions and the denial of basic human rights for the Negro. This is evident in the fundamental fields of education, job opportunity and housing. Flowing from these areas of neglect and discrimination are problems of health and the sordid train of evils so often associated with the consequent slum conditions. Surely Pope Pius XII must have had these conditions in mind when he said just two months ago: "It is only too well known, alas, to what excesses pride of race and racial hate can lead. The Church has always been energetically opposed to attempts of genocide or practices arising from what is called the 'color bar' " (Sept. 5, 1958).

One of the tragedies of racial oppression is that the evils we have cited are being used as excuses to continue the very conditions that so strongly fostered such evils. Today we are told that Negroes, Indians and also some Spanish-speaking Americans differ too much in culture and achievements to be assimilated in our schools, factories and neighborhoods. Some decades back the same charge was made against the immigrant: Irish, Jewish, Italian, Polish, Hungarian, German, Russian. In both instances differences were used by some as a basis for discrimination and even for bigoted ill-treatment. The immigrant, fortunately, has achieved his rightful status in the American community. Economic opportunity was wide open and educational equality was not denied to him.

Negro citizens seek these same opportunities. They wish an education that does not carry with it any stigma of inferiority. They wish economic advancement based on merit and skill. They wish their civil rights as American citizens. They wish acceptance based upon proved ability and achievement. No one who truly loves God's children will deny them this opportunity.

Courage

To work for this principle amid passions and misunderstandings will not be easy. It will take courage. But quiet and perservering courage has always been the mark of a true follower of Christ.

We urge that concrete plans in this field be based on prudence. Prudence may be called a virtue that inclines us to view problems in their proper per-

spective. It aids us to use the proper means to secure our aim.

The problems we inherit today are rooted in decades, even centuries, of custom and cultural patterns. Changes in deep-rooted attitudes are not made overnight. When we are confronted with complex and far-reaching evils, it is not a sign of weakness or timidity to distinguish among remedies and reforms. Some changes are more necessary than others. Some are relatively easy to achieve. Others seem impossible at this time. What may succeed in one area may fail in another.

It is a sign of wisdom, rather than weakness, to study carefully the problems we face, to prepare for advances, and to bypass the nonessential if it interferes with essential progress. We may well deplore a gradualism that is merely a cloak for inaction. But we equally deplore rash impetuosity that would sacrifice the achievements of decades in ill-timed and ill-considered ventures. In concrete matters we distinguish between prudence and inaction by asking the question: Are we sincerely and earnestly acting to solve these problems, We distinguish between prudence and rashness by seeking the prayerful and considered judgment of experienced counselors who have achieved success in meeting similar problems.

For this reason we hope and earnestly pray that responsible and sober-minded Americans of all religious faiths, in all areas of our land, will seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist. It is vital that we act now and act decisively. All must act quietly, courageously and prayerfully before it is too late.

For the welfare of our nation we call upon all to root out from their heart bitterness and hatred. The tasks we face are indeed difficult. But hearts inspired by Christian love will surmount these diffiiculties. Clearly, then, these problems are vital and urgent. May God give this nation the grace to meet the challenge it faces. For the sake of generations of future Americans, and indeed of all humanity, we cannot fail.

A report from the National Council of Churches has asked churches to "express strong support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision concerning school integration. The report, issued November 28, 1958, is the result of a recent gathering of 600 lay and clergy delegates at the Fifth World Order Study Conference. The conference was sponsored by the National Council.

The report called upon "the churches to give strong support for policies in each state which provide for positive steps toward the integration of schools."

"The churches must begin with themselves. There is a great gulf between what they say on a national or denomination level and what they do or encourage or permit in many communities."

Give Positive Witness

United

Church Women

8th National Assembly

October 30, 1958

As responsible Christians, we claim the right to obey God in the affairs of men. We believe that the moral substance of the Supreme Court decision with regard to integration in the public schools is in accord with Christian concensus and conscience and therefore deserves Christian support. Moreover, we recognize the inescapable fact that in all states of these United States desegration in the various public facilities, including public schools, is the law of the land and ultimately this law must prevail if our nation is to avoid anarchy, loss of self respect, loss of any major claim to moral leadership in world affairs.

We deplore the unchristian acts and attitudes of some of our citizens expressing hatred of certain of our fellow-citizens, but we believe that there are great reservoirs of good will among concerned Christians in our respective communities. Even the present tensions cannot obscure the fact that significant progress has been made in race relations. We recognize that concerned Christians in our communities who made that progress possible continue to be the Christian conscience of their communities. We, in this Assembly, wish to reinforce and undergird their efforts by the following recommendations:

1. That we continue to work toward the elimination of discrimination in housing, public schools, health and recreational facilities, transportation and public accommodations;
2. That we support any effort in our local communities to establish intergroup organizations, interracial councils to work on community problems;
3. That we urge the President of the United States to call a White House Conference on integration as soon as possible;
4. That we in our churches give a positive Christian witness by working with the people in the community in which the church is located; and that we use the church facilities to work toward a more inclusive fellowship rather than lend them to purposes for perpetuating segregation.

. . . Unquote

" . . . the time has come when governmental officials must tell their people the unpleasant truth without equivocation, because, unless the people know the truth and understand the alternatives involved, only anarchy can result. Integration and segregation must cease to be political issues exploited for political gain."

Ralph E. Odum,
Assistant Attorney General,
Florida,
Quoted in U. S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT

• • •

"Teachers are asking me by the dozens, 'What shall we do about next year, Shall we leave the system or the state?' We're going to lose these teachers and the State of Virginia is going to lose them."

J. J. Brewbaker, Superintendent,
Norfolk Public Schools
Quoted in ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

• • •

"There are indications that Virginians in increasing numbers are coming to the realization that massive resistance has run its course and that further reliance upon it is futile. There is developing support for the view that some integration is preferable by far to closed schools and no public education at all . . . "

From an editorial in
ROANOKE (VA.) TIMES

"We believe that a strong and complete public school system is vital to the educational and economic life of Norfolk. It is essential in the attempts of the community to attract and hold business enterprise. It is essential in encouraging families of servicemen, on duty in the area, to live in Norfolk, and to insure that Naval facilities now maintained in Norfolk are not diverted to other areas because Norfolk public schools are closed."

The Norfolk Committee
for Public Schools
From statement of purpose

• • •

"Talking . . . in terms of realities, we should recognize the United States Supreme Court decision can only be changed by the Court, itself, or by a constitutional amendment declaring racial segregation in public schools permissible. And no one seriously expects that either of these things will happen."

Governor Leroy Collins
of Florida
Quoted in WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES HERALD

• • •

"We unalterably oppose all practices of racial segregation. We withhold permission to use our church buildings as segregated schools in an effort to disobey the mandate of the Supreme Court."

The Evangelical United
Brethren Church
Quoted by ASSOCIATED PRESS

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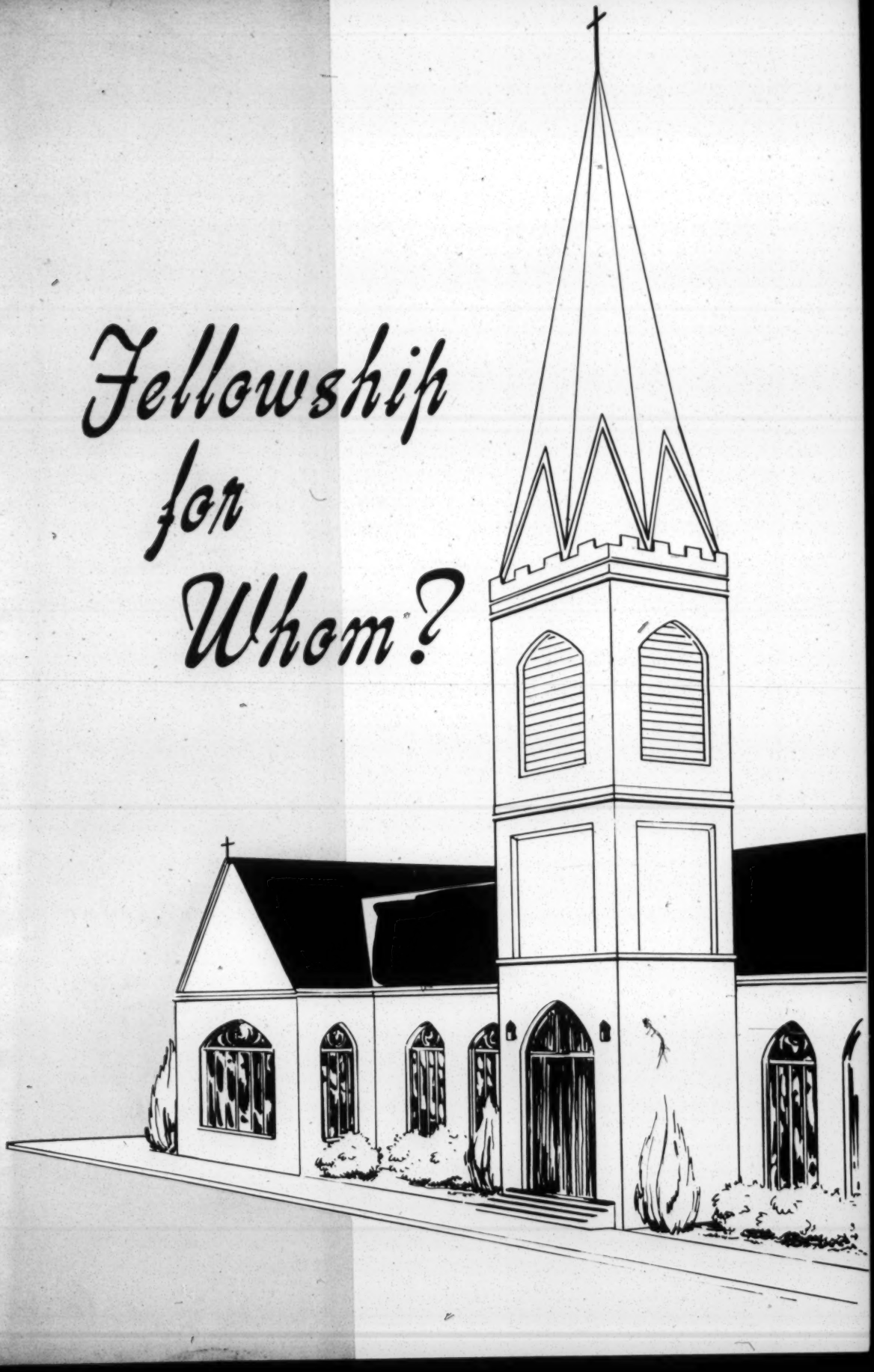
Fellowship for Whom?



FELLOWSHIP FOR WHOM?

A Study of Racial Inclusiveness in Congregational Christian Churches

HERMAN H. LONG

A REPORT BY THE

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
DIVISION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND
THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS OF THE
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

IN CO-OPERATION WITH

THE COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL ACTION

AND THE

RESEARCH OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS

287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

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JOURNAL

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CHRISTIANITY AND RACE

BOOK REVIEWS

SUMMER SCHOOL 1958

SPRING NUMBER: 1958

Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

'Out of Conviction'

A SECOND STATEMENT

on the

SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS

signed by 312 Ministers
of
Greater Atlanta

Printed by
GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

THE SECOND STATEMENT

Three hundred and twelve Ministers and Rabbis of the Greater Atlanta area, acting as individual citizens issued a statement on November 22nd, 1958, calling for the preservation of the public school system. Sixteen different denominations are represented among the signers. The text of the statement follows:

On November 3, 1957, a statement dealing with the racial crisis in the South, and signed by eighty Atlanta ministers, was released for publication. The fact that this statement, often referred to as "The Atlanta Manifesto", received widespread publicity through the secular and religious press, radio, and television, not only in the South but across the nation and abroad, was an eloquent commentary upon the nature of the crisis in which we are involved and upon the failure of many of our leaders to confront the problems of our day in a spirit of realism.

Six principles set forth in this statement as essential to the solution of our problem may be summarized as follows:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.

2. As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.

3. The Public School System must not be destroyed.

4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.

5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.

6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

The months which have elapsed since the signing of that statement have been a period of deepening danger. The events of the recent past have been such as to call for growing concern on the part of all responsible citizens. In the light of these events, we are more convinced than ever of the fundamental truth of these six principles. It is abundantly clear that they cannot be ignored with impunity.

Because of our involvement in this situation, as citizens and religious leaders, it has seemed to many Atlanta clergymen that some further statement on their part is appropriate. Out of that conviction comes this second statement. Once more we speak as individual citizens of Georgia and of the United States, having authority to represent no one other than ourselves. Once more we speak in humility and penitence. At the same time, we speak out of the deep conviction of our souls as to what is right. We believe some facts are now so clear as to throw additional light upon the problems which confront us.

I. It is clearer now than ever before that, at all costs, freedom of speech must be preserved. During the year which has past, it has not become easier to speak the truth concerning our situation. There are still forces which seek to deny freedom of thought and of expression to all who do not insist upon maintaining a rigid pattern of segregation. Economic reprisals, social ostracism, and even physical violence are constant threats to those who do not conform. Such threats strike at the very heart of democracy. As we insist upon the right of honest conviction — whether right or wrong — to be heard, we would pay tribute to the courageous individuals and groups in various walks of life who have insisted that our problem must be faced in a spirit of realism, of sanity, and of good will.

II. It is clearer now than ever before that we must obey the law. Those who insist that the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in the public schools has no binding force do great injury to our people. The Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution has the effect of law in our country. It is possible for that Court to err, just as it is possible for Congress to enact bad laws. The citizens of our country have the right to work through legal processes to secure the correction of judicial errors or the repeal of undesirable legislation. They do not have the right to defy laws simply because they personally hold them to be unwise or harmful. A policy of obeying only those laws or those rulings of the Court with which we agree leads inevitably to anarchy. It is time for us to face up to the fact that, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, made in the discharge of its constitutional authority, enforced segregation in the public schools is now without support in, and contrary to, national law. At times in her history the Church has opposed civil law in the name of the claims of the higher laws of God. However, we believe that the Constitution of the United States in its provisions for human rights is in accord with Divine Law, and we must, therefore, learn to live with and under the law.

We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than of force. There are some areas in which some integration in schools at this time would be possible without insurmountable difficulty, as has already been demonstrated in certain sections of the South; while there are other areas where such integration would involve needless hardship and grave danger. We have the hope that, if our leaders will offer evidence of good faith toward providing constitutional rights for all citizens, the federal government will be willing to leave the working out of details in local hands. We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

III. It is clearer now than ever before that the Public School System must be preserved. Many of our people have been led to believe that through some ficticious legal device we could close our public schools and still provide for public education through tax funds. Recent developments in Arkansas and Virginia serve to make it abundantly clear that any such hope is based solely upon wishful thinking. The choice which confronts us now is either the end of an enforced segregation in public schools or no public schools whatever. We are alarmed to note that many political leaders are apparently willing to offer no better solution than the closing of public schools and the destruction of public education in order to maintain what has been inappropriately described as "our sacred way of life". It is inconceivable that the South should deliberately destroy its dearly bought system of public education. The results of such action in the impoverishment of countless lives, in the loss to our section, even from a purely economic, ,viewpoint would be a tragedy of the first magnitude. It is not likely that the South would ever recover fully from the consequences of such action. Obviously, the closing of the public schools means a small and favored portion of our youth would be educated in private institutions, while the great majority, White and Negro, would recieve no school training worthy of the name. No democratic society can tolerate that situation, nor do we believe our citizens wish to sacrifice the welfare of our youth.

In this connection we would voice an emphatic protest against any suggestion that church property be used as a means of circumventing the law of the nation. The churches and synagogues owe a tremendous debt to the State and this we believe they would gladly repay in any legitimate way possible. There are times when the educational equipment of the churches should be offered to supplement the public school buildings in providing space for our growing school population, provided that the separation of Church and State shall always be recognized and maintained in such an agreement. We concur that churches and synagogues have the right, as they have always had, to engage as they may deem wise in educational enterprise in the interest of their constituencies. We believe, however, their facilities should not be offered nor demanded as a means for defying the constituted authority of our national government.

IV. It is clearer now than ever before that hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own can never be justified. All hatred between races and groups within society carries with it the constant threat of violence and bloodshed, as has been evidenced by the bombing of churches, synagogues, and schools even while this statement was being prepared. Defiance of one law leads to disrespect for all law. We would call upon our political leaders scrupulously to avoid the type of inflammatory utterance which has characterized too many public pronouncements in recent months and to exert an influence for sanity, for justice, and for kindness. We believe that multitudes of voters in the South as in all America are far more prepared to respond to and support fair-minded and statesmanlike attitudes and policies in political life than these men have realized. In any event, political power is by no means so important as to justify its attainment by the sacrifice of justice, of kindness, and of truth, and by the unleashing of these emotions which threaten the very life of our people.

V. It is clearer now than ever before that communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained. The time of danger is also the time of opportunity. It may well be that we are passing through that darkest hour which comes just before the dawn. Never has there been greater need than now for men of good will in both races to voice their convictions, to exert their influence, and to maintain open lines of communication. We are heartened by the intelligent concern and struggle of an increasing number of groups who are facing the issue and its implications. We are likewise heartened by the constructive results which are coming from those lines of communication which do exist between the races.

VI. It is clearer now than ever before that our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer, obedience to God, and under His blessing. The situation which confronts us is one which calls for sincere penitence, for earnest prayer, for clear thought, and for courageous action.

o

Believing sincerely in the principles set forth in this statement, we therefore propose the following practical steps:

1. We appeal to our churches and synagogues to encourage and promote within their fellowship a free and intelligent discussion of the issues we confront. We believe such discussion should and would give careful consideration to the moral, spiritual, and legal aspects of the crisis we face in our beloved Southland.

2. We appeal to our community and state leaders to give their most creative thought to maintaining a sound public school plan. Such plan must be consistant with the law of the land, respect and preserve the rights of all citizens, and assure the preservation of our system of public education.

3. We request the appointment of a Citizens' Commission to preserve the harmony of our community. The public officials of our city have earned the tribute of the nation for their refusal to condone violence and their efforts to realize worthy race relations. We believe that in the future the need will be great for the support of calm, intelligent public opinion. Atlanta possesses business, civic, educational, legal, political, and religious leadership of the quality to afford this support. We therefore request that representatives of this leadership from the races involved be formed into a Citizens' Commission to advise and assist in maintaining harmony and good will among all our citizens.

Every section of our state also possesses the same able leadership. We therefore believe that the appointment of a similar Citizens' Commission by the state administration would serve to preserve harmony among the citizens of Georgia.

o

We call upon all citizens to unite with us in dedicating ourselves to the solution of our problems humbly, patiently, in a spirit of realism, and with God's help.

Signed by:

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Aiken, Paul
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Allen, L. Clyde
Allen, Reuben T., Jr.
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The Agony of the Southern Minister

In most cases, he is pressed between his conscience, which dictates racial tolerance, and members of his congregation, who have set their faces against even token integration.

By RALPH McGILL

ATLANTA.

IN the 131-year-old city of Columbus, Ga., a town on the bank of the Chattahoochee River with a population of 85,000 whites and 40,000 Negroes, the Rev. Mr. Robert Blakely McNeill, 44, endured with faith and patience the slow progress of convalescence following a coronary suffered June 10.

His severe physical shock came just three days after a spiritual one. A judicial commission of the Southeast Georgia Presbytery had dismissed him from the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church, its chairman reading the brief, almost curt, notice from the pulpit Mr. McNeill had filled for six and a half years.

Seven long months before, the same commission, after a request for a hearing by seven of the congregation, had said that the racial issue was the central one behind the opposition to the pastor. According to Rob McNeill's friends, this "Spanish-Inquisition-like hostility" was fostered by a hard core of "about fifty church members."

Actually, Rob McNeill, Alabama-born, Southern-reared and educated, had never once used his pulpit to urge integration. Even his most bitter enemies admit as much. But in an article published in Look magazine in May, 1957, he had advocated a moderate course of creative contact between the races as a necessary approach to racial harmony and Christian duty. He emphasized that he rejected sexual and contrived social mixing. But he also made it plain he had meant that Negroes should, and must, be accepted in the administration of community affairs.

FROM that day on, there were those in his congregation who, for these mild statements, remorselessly set out to drive him from the church. By June they were appealing to the Presbytery. Statements like these were heard, "No nigger will ever darken the door of the church," and, "If a nigger comes, I go."

It was even reported that some of the more relentless opponents among the 1,200 professed Christians in the congregation were heard to say, on learning of the coronary that brought Mr. McNeill close to death, that the Lord finally had "taken care of him." Others, seemingly dismayed at the possibility that the illness might create sympathy, said, "It's a fake attack."

However, Rob McNeill was not alone. Members of his congregation manned a reception table outside his hospital room in two-hour shifts from early morning until late at night to greet and register visitors and to protect him from intruders. There were special prayers in hundreds of homes, and his wife and three children, who suffered their share of vile language and death threats by phone, were never without friends.

McNeill's supporters agreed then that he must go to another pastorate, though they longed to confront his opposition in a further church hearing. He was, at the time of his heart attack, considering a call to a large Charleston, W. Va., church, but was unwilling to surrender to the malignant forces against him. But now he has accepted.

A leader among those who opposed him is quoted as saying, "Now we must find a preacher with the right kind of religion."

This story of Robert McNeill, Christian minister in the Deep South, who sought to have his own life reflect the two great commandments of love as specifically designated by his Master, is—save for the heart attack and the drama of his unexpected public firing—not an unusual one in the South. In varying degrees it is shared by all Southern ministers and priests who have the courage to take even the most moderate of positions on racial integration. Pressure from some of the congregational leaders, ostracism and obstruction, repeated telephone calls in the dead of night, ugly, whispered filth, threats of violence and death inspired by minds stewing with God alone knows what evil—these are all part of a pattern familiar to the ministers of Southern churches who try to take the attitude of tolerance required by Christianity, the ethics of Western civilization, the Constitution and courts of the United States and their own national church organizations.

Despite the virulence of the attacks upon them, these moderate ministers do not, in general, take the position that each church should have a thoroughly mixed congregation. That is not likely to come about in the South any more than it has or will soon in the North; social and economic patterns of community life preclude it, quite aside from the integration controversy.

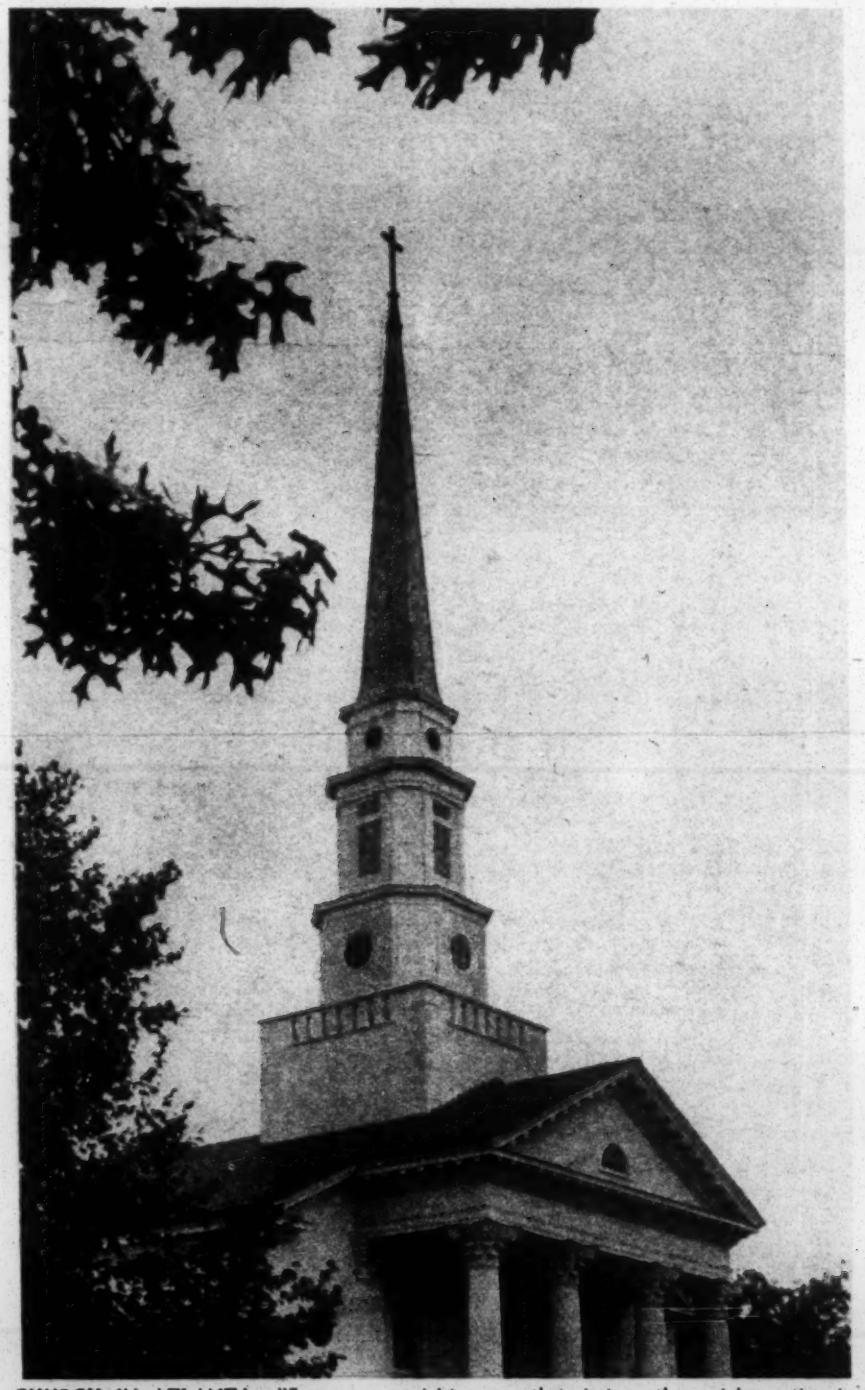
THE stand these ministers do take is twofold: First, Christians and Christian churches should, as a matter of principle, be in the forefront of the forces working for racial tolerance and obedience to the law, particularly in the matter of public school integration. Second, as a token of this principle, white congregations should cease to reject the very thought of a Negro crossing the threshold; although Negroes need not be admitted to full membership, any who wish to worship should be welcomed.

The basic position of the moderates was set forth in November, 1957, by eighty Atlanta ministers who issued what came to be known as a manifesto calling for communication between the races, maintenance of public schools and obedience to law and the courts. A year later 311 ministers and a rabbi representing sixteen denominations in the Atlanta area, issued a stronger statement along the same lines, the principles of which the Catholic Bishop publicly endorsed. In many other Southern states, ministers and church organizations have published similar assertions of principles.

The views of these Southern moderates are, in every case, fully in keeping with the official policies of national church bodies. No such organization—Protestant, Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox or Jewish—today supports segregation in principle or practice.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, after the U. S. Supreme Court's school decision in 1954, took a forthright, official position in support of it. In subsequent years it reaffirmed it and firmly put down all attempts to repeal that resolution. The National Conference of the Methodist Church has made a similar affirmation.

THE Southern Baptist Convention—representing by far the largest Southern denomination—met in St. Louis in June, 1954, and adopted a five-point resolution recognizing that "this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the Constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men." In its 1959 convention in *(Continued on Page 57)*



CHURCH IN ATLANTA—"Every aware minister sees that, just as the racial question is the greatest political issue before the world today so it is the greatest Christian issue."

RALPH McGILL, the editor of The Atlanta Constitution, won a Pulitzer Prize earlier this year for his distinguished editorial writing.

Agony of the Southern Minister

(Continued from Page 16)

Louisville, Ky., the convention beat down attemps to repeal this resolution and also heard retiring president Brooks Hays —the former Congressman from Little Rock who was defeated for re-election because of his moderate racial position —read a report denying scriptural basis for the separation of the races.

Bishops of the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches have, without exception, ordered that every person is welcome in the House of God. When a Roman Catholic layman's organization in New Orleans angrily and publicly defied a local Church order against segregation and appealed directly to the Pope, the Vatican took a "serious and most unsympathetic view" of the appeal. A high Vatican source said "the Church is unalterably opposed to all forms of discrimination — in New Orleans as much as in South Africa."

Such policy statements by national and regional church organizations are, of course, gratifying. They provide a necessary yardstick. Nor is it fair to say they are without influence at the church or parish level. But church congregations — particularly the dominant Protestant ones of the South — either have or assume considerable local authority.

MOST of them harbor an element—perhaps only a minority, but a potent one—who will never agree that a Negro should be admitted to a white church. These all-out segregationists unhesitatingly put the separation of the races ahead of Christian teaching, law or moral principle.

With an example before them of public officials' defiance of the courts on school integration, they find it easier to bomb churches and schools, to defy Christian teaching and church policies and to make life miserable, if not impossible, for any minister who seeks to follow his conscience, secular law and church policy. Publications by extremist states' rights groups and White Citizens Councils repeatedly urge that "weak-kneed preachers" be "whipped into line" by the withholding of contributions. They sneer at the clergy of all faiths, saying, "Money talks and they all listen."

Lay attacks on ministers rarely are so open as that which attracted national attention in Columbus, Ga. For the most part, they take the form of relentless, petty harassments and slow destruction of the pastor's program. Some of the "big givers" reduce their pledges and let their dislike become known. Some move to another church where the "religion" is the "right kind." Or the meeting of the church board will produce budget wrangles and decisions which, while not so stated, have the effect of negating the pastor's program.

WHEN, for example, the congregation of an Atlanta church, sensing the intention of some hostile members to reduce their giving, bestirred itself to extra effort and sacrifice and turned in the full amount of the budget anyhow, the board suddenly found a need for an expensive addition to the physical equipment of the church. By this and other devices, the board so depleted the budget that the pastor's program was wrecked.

One of the largest Methodist churches in Georgia had a strongly worded resolution offered at an April meeting of the stewards which called for the instant dismissal of any church officials (including the pastor) or Sunday school teachers using the facilities of the church to practice or advocate integration. It was defeated—but the chairman of the board said the vote did not mean the church would permit Negroes to attend.

THUS ministers are squeezed between the dictates of conscience and church policy, on the one hand, and the prejudices of those who "run" the church, on the other. Save for the so-called "Bible floggers," the Ku Klux chaplain breed, and those who are sure that God himself is chief among segregationists, this is a time of agony of spirit for the ministers of sensitive heart and mind.

"We are all in a long period of Gethsemane," said one recently. "And once again Judas is with us."

Every minister with any shred of awareness sees that, just as the racial issue is the greatest political issue before the world today, so it is for Christianity. If the first great commandment of Jesus, and the second which is "like unto it," have no validity in the minds of church members, then the churches are finished, or eventually will be.

"The thing that gets me," said one minister who has taken a moderate stand, "is the silence I encounter. I go and expose myself to members of my congregation who I know to be in opposition, so that we may talk. They won't. The silence is worst.

"Then, too, it is uncomfortable to see successful business and professional men, who have been old friends and strong financial props, suddenly become cold and aloof because one voices the opinion that a colored person is a child of God and has a right to worship in any of God's houses. You want to kneel and pray with these men or to put your arms around them and say, 'Please, what is it in your hearts that makes you so stubborn and afraid?' But today too many men are wrapped in the armor of unreasonable fears and anger."

Many ministers sorrowfully note another effect of the church's position on desegregation. It is that many people today love their church, but not Christ and the faith He taught.

"It had never occurred to me," said one, as he talked of it, with genuine grief in his voice, "that for so many people the church was the building, the meeting with old friends, the association in the women's organizations, and that Christ meant little, if anything. But it is true. There is a great gulf between what some mean when they say they love the church and what another means for whom Christ has validity. It saddens me to learn how many persons do not want Christ to intrude on them, indeed will not permit it, if He makes them uncomfortable."

A sense of shame and self-accusation is especially noticeable among younger ministers, encountering for the first time the harshness of some older men whom they had regarded as great Christian lay leaders. They have stories to tell which, while sometimes wryly humorous, are always sad with disillusionment.

MANY a minister today is holding on in a Southern church, developing a technique of survival, merely because he does not want to desert those in the congregation who depend on him and need him. Still others remain, believing that time and God are working together in their behalf.

There are some grounds for this optimism. Slowly but surely, if not always clearly, one may see at work among lay groups the influence of Christian ministers courageous enough, and with status enough to counter some of the fanaticism. More and more individuals, and a slow procession of churches, are making the decision that houses of worship should be open to all seeking God. It will be slow, in some areas tortuously so, but it will come. It will come most slowly of all in those Deep South states where there is sure to be the closing of public schools over the same issue. But there are a few churches even there which welcome Negroes to mass and to worship.

ALTHOUGH no Southern church is integrated in the true sense of the word, almost every Southern city has one or two churches to which Negroes come with some regularity. So far the doors are open mainly in Catholic churches, although beginnings toward desegregation are evident in some others. This development is limited entirely to the cities; solid opposition to integration persists in rural areas.

As some things cannot be measured in dollars and cents, just so the impact of all that has happened, and is in progress, in this field of race, religion and church, cannot be put down in statistics or any sort of box score. It is something which involves the heart, mind and adrenal glands.

An example of what could be called an awakening, or impact, is the experience of a Methodist Church congregation in Georgia whose minister has recently accepted a call to a large church in the Southwest. The board of deacons had harassed him for more than a year without ever making the harassment overt. It had depleted his budget unnecessarily. It had dismissed his assistant and otherwise frustrated his program.

The pastor believed most of the members were on his side, but he did not feel he could appeal to them over the heads of his board. The board was, as usual, made up largely of the major financial contributors.

SOME few of these had come to him privately to protest and argue that his policy of being willing to admit Negroes to worship was wrecking the church and to urge him to renounce it. Some treated him with contemptuous condescension, saying he was just trying to attain publicity at the expense of the church. One, who said he wanted to talk to him "like a father," appealed to him not to ruin his career by being so radical.

Still another board member, a man of considerable wealth, asked him to his office. "I like you," he said, "but you have outlived your usefulness. I will give you $5,000 if you will resign quietly and go elsewhere. It will be a matter between us. No one will know." The minister managed to restrain his anger, refused, and quietly walked out.

The pastor stayed on for about a year. Then, to prevent a tragic, open break, he resigned. He himself did not know what the impact of the affair had been on his congregation. But soon afterward an excited, happy member came to him and said, "We had a meeting to discuss your replacement. And you know, we found that we have just about fifty-three die-hard segregationists in our congregation of more than 2,000. We are going to engage a man with convictions like yours."

Other congregations are slowly learning more about themselves. Without question, the controversy over desegregation is causing soul-searching; the result in the months and years ahead may be to break the race barriers in most churches.

THOSE ministers who have come to grips with this problem see the church as fulfilling its greatest role in the years ahead — that of binding up the spiritual wounds, and of moving mankind another inch or so forward toward a brotherhood of man, under God, so that this nation, or any nation so dedicated, can and shall have a new birth of freedom.

The pastor of one large Southern church has said: "We are all integrated * * * every one of our churches is integrated. The faces in the pews may all be white. But the Negro is there. He is present in the anger and guilt of some of the congregation. He is present in the consciences of many. He is present in the fears of the ushers who wait each Sunday to see if he will come. He waits in the wings, invisible, but present just the same.

"God is at work. Some of the churches may become private clubs and establish rigid rules against the presence of nonmembers. They will never be happy. They will never know peace. We are all integrated and here is nothing we can do about it save ask God's grace to make us see it."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

NOTABLE ADDRESSES

THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSION

by
THE REV. CORNELIUS C. TARPLEE

Associate Secretary for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church

When we speak of areas of racial tension, most of us in the United States think immediately of the South. But we need to be reminded that racial tension extends over the face of the earth. For decades now, the have-not peoples of the world have been in revolt against the domination of western civilization. The nine-tenths of the world's population which is colored has been throwing off the white man's yoke so firmly imposed during the last century. Most of the titanic struggle which we call the cold war has centered around the struggle between the USSR and the democracies for the support of the people of Africa and Asia. It is therefore necessary to think of the racial tensions of our age in world-wide terms.

An address given before the National Convocation of the Church in Town and Country in Louisville, Kentucky, October 20, 1959.

Inextricably related to the world situation, the race relations crisis in America is really more than racial. All minority groups are involved. It has been estimated that there are over 750,000 Puerto Ricans in New York City alone and the migration continues unabated. Hundreds of thousands of Mexicans present critical problems in the Southwest and far West as they find themselves in economic conflict with the day laborers of the majority group. Although relatively few in number, the American Indians pose their own particular problem as they move off the reservations into the cities. The largest minority group of all, the American Negro, now estimated at almost 19,000,000 strong, actually represents the majority of the population in some of the counties of every Southern state. In spite of this large resident population, a tremendous migration northward and cityward has swelled the Negro population of our urban centers to a phenomenal degree. The city proper of Washington, D.C. is now well over 50% Negro. Between 1940 and 1950 the non-white urban population of our chief cities increased as follows: Baltimore from about 19% to 24%; Boston 2% to 5%; Buffalo 2% to 7%; Chicago 9% to 14%; Cleveland 10% to 16%. In all the cities, the Negroes increased from about 9% in 1940 to 14% in 1950. Since that time the increase has been even more marked. Harlem, in the heart of New York City, is the largest Negro city in the world. Racial tensions in the South have centered mostly around public school desegregation and the struggle over the right to vote. Those of the North grow out of over-crowded and slum-ridden ghettoes, with dramatic manifestations of juvenile crime and violence. The struggle centers over the Negro's need for open-occupancy housing and fair employment.

The Southerner is quite right when he points out that racial tensions and even violence are not confined to the South. The North has such problems as the affair at Levittown, the excursion boat riot in Buffalo, riots and threats of riots in Chicago, and so forth. Where there exists in the South a predominant pattern of legalized segregation, the North witnesses much de facto segregation and covert prejudice. Certainly in regard to race relations no one section of the country can point the self-righteous and accusing finger at

any other section. Even the small towns of the Northwest, which have seldom seen more than an occasional Negro, must come to terms with what has been done and is being done to the American Indian.

On the other hand, those of us who live in the South constantly reveal our over-sensitivity to the protests of our fellow citizens throughout the nation. In a very real sense what happens in New York City or in Little Rock or in Mississippi or in Alabama or in Levittown, Pennsylvania, happens to the whole country. Lawlessness, injustice, and discrimination are a national responsibility. Dramatic evidence of this can be seen in the reaction of the people of Europe to our conflicts and tensions. They see these things in terms of what goes on in the United States, not as something occurring in some local community or neighborhood. Strangely enough, many Southern church leaders have insisted that not only should "outsiders" let the South alone, but that the challenge which faces each denomination on a local level should not be the concern and responsibility of the whole church. A Southern religious leader recently wrote, in regard to the series of incidents surrounding the Koinonia Farm in Georgia: "Please be assured that this matter is very much on the hearts of Christian people in Georgia. At the same time, I must say that many of us feel that the less said by people out of the South about it, the more influence our Southern clergymen are able to exert."

We cannot claim that the church has always stood against enforced segregation, nor has it raised a consistent voice against discrimination or even slavery. The first Negro slaves arrived on the shores of Virginia in 1619. There were twenty of them and there was at that time no differentiation between those twenty and the white indentured servants. As the slave trade increased, the vast majority of these human commodities were Negroes from Africa. The number of indentured servants brought in from England and the continent diminished. The concept of bondage for the Negro changed. He was thought of as common chattel, perpetually enslaved, rather than as an indentured servant who could work for his

freedom. Slavery became such an institution in the South that even Negroes who had arrived as free men and those who at an early time worked out their period of indenture, sometimes prospered to the extent that they owned their own slaves. Slavery, having developed into an institution, needed to be justified and given moral sanction. As the newborn culture moved ahead, the church played an important part in providing the justification for a slavery-based society. In a book recently published by the American Friends Service Committee, **Race and Conscience in America**[1], seven points are listed as basic arguments for slavery. They were, in whole or in part, accepted by many people in the North and the South and they lie at the heart of the white man's anti-Negro prejudices today. The authors of the booklet list the seven allegations as follows:

1. The Negro was benefited by slavery because it brought him out of savagery into the blessings of Western culture;
2. Plantation life was an ideal patriarchal society;
3. The Negro was happy in slavery and did not want to be free;
4. The Negro was unfit mentally and morally for freedom;
5. It was only those Negroes with a mixture of white blood who had initiative and intelligence;
6. Negroes are not really human;
7. Slavery was good for Negroes because it gave them the the benefit of Christian religion.

The stereotype of the American Negro as lazy, child-like, carefree, irresponsible, and amoral found its way into the very core of American folkways. J. C. Furnas, in his book **Goodbye to Uncle Tom**[2], describes how even Harriet Beecher Stowe, while fighting against slavery, accepted uncritically the Negro stereotype and

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[1] **Race and Conscience in America**, prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959, pp. 9-12.

[2] Furnas, J. C. **Goodbye to Uncle Tom.** N. Y.: William Sloan Associates, 1956.

opened the door for these crude and naive distortions to be grafted into the literature and the entertainment world of our country.

Although the Christian church both in the North and in the South produced prophetic voices of protest against these cultural patterns and prejudices, we must agree with Kyle Haselden who, in his interesting and informative book **The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective**[3], points out that the Christian church has been all along the purveyor of "arrant sedatives" in regard to the white man's dealings with the Negro. In other words, it helped to provide and to propagate the ideology and rationalization which the culture needed for its peace of mind. Haselden goes on in another chapter to develop the case against the church as being not only the handmaiden of the culture in this respect but also, he asserts, as playing a major role in the development of a curious pattern of manners and morals which he calls "immoral moralities[4]." As Haselden sees it, the church accepted in the main the sweeping generalities ascribed to the Negro's essential character, and then helped to develop a personal morality as well as a social ethic based upon the double standards emerging from these assumptions.

One of the results of this development, which was discernible 100 years ago, remains to plague us today. Our insistence upon the right and duty of "choosing our own companions" is subject to tragic distortions when the principle is applied uncritically to such common meeting grounds as the places where our civil liberties are exercised—the market place, the polling booth, public conveyances, schools, and public meeting places.[5]

Dr. James Silver has pointed out in his book, **Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda**[6], how thoroughly the church in the South supported the secessionist cause and thereby of course not

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[3] Haselden, Kyle, **The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective.** N. Y.: Harper Bros., 1959, chapter 2.

[4] **Op. cit.**, chapter 3.

[5] Statement of laymen of Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, reported in the Lynchburg **Daily Advance**, February 2, 1960.

[6] Silver, James W. **Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda**, Confederate Centennial Studies, number 3. Tuscaloosa (Ala.): Confederate Publishing Co., 1957.

only supported the principle of states' rights and other ideals but also made its contribution to the defense of slavery. Those of us who have experienced a second world war and lived in the close memory of the first, know how the church is used in every culture and every nation to provide motivation and moral support in the nation's defense. Nor would it be hard to discover many instances in which in the North the Northern cause was identified with the course of righteousness and the will of God. The fact, however, remains that the church's resources were at the disposal of Southern culture from the moment of its early beginnings through its days of bloodiest tragedy and well into the decades when, after the Reconstruction, the South devised new structures for old in the area of racial segregation.

It is small wonder that as the churchman on the street finds so little support in the churches for his conviction as to the rightness of segregation, he is baffled and moved to bitterness. As this loyal Southerner—by intention loyal both to church and culture—encounters a clear declaration by every major denomination that enforced segregation and political and economic discrimination are morally indefensible, he feels let down. He is assured by his own inner processes as well as by the editorials and eloquence of a large segment of the Southern press, politicians, and public leaders that this is not the church of his grandfathers—"the old time religion." He feels that sociological and anthropological elements have corrupted the religion which undergirded the gracious halcyon days of ante-bellum plantation existence. The church which upheld the arm of his hero-grandfather at Shiloh and at Gettysburg now opposes his "massive resistance."

This Southern layman of all our denominations has learned to hate and fear Communism. He has heard vaguely of modernism and liberalism in Biblical interpretation. Although he doesn't understand socialism he is quite sure that it is synonymous with Communism. Some newspaper editorial he has read has inveighed against the "social gospel." These must be the elements which have infiltrated the faith of his fathers and subverted his church. He therefore joins in the public outcry against race-mixing preachers while he joins

the burgeoning White Citizens' Councils. Sometimes he even throws in his lot with the resurgent Ku Klux Klan. He votes extreme racists into office and passes bizarre and impractical legislation. Serving on such grand juries as that of DeKalb County, Georgia, he joins in its findings: "If the preachers of our county spent more time in teaching religion instead of occupying themselves with race-mixing, there would be less juvenile delinquency in our county."

There is that element within the church which always tends to identify the church with the culture, and thus to water down its rigorous ethical demands upon society and the individual. We have tried to indicate some of the results of this tendency. On the other hand, as we have already implied, the Judeo-Christian tradition has always contained an element of prophetic protest which subjects the culture to constant reappraisal and brings even the church itself, as an institution, into the focus of that judgment implicit in God's eternal principles. In the American church such voices of protest against the evils of slavery and other racial injustice as those of Fox, Woolman, Garrison, Whittier, and Channing emerged. The South itself produced many voices critical of slavery and secession and against many other forms of discrimination. Speaking in Nashville, Tennessee in 1878, David Lipscomb of the Church of Christ proclaimed:

> We believe it is sinful to have two congregations in the same community for persons of different races. That race prejudice would cause trouble in the churches we know. It did this in apostolic days. Yet not once did the apostles suggest that they should form separate congregations for the different races. Instead, they always admonished them to unity, forbearance, love and brotherhood in Christ Jesus.[7]

Even though the church as an institution seemed to adapt itself to the prevailing manners and morals and to the slave economy, at least it can be said that there is evidence of the church's leader-

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[7] Quoted by the Rev. Will Campbell in a sermon at Vanderbilt Chapel, May 6, 1959.

ship in demanding humane treatment of the slaves. Within that paternalistic system a great many if not most of the slaves in the South received good physical treatment. Such men as Bishop Leonidas Polk insisted upon the Christian marriage of slaves, who were often mated rather than married.

After the Reconstruction most of the denominations exercised a very real concern for Negro education. Schools, vocational training institutions, and colleges for Negroes in the South were largely the result of church influence and church endowment. Such organizations devoted to Negro welfare as the National Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People derived much of their founding support from church leaders. The Southern Regional Council, devoted to seeking the betterment of Southern society through better human relations, has always numbered among its Board members outstanding denominational heads. Many individual churchmen and church bodies, particularly the church women, were major influences in the virtual elimination of lynching. Various clergymen personally confronted lynch mobs and successfully forestalled lynching attempts.

By the time of the Supreme Court decision of 1954 a number of influences had affected the attitude and the understanding of church leaders, particularly the clergy. Some of these were:

1. A re-awakened emphasis on the unity of the Bible as the word of God, and its authority in Christian thought;

2. This led, after World War I, to a renascence of those theological influences that emphasized the doctrines of redemption, the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the Church, and the Kingdom of God. There has been a general development in the direction of greater faith in God's overlordship of history and less optimism about man's innate goodness and the self-authenticating nature of history;

3. The rapid development of articulate Negro leadership both within the Negro churches and in secular life;

4. The phenomenal progress of Negroes in business, states-

manship, scholarship, and the entertainment fields;

5. The dispelling of stereotypes, superstitions, and sweeping generalities through scientific research;

6. The growth of a climate in which change in the direction of realizing more civil rights became a practical possibility. A well-known prayer goes as follows:

> "O God, help us to endure with patience that which cannot be changed; and to work without ceasing to accomplish that which can be changed; and the wisdom to know the difference."

Through many developments, not the least of which was the Supreme Court decision itself, the times have made current the feasibility of change;

7. The improvement of seminaries and the generally higher level of theological and pre-theological training for the clergy of all denominations. It couldn't be an accident that in the present crisis, Southern clergy overwhelmingly favor desegregation whereas most of their lay brethren, children of the same culture, are of opposite persuasion.

The now famous Supreme Court decision of 1954 which outlawed enforced segregation in public schools had a stunning effect on the South. Reaction ranged from cries of outrage and immediate resistance to counsels of patience and watchfulness. Under the leadership of such Southern politicians as Senators Eastland and Byrd, the Southern Manifesto gave notice of large scale and organized Southern resistance to implementation of the Supreme Court decree. Massive resistance became the order of the day. We are all familiar with the details of this more than five year old struggle.

At the time of the decision, the General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America[8] adopted a statement in

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[8] All quotations except the last are taken from **Just, Right, and Necessary.** N. Y.: National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1955, pp. 21-25. The last is from **Bridge Building in Race Relations.** N. Y.: National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1957, p. 7, p. 3.

which it declared that "the decision gives a clear status to a fundamental Christian and American principle." The United Church Women of 15 Southern states, meeting in Atlanta, adopted a similar statement in support of the Supreme Court decision.

Individually, every major denomination either at that time or later has made statements asserting the essentially Christian character of the decision and calling for support and implementation of the decision.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church: Hailed the decision as "vindicating the time-honored position of the AME church in proclaiming the absolute equality of all men before God."

The African Methodist Church Zion through its Board of Education called upon the leaders of the church to help "create the climate of public opinion favorable to desegregation in every form of American life."

The American Baptist Convention commended the Court decision, affirmed the Christian principle of the worth and dignity of each person, and urged "American Baptists to increase their opposition to other areas of segregation."

The Southern Baptist Convention declared that it recognized "the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men."

The Roman Catholic Church through its Southern Bishops said, "We sincerely hope that the day will come when the ideal of Christian brotherhood will displace from our Southern scene all traces of the blight of racism. Let us Catholics, true to our convictions, set the pattern."

The Church of the Brethren passed a resolution hailing the decision, and urging members of the church to "lead out in effecting these social changes in every area of our life."

The Congregational Christian Church recalled its repeated summons "for a non-segregated church in a non-segregated society."

The Methodist Church through many of its Southern conferences has made various statements; for instance, the Western North Carolina Conference reaffirmed the 1952 Declaration of the General Conference that "to discriminate against a person solely upon the basis of his race is both unfair and unchristian. Every child of God is entitled to the place in society which he has won by his industry and character."

The Presbyterian Church, U.S. called upon its constituent bodies and institutions to abolish segregation wherever it is practiced.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church approved by resolution the Court's decision and instructed its Board of Missions and Evangelism "to prepare and distribute materials which will aid in orienting ministers and churches in how to meet the issues arising from the decision of the Supreme Court."

The Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. reaffirmed the position against segregation which it maintains.

The Protestant Episcopal Church, in a resolution passed by the General Convention of 1955, commended "to all the clergy and people of this church that they accept and support this ruling of the Supreme Court . . ."; and the Pastoral Letter of the House of Bishops the same year said, "Before God and men we can make no case for contempt and assumptions of racial superiority."

In the South, clergy groups of various cities have made forthright statements of principle. Individual witness by word and deed requires even greater courage. Instances of such solitary testimonies of conviction are far too numerous to list, even in a far longer paper, but one recalls the lone clergyman in Texas who faced a mob and was saved from bodily harm only by the intervention of Texas Rangers;

. . . . . the young parson who faced another angry mob on the campus at Tuscaloosa in behalf of Autherine Lucy;

. . . . . the preacher who walked through the streets of Clinton, Tennessee, on the way to school with the newly enrolled Negro children, in the face of a hostile populace;

. . . . . the preacher in South Carolina who, after a member of his congregation was beaten by masked men, declared in his sermon, "fear covers South Carolina like the frost. It kills the tender shoots of new growth. It chills the hearts of men . . . let all Godly people rally to the cause. Let us in the power of Christ have done with injustice and intimidation";

. . . . . the five clergymen, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian, who in publishing the booklet **South Carolinians Speak** said, "As Christian pastors of various denominations we believe that our commitment to Jesus Christ calls us to minister to the sicknesses of society as well as to the ills of individuals";

. . . . . the Mississippi preacher who, at a Christmas midnight service, laid aside his prepared sermon to bare his heart before his people in grief over events in that state;

. . . . . the courageous few at Koinonia farm in Americus, Georgia, who have miraculously escaped dozens of murderous attacks;

. . . . . the minister who refused the demand of his vestry that he resign because he had ministered to a man, beaten by an unknown assailant because of his stand on race;

. . . . . the lady in South Carolina whose house was dynamited in reprisal for her published statement in regard to race relations;

. . . . . Sarah Patton Boyle, for whom a cross was burned because of a published article in the **Saturday Evening Post;**

. . . . . Brooks Hayes, Martin Luther King, Jr., Will D. Campbell, Robert B. McNeill, Dan Whitsett, and others.

While circumstance and impulses from within have led these people to such manifestations of conviction, the majority of Southern clergy have been either cautious in word and deed or virtually silent

on the subject of race. As Dean Leffler, past chairman of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Episcopal Church, put it, "It is difficult, indeed, to ascertain where strategy leaves off and personal timidity begins." Most clergy seem to believe in their own hearts that their course of action is guided by a desire to preserve the lines of communication, avoid alienation with their people and minister in Christian love to all.

But it would be strange in these days of "positive thinking," conformity, and preoccupation with financial and numerical success if many of us did not yield to the demands of expediency in order, as we say, to make the church strong and in order to be a more effective influence at some future time; or perhaps to be at hand, unalienated from either extreme, to perform the service of reconciliation for the warring forces; or to be above the conflict, committed to the ways of spiritual serenity and loving contemplation.

On the other side of this relatively silent and moderate group of clergy and lay leaders are those who are openly committed to the principles of segregation. The clergy of the major denominations are extremely rare within these ranks but large numbers of laity are members of the White Citizens Councils and related organizations, and perhaps even the Ku Klux Klan. Several of the denominations have within them segregationist organizations such as the Circuit Riders of the Methodist Church, and Concerned Churchmen, U.S.A., in the Episcopal Church.

Some of the segregationist clergy have been extremely active and prolific in the making of public statements.

The segregationist line of argument is well standardized and so frequently used, with so few changes or innovations, that all of us find it extremely familiar. The remarkable thing is that the main line of reasoning is apparently very old. **Aunt Phyllis's Cabin,** a novel published in Virginia a very short while after **Uncle Tom's Cabin,** presents essentially the same argument we hear today from spokesmen for the cause of Southern white supremacy. Only the arguments concerning the Supreme Court and allegations that the

racial crisis is Communist inspired seem to have been added to the ancient party line. It goes somewhat as follows:

> Segregation is basic to the Southern way of life. It is necessary for the health of the culture, the state, the nation, the white race, and even the Negro himself. It is a moral imperative since God manifestly created man in separate races and placed each man in his own section of the world. Had He intended unity He would have made all men alike to begin with. Segregation is God's law; integration, man's. The Negro is inferior in intelligence and sense of moral values. He is diseased and possesses no innate appreciation of the niceties of cleanliness and gracious living distinctive of the white race. The argument continues: the Negro's admission into the company of whites will spread disease, lower educational and moral standards, and result in his complete domination by the more vigorous, intelligent, and moral white man. On the other hand, the white man has the two great responsibilities of preserving the blood purity and cultural integrity of the white race. Southern culture is looked upon as synonymous with Christian culture. Its sanctity must be preserved.

Gunnar Myrdal, the Scandinavian sociologist who was asked to direct a study of the Negro in American life, in company with his staff of American social scientists produced an exhaustive report titled **The American Dilemma.** Southern racists label Myrdal an alien socialist and state that the book is Communist propaganda, a part of a plot to cause unrest and racial hatred in America, to lead to racial amalgamation and thus to produce a mongrel race undermining the moral fiber of the nation and leading to national destruction, just as Egypt, Greece, Rome, and other civilizations fell! The Supreme Court, they aver, is but a power-grasping political tool—the dupe and instrument of Communist influence. The NAACP is a Communist inspired agent of unrest and bitterness. Before the Supreme Court decision and the agitation of the NAACP, they claim, there was peace and good will between Negroes and whites. The Negro, left alone in the South, lives in contentment and bliss among his own white folks who know and understand him.

Most Southern segregationists invoke the issue of states' rights as a basic principle. They also assert that you cannot legislate morals,

and that laws requiring desegregated schools, buses, and other public facilities are but another manifestation of such an attempt. This, they say, is like the Eighteenth Amendment. A few short years, and the vanity of this effort, like that of prohibition, will become manifest. The nation's Chief Executive apparently fell a victim to this argument when he asserted in press conference that "you could not legislate morals."

Some segregationists add another dimension to their assertion that race-mixing is a dirty Communist plot. They hint at sinister machinations by mysterious Zionist power figures to deliver the world into the hands of Jewish control. Even against a background of almost epidemic synagogue bombings and church desecrations, few people can bring themselves to believe that anyone could take seriously such a belief; yet one hears it frequently and reads it in broadly distributed materials.

These lines of argument, providing an ideological basis for the American brand of "apartheid," naturally claim Biblical foundation since they presume to set forth the will of God. The forces resisting desegregation have established a good many proof texts which they feel provide Biblical certainty to their arguments. Any good segregationist can cite these passages with catechetical precision. Some of them are:

Genesis 9:18-29, the origin of racial boundaries;

Genesis 9:22-25, the curse on Ham;

Genesis 11:1-9, the confusion at Babel;

Leviticus 19:19, the ban on mixtures;

Ezra 10:11, the dissolution of Jewish and non-Jewish marriages.

New Testament proof texts are harder to come by, but assertions by segregationists, such as S. E. Rogers, speaking before the Manning, S.C., Lions Club, present novel and ingenious Biblical exegesis: in Roger's case, based upon what would appear to be his own definition of the Greek terms of **agape** and **philia.**[9]

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[9] See Everett Tilson, **Segregation and the Bible.** Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958, pp. 41-44.

In spite of the fact that the segregationist point of view attacks both the church and the Supreme Court, saying that both have abandoned their particular fields and dabbled in sociology and anthropology, the major portion of the segregationist argument is based on assumptions pertinent to these fields but contrary to the conclusions reached by the overwhelming weight of scientific research.

The scriptural and theological allusions and implication in the argument are, however, another matter as far as organized religion is concerned. Questions are posed concerning scriptural interpretation and authority and distortion of basic doctrines of the Christian Church which cannot remain ignored or unchallenged. Various conferences, councils, and other authoritative bodies of the churches have spoken directly to these "erroneous and false doctrines." The united study theme of last year, "Christ, the Church and Race," using Liston Pope's book **Kingdom Beyond Caste**[10] attempted to teach in lay terms the religious dimensions of the conflict. Everett Tilson's little book, **Segregation and the Bible,** is perhaps the most pertinent and useful study yet published dealing patiently but with great clarity and directness with segregationist claims of Biblical support. Kyle Haselden's book, **The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective,** deals with the whole problem in exclusively religious terms. Although his later chapters seem to leave something to be desired, the early chapters present an analysis and history which is enlightening, provocative, and challenging. It remains, however, for the churches either in combination or individually to speak with no uncertain voice to these interpretations which prey upon the many doctrinal confusions and ignorances of our day. This crisis raises once more the question so frequently heard in the midst of today's events: "Does the church today possess the strength to speak with authority enough, even to keep her own life and doctrine pure?"

Having raised this disturbing question it is perhaps necessary to ask at least one more. Sometime ago Reinhold Neibuhr remarked that God's Altar, the first place where man should meet in inclusive

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[10] **Kingdom Beyond Caste,** Liston Pope. N. Y.: Friendship Press, 1957.

fellowship, would probably be the last such place. This assertion was made in a negative form by the Southern vestryman who said, "You can put them on the same buses with my children and you can send them to the same schools, but the first one who comes to St.——, I'm leaving!" We might therefore ask ourselves how much inclusive fellowship our churches themselves know and how much seems possible even today after our governing bodies have reiterated and urged the principle of brotherhood and after literally hundreds of our brethren have dared much to assert it in unmistakable witness. We must all agree with Haselden when he says that only certain areas of church life and influence reflect much progress toward this end. He lists six:

1. situations in New England and the upper Midwest;
2. situations in large cities and academic centers;
3. integration from the top;
4. integration on the fringes, such as the American Bible Society, the World and National Council of Churches, YMCA, YWCA, etc;
5. integration in communities in transition;
6. a few churches which were deliberately organized to attract and serve interracial constituencies.[11]

Our first great problem, then, is to what extent can the church itself bear witness to its vision of the brotherhood of man and our oneness in Christ? It is significant that segregationists in Little Rock said, "If the churches believe in desegregation, why are they themselves segregated?"

The foregoing question is the sixty-four dollar one. At least ten other questions emerge, all of them dependent one upon the other, which we must deal with if we are to feel that we are really building bridges of racial accord within God's kingdom.

1. How can we learn to face this and any other controversial

[11] Haselden, op. cit., chapter I.

situation in human society openly and frankly within our Christian discussions? If the Gospel is relevant, then can Christians bring the light of the Gospel to bear on controversial problems without breaking the fellowship of the church?

2. How do we start the process of interracial, face to face encounter even within the church; or are we Christians going to continue to base our knowledge of each other on such remarks as, "We Southerners know our Negroes"?

3. As migration and urbanization develop ever more rapidly, is the urban church to follow along adjusting to the trends, or is it to provide moral leadership in open-occupancy housing and fair employment, and is it to provide religious asylum to those who do move into the neighborhood of an individual congregation?

4. A related problem grows out of this, as yet, chiefly Northern aspect of the crisis. Many white churches in the path of Negro population shifts are confronted with the necessity of making a vital choice from among the following policies:

(a) they may remain and resist Negro approaches to the church, become worshipping white islands in a changing neighborhood;

(b) they may move out;

(c) they may close;

(d) they may offer fellowship to the new members of the neighborhood.

If they choose the fourth course, a resulting loss in income through loss of white members, often the wealthiest ones, places the church in jeopardy. Will the churches subsidize these parishes with emergency funds? Or will the parishes be left to wrestle with their own problem? What would our own rural congregations think about using missionary funds for this purpose?

5. Can our church people understand the results of urban influence on our rural communities? For instance, can our rural

church people and communities accept without resentment the appearance of urban, well-dressed, college-bred Negroes in new cars?

6. As more and more Southern colleges and universities are open to Negroes what is to become of church colleges for Negroes? Will they close or will they be strengthened financially so they can achieve comparable educational standards? If they survive, should they integrate or can they remain segregated?

7. Many church secondary schools in the South are today flourishing, and have long waiting lists. Financial worries have abated to a remarkable degree. How are we to respond to the moral question that now presents itself? How can we as church bodies insist upon the moral and religious dimensions of desegregation and yet provide refuge from desegregated public schools?

8. There are those who think that only token integration will occur in the schools and other facilities. Should the churches accept this kind of gradualism or press for more speed and less deliberation?

9. One hears many complaints today that Negroes are not offering themselves to the ministry in sufficient numbers to maintain the work among their own people. We cannot escape the observation that except in the distinctly Negro denominations themselves, the situation today is that the Negro minister is limited in the scope of his ministry. He is a Negro minister of the Gospel, not a minister of the Gospel who happens to be a Negro. If the ablest young Negroes are seeking other fields, perhaps it is because this field is severely limited in scope and opportunity.

10. Finally, there is the question of those religious bodies which exist solely as Negro churches. Are they to maintain their existence and thereby become corporate witnesses of racial separation or are they to merge with white denominations; and if the latter, what becomes of their structure and leadership?

Society expects the Christian Church to make a major contribu-

tion to the solution of this vast, portentous, and complicated problem. Difficult as it is to attain in fact, the Christian embraces one great moral principle. At least by intention and desire he emulates his Master in this: "Not my will, but Thine be done." In things having to do with individual moral striving, practicing Christians of today achieve at least lives of decency and reasonable integrity. To develop, however, a corporate morality within the Christian Church which places God's will above man's in social matters is a stern challenge.

It is the church's fundamental role in this crisis for its people to demand for themselves and their communities that God's will for Love and Justice always stands in judgment over man's prejudice and self-interest. As frightening as this task might be the future appears grim without it. In the final analysis, moves toward desegregation are reduced to mere sociological manipulation unless through the aegis of the churches of our country we can realize that meeting of human spirit with human spirit which in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit becomes the Body of Christ—that community which alone is the aim of the Christian faith.

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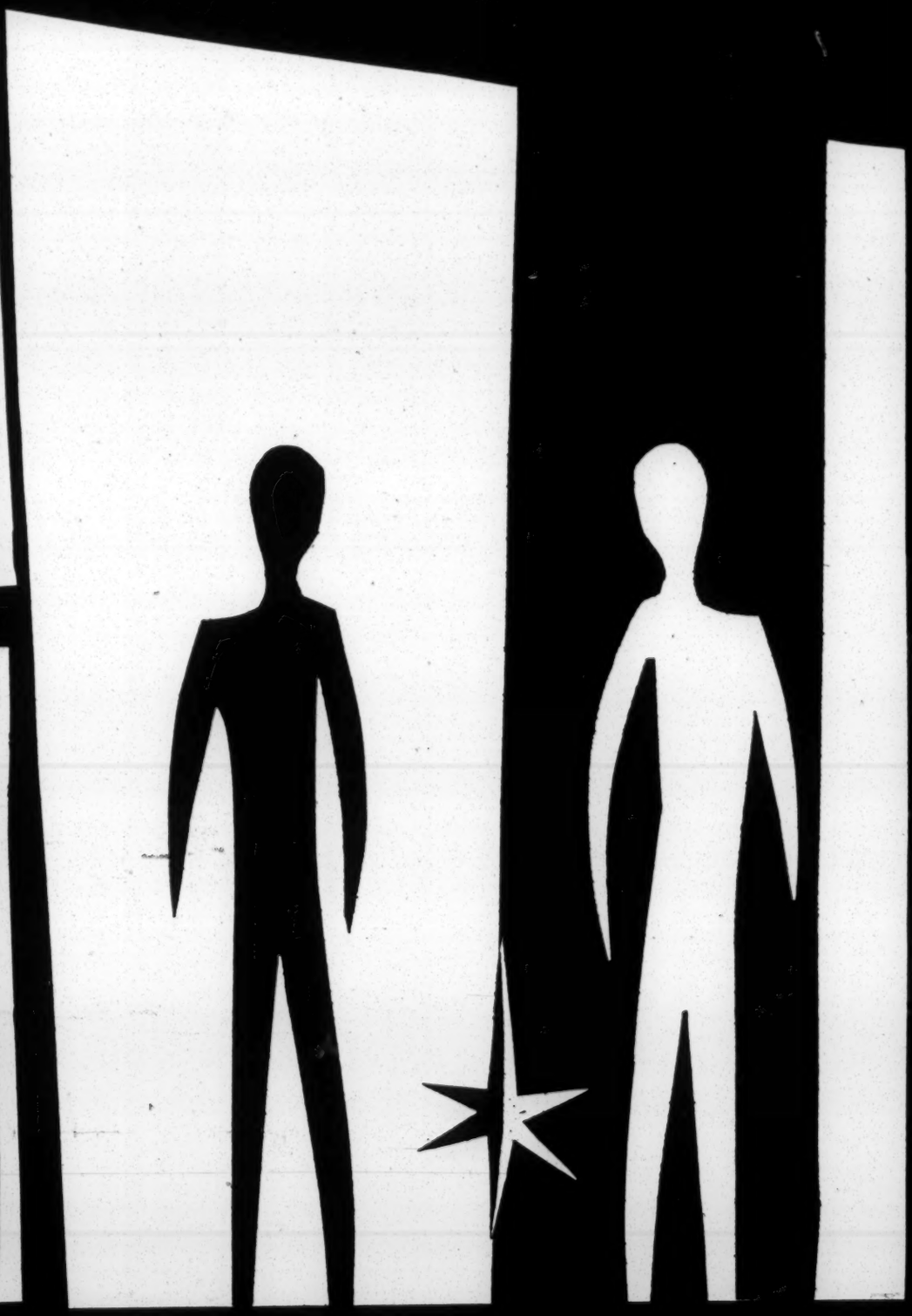

RACE AND CONSCIENCE IN AMERICA

A Review Prepared for the

American Friends Service Committee

New South

- **Religion's Role in Desegregation**
  Will D. Campbell
- **Keep Schools Open**
- **Let Educators Decide**
- **Highlights from Recent Literature**

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New South Notes

One of the most discussed roles in the desegregation controversy is that the church is playing. Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive Director, Division of Christian Life and Work, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ, discusses the role or religious organizations in the desegregation crisis. Reverend Campbell compares the actions taken by religious organizations to those taken by individuals who may have been inspired by the parent organizations. While recognizing the limitations of Protestant organizations in solving the current problem, the Rev. Mr. Campbell takes an optimistic view of the church's long range influence through its pastors and other leaders.

The Georgia Council of Churches, an affiliate of the National Council of Churches, has played an ever increasing role in trying to solve the problems surrounding the segregation questions. Its leaders constantly have sought ways to help bring about a sensible solution to our school problems. This issue of NEW SOUTH contains the latest of the Council's efforts.

The Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council, convening in Atlanta, issued a statement again calling on the South for a renewed effort in solving the school problems. Their suggestion is a simple, workable plan; that is, "get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators." This statement is included in this issue.

The Role of Religion In Segregation Crisis

By
Will D. Campbell*

from
Journal
of
Intergroup Relations

Robert Hutchins is reported to have said of the University of Chicago, "It isn't a very good school. It's just the best there is." While it is difficult for one with a portfolio in race relations for a Protestant organization to distinguish between apologetics and analysis, this report will attempt to say two things. First, that religious organizations are not doing very much. Second, it will strive to suggest that considering the nature and limitations of the institutional church and the fragmentation of the loyalty of its constituency there are certain things to its credit.

The assignment is to discuss the role of Protestant religious organizations in the desegregation controversy. Because "Protestant" is so broad a term anything that is said can be refuted with numerous exceptions. One might almost ask, "the role of which Protestant?" There are sixty million of them.

It should also be said that if one could answer this question satisfactorily, he would have made a contribution to the life of the various Protestant groups which four hundred years of history have been unable to provide. For Protestantism has never been able to define its role in society on any serious and critical issue.

If we are honest we must say that it has never found a strategy as a basis of operation effectively to influence the culture in which it lives. It has not been able to contribute importantly to the solution of any pressing social problem except indirectly.

The reasons for this are clear and

**Associate Director,*
Division of Christian Life and Work,
National Council of Churches

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there is little point in going into detail in such a paper. It is enough briefly to point out what has been suggested by various students of the relationship of Protestant churches to their culture.

Protestantism has divorced religious faith from institutionalized authority and thus does not possess leaders who are authorized to speak for the mind or will of the group. There is no clearly designated line of authority and seldom is any person invested with sufficient power to act or represent his constituency with anything like the immediacy necessary for him to be a factor in a crisis situation. Furthermore, individual conscience has been defied and no one can prevent a given individual from interpreting doctrine or Scripture as he sees fit and to conform to values, prejudices and attitudes acquired outside the church. This is why the various positions, resolutions and statements made by the Protestant churches of the South and the nation have not been taken seriously by legislatures and other policy makers.

Independence

As long as Protestant polity not only allows but encourages independent action of its members and frowns upon concerted action of the group this will be true. For in so doing they never comprise a clear threat to any center of power or group of officials who retain their power by election.

This is reflected in the various ministerial statements and resolutions which have been signed in recent months. There is always the preface that they are speaking as individuals and not representing anyone else. This is not a criticism of the individual minister who signs such a statement, for he has no choice. But while he cannot speak for his constituency, other organizations with opposing ideologies have developed in a short time a clear channel of authority who can speak convincingly and authoritatively to elected officials. Most often these organizations speak for the same people for whom ministers or other church leaders are unable to speak.

And while church people have refused, or at least failed, to be organized into anything except a fellowship of individuals so far as the church is concerned because of what they see as the nature of the reformation churches, they have permitted themselves to be organized into a body with great power but little freedom. The point is that while Protestantism can and does plant seeds of revolution, it cannot see it through. So its prophets and actionists often turn to other vehicles.

But while it is true that Protestant churches are not providing a leadership in the present racial crisis commensurate with their ideals and principles, it is equally true that they have produced many of those who *are* providing such leadership. We can be critical that Protestant polity cannot provide the kind of organization necessary to influence social change, but we cannot ignore the fact that its doctrines and teachings, when taken seriously, have provided leaders for organizations which can. For example, we can criticize the South Georgia Baptist Church which

excluded Clarence Jordan of Koinonia Farm from its membership. But in so doing we are apt to forget that it was that same church which produced him in the first place. Like an eagle teaching its young to fly but deserting them once they begin to exercise what they have been taught, so Protestantism is capable of inspiring its own to action but usually objects when action occurs, especially if it is taken in its name.

From a church in Georgia dismissing its pastor because of a prayer for racial understanding to a Presbyterian Secretary of State responding to a proposal that this country take steps toward the recognition of the Peoples Republic of China with the suggestion that church people would be more instrumental to the common good if they confined themselves to moral principles—everywhere Protestants, concerned with social, economic and political problems, are told to mind their altar fires and tea parties.

Leaders

But still it must be said that while Protestant churches are not geared for action and for the most part those agencies interested in the desegregation of society should not look to this institution to provide the necessary pressure for social change, it will at the same time be found that some of the ablest leaders who *are* exerting the pressure were nurtured by this institution, even if they now deny the mother who gave them birth.

This might be listed as the role of providing a set of values out of which many of us operate; of helping to create a climate in which it will be more than ordinarily possible for the work to be done. Few persons who are active in the current struggle for racial justice have escaped an influence of the Judeo-Christian ethic in one way or another.

Negro Role

If some of the above is considered a shortcoming there is a notable exception to it all. Much of it does not apply to a large segment of Protestantism in the South, namely the Negro demoninations and Negro congregations within predominantly white denominations.

Considering Protestantism as a group, it is certainly unfair to assert that this group is making no contribution in the early stages of the desegregation process — keeping pressure on, bringing cases to court, organizing protest movements, and undergoing the necessary suffering and sacrifice to achieve the desired goal.

And while it has been the NAACP which has played the major organizational role and has taken the giant step legally, much of their leadership has come from within the churches, as was hinted above. But it must also be said that in situations such as the Montgomery boycott, it has been the institutional church itself which has made the greater contribution. The meetings not only were held in church houses, they were essentially religious meetings with religious motivations and values. The prayers, the refusal to return evil with evil, ministers going to jail, an entire community suffering legal harassment —these are things familiar to any religious people and in a real sense it might be said that this was the church playing a vital role in desegregation.

In fact, it might be said that the real

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key to the solution of our current problem of desegregation rests in the hands of the enlightened, liberal Negro churchmen of the South as they work within their own channels and through such organizations as the NAACP and not in the hands of the whites at all—not even the whites of goodwill. It is often said that this is a Southern problem and must be solved by Southerners. But this is usually another way of saying, "Leave us alone," or a euphemism for, "Yankee, go home." And actually it is strange that there should ever have been the hope or expectation that white churchmen could be the real leaders, especially by anyone even remotely familiar with community structure and organization. In any revolution there must be at least two factors. There are those who are in revolt and those who are being revolted against. No one has ever condemned the Archbishop of Canterbury for not being Chaplain to George Washington's troops. George Washington had his own troops and the Archbishop was actually irrelevant.

Pressure

When this comes from a white Southerner it sounds defensive. Instead it is the recognition of what all of us know—that man, by nature, does not give up comfort and privilege voluntarily. So the role which the Negro churchmen are playing of keeping the pressure constantly upon the status quo is a vital one. For in every case desegregation has come, not when a group of whites of goodwill got together and said discrimination was wrong and should be stopped. Rather it has come when a group of Negroes got together and said "We have been discriminated against long enough, let's stop it."

White Role

This is far from suggesting that what is referred to as white Protestantism is irrelevant in the desegregation controversy. There is the important role of the white Protestant in personally interpreting these demands and of interacting with his Negro colleagues. A case in point is Mobile, where Negro ministers signed a petition to the city fathers requesting that the buses be desegregated without the upheaval of Montgomery. This was followed by a resolution, with obvious consultation, from the white ministers in which they shared the concern of the Negro group and attempted to interpret these demands from their own perspective.

There is likewise the role of relating to action groups. We have said above that many religiously motivated people cannot find a channel within the institutional church to express the social implications of their faith. Protestantism, with its generally permissive doctrine of the Church, does not hold that the Sunday morning gathering is paramount. It is free to encourage its congregation to find expression in groups which are geared to accomplish its ideals and to behave as they do because of their faith.

Moreover, there is an increasing segment of white Protestantism which is developing the ability and machinery for action in the community. In North Carolina a Methodist congregation lost a valuable building site rather than compromise their convictions on man's

brotherhood. In Georgia a Presbytery assumed the government of a local church, in action supporting the pastor's right to speak on and to be active in the desegregation crisis. In Arkansas an entire congregation endorsed a non-church committee formed to try to get the public schools reopened. However, we must say that such examples are as yet isolated. More often there are individual acts.

A related role is that of supporting those within the framework of the institutional church who have chosen to put their faith into action. Several of the denominations and organizations such as the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and the American Friends Service Committee have provided financial and other rehabilitation aids to numerous individuals who have been displaced or who have suffered in applying the imperatives of their faith to the racial crisis. Support has also been furnished by the many statements made by all of the major denominations condemning racial segregation. While these may not be impressive to lawmakers they certainly give leverage to the parish minister who otherwise would be hard put to explain his own position to members of his congregation.

Pulpit Freedom

There is also a development in the direction of attempting to restore some of the freedom of the pulpit lost during recent years. Several denominations have commissions and even staff persons with this as a major concern.

This leads to a role which has been neglected in some circles but which is gaining increasing attention. That is the one of interpreting the Church's own peculiar message, using its own language and its own frame of reference.

Since Protestant Christians are the dominant group in Southern culture, the moral responsibility for this crisis is on their shoulders. Thus, in a real sense, any speaking they do must be addressed to themselves and in their own tongue. However, it is interesting to note the number of cases of concerted action by ministers and church people where the approach has been purely humanistic. But they are finding it more and more difficult to defend their interest in desegregation in humanistic terms. (This is not to quarrel with the humanists. Their record in this crisis is a good one. It is rather to suggest that the churches have a distinct and peculiar approach which has sometimes been neglected.)

One may observe that some of the most daring and creative work in desegregation has been done by ministers and churches with no history of social liberalism. A minister in Virginia with little interest in social action within the framework of his denomination and no experience in human relations movements has refused to discuss the crisis from his pulpit or with members of his congregation in anything but theological terms. His church has refused to become a tool of the state administration. On the other hand, some of the churches in his town with a long history of social concern and liberalism have become parties to massive resistance.

The reason for this is clear. When the minister makes his plea on the basis of constitution, man's rights, human dignity, democracy, or even the universal principle of the Fatherhood of

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God and the brotherhood of man, he is placing himself in a vulnerable position. For the majority of white Protestants in the South want segregation to be preserved and are impressive in their reminder that there is no gospel, no "good news" for them in desegregation. The good news must certainly be elsewhere. And they have been taught from childhood in most Protestant churches of the Bible Belt that theirs is a message of personal redemption, and only as anything is related to this does it make sense to them. In terms of sheer strategy this is worthy of some attention.

So the role of the church in providing a positive theological base as it attempts to speak to itself and as a motivation for action is deserving of the emphasis which seems to be increasing.

A related task which many Protestants are accepting as an obligation is the correction of the flagrant misuse of Scripture on the part of many of its members. At least one book has been written on the subject and other approaches are being made through Sunday School materials and other literature.

Defends "Faith"

We cannot assume that people are not being convinced by the faulty use of the few passages of Scripture which seem to them to give support to their prejudices. The segregationist Protestant is neither simply rationalizing nor is he deliberately lying when he reasons that since God was the original segregationist in turning some of Noah's children black and since in the Golden Rule Jesus said not to do to others what you wouldn't want them to do to you and as he doesn't want others to force him to integrate it becomes his Christian duty to see that no one else is forced to integrate. To say that this is illogical and false is not enough. He is not capable of grasping the meaning of myth and he does not even seem able to read the text correctly. Nevertheless, he is convinced that when he defends segregation he defends the faith and that the integrationist is a part of an evil scheme to destroy his religion.

Interpretation

For one to insist that this is not being done among the masses and that it is not effective in this twentieth century is to ignore the facts. To remember the educational level of those who constitute the real problem and to view the constant flow of literature using such arguments placed in every mail box along the RFD-mail boxes the rest of us are failing to touch—is to be convinced. To deny that it is so is also to ignore that in a system where the individual has been given almost complete freedom of interpretation, where everyone has direct access to God with little test of validity of any divine communication, his noblest ideal is apt to be in part self-corrupting. The doctrine of Christian love is a case in point as suggested in the use of the Golden Rule.

Some comment is called for concerning other values which Protestantism has emphasized and which are relevant to the subject. Among these are a strong commitment to the public school system, education in general, and responsibility

for their youth. These are concerns which have added to the strength of Protestantism. But again it has been seen that they are sometimes a weakness so far as desegregation is concerned.

For instance, schools opened in Little Rock by churches probably did more to win the school referendum for Mr. Faubus and contributed more to the defeat of Mr. Hays than most other factors. These schools were opened for valid reasons and in keeping with the values mentioned above. Furthermore, in most cases they were opened by ministers and churches who held an excellent record of opposition to the policies of the Faubus administration. The schools were opened in the name of learning, wisdom, education, and Christian responsibility for their youth. Yet this was a major factor in taking the pressure off the Faubus administration. For while children were provided with schools and were not on the street or under foot parents were inclined to be satisfied. Mr. Faubus remained the saviour.

Church Schools

Moreover, it seems obvious now that if schools are closed on any mass basis in the South most white Protestant churches will either open schools of their own or make their facilities available for private schools. Again they will do so for good reasons. They will do so to preserve education, not to preserve segregation. Nevertheless, the latter is accomplished in the process. A few months ago when it was announced that this would be done in Prince Edward County, Virginia, few were seriously concerned. No one could picture library, laboratory, study halls, classrooms, gymnasium and cafeteria all in one large room. But when the pressure mounted in Charlottesville it was large and respectable downtown churches which followed suit. Because all Protestant churches are essentially congregational—even those claiming an episcopacy such as the Methodist Church—this will be true as long as the present climate continues. While many ministers will make an excellent effort, as they have in recent months, they will be overruled by their congregations.

Congregational Rule

It might be argued that there is no reason why the churches could not open their own schools but on an integrated basis. But this is to ignore three factors, namely, congregational rule, why they were closed in the first place and by whose wishes, and certain prime Protestant virtues such as peace, harmony, and order within the fellowship. Anything upsetting this is generally considered bad. Any hope that this will be done except perhaps occasionally is wishful thinking. Therefore, we can only conclude that as any state in the Deep South resorts to abolishing the public school system the churches, usually with pure motives, will continue to preserve segregation for a least a while.

Hopefully, however, recent developments tend to indicate that most states of the South will escape wholesale closing of schools and certainly the abolishing of state supported education entirely. Recent events in Atlanta, several communities in Virginia, and the school board election in Little Rock support this. It seems more likely that the pattern of the past will be continued with the accompanying court cases, com-

Religion

(Continued)

munity unrest, bitterness and violence. It is safe to assume that the degree of emotional intensity will increase as it begins to affect the hard core states.

And where this course is followed there is a role which Protestant churches have played in the past and which will become increasingly significant. That is the role of what we might call "cleaning up the mess." Generally speaking, white Protestant churches cannot be expected to play any important role in the process of getting Negro children to the door of formerly all-white schools. They will not engage in what they consider the rough and tumble of politics to see the various court cases through. This is in keeping with major values such as peace, harmony, goodwill, and order within the fellowship. It is enough to say that as a social institution Protestant churches are by nature conservative. And based on past performance, there is little likelihood that white Protestant churches will play any significant role in preparing communities for desegregation. This is not to minimize the great work which has been done in some situations but again to suggest that Protestantism is not geared for action and does not exert the influence in the community needed for such preparation.

Conservative

The performance of cleaning up the mess, if it comes, will be done because of that of which we are usually most critical, namely, the conservative nature of the institution. For example, the churches in Clinton played virtually no part in pressing for justice to admit Negro children and once they were admitted by court order did little to prepare the community for an orderly transition. This was true to their conservative nature. A conservative institution seldom threatens another conservative institution. But when the whole structure of society was falling apart, when principles held even more sacred than segregation were threatened, that same conservative nature compelled the churches to become involved. For the churches to press for justice in court or community would be to jeopardize success of revivals, membership drives, the building fund, next year's budget and the whole life of the institution. But mob rule, riots, general hysteria, and bad publicity were an even greater threat.

Defend One

Aside from the threat to itself, while a conservative institution will seldom threaten another conservative institution it will almost always defend one. Thus, it was *not* that the Baptist Church in Clinton had moved to a more liberal position when it supported its minister who walked to school with the Negro children and was attacked by the mob. Instead, this was a clear demonstration and re-emphasis of its continued conservative nature. If their pastor had been beaten while circulating a petition to admit Negroes to the public schools he probably would have been dismissed from his pulpit. This would have been a betrayal of the peace-loving nature of the institution. But when he was beaten in what amounted to the defense of a still more vital aspect of the status quo, peace and community stability (not

peace and stability in the usual sense but peace and stability slightly to the left of absolute chaos) he became something of a church hero.

This might account for many Protestants being willing to assume the humanist position while not being willing to champion the more daring theological demands of their faith.

Thus, white Protestant churches can be counted upon to play a vital role when the walls of civilization are caving in around them. And by now it must be accepted by all that this is going to be one phase of the process as it is experienced in most communities. There are many prophets within Protestantism who would like to see the institution plug the dike with its right arm. Most members are not willing to do this but are willing to rescue the drowning victims. And this much is not to be dismissed lightly.

Most Protestants will agree that the judgment (and justice) of God precedes any degree of reconciliation. They can be consistent with their faith and see the egression of the judgment and justice of God from channels other than themselves—the NAACP, the Court, etc., and accept as their role the mending of a broken and shattered society, the putting the pieces back together in some kind of order, the reconciliation of caste and class, the cleaning up of the mess. If for no other reason, to regain as much of the status quo as possible.

As significant as the prophetic edge of the Church is and as much as most of us regret the current dearth of prophets in white Protestant circles, it might well be that "their finest hour" will come, not in producing more and better prophets but in exercising the conserving edge which is often seen as its weakness.

Thus Protestantism.

Keep Schools Open

WHEREAS, the Georgia Council of Churches is holding its annual meeting in Macon on the day that the school authorities of Atlanta presented a plan for the gradual and orderly desegregation of the schools to the North Georgia District Federal Court of the Fifth Judicial Circuit, Court of Appeals; and

WHEREAS, we, as responsible churchmen and concerned citizens, feel that anything that would deny the children of this State the privilege of a public education would be disastrous; and

WHEREAS, the final decision affecting the Atlanta schools will in turn affect every public school and school child in Georgia;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that we call upon the Governor and members of the State Legislature to provide legislation in the coming session that will guarantee to all the children of Georgia an uninterrupted public school education.

Let Educators Decide

Statement by Southern Regional Council Board of Directors

What is right for the South to do has become what is practically urgent for the South to do. During the five years since the Supreme Court's decision in the *School Segregation Cases*, vast transformations have occurred throughout the world. One has only to recall the advent of space explorations; the fearsome developments in military weapons; the incredible industrialization of China; the growing economic and technological power of the Soviet Union; the emergence of African and Asian nationalism; or the formidable increase of the earth's population.

During these same years, the South has straddled the realities of the twentieth century. Its zeal for economic progress has kept pace with the times. But much of its political leadership, in vain adherence to the unconstitutional practice of segregation, has seceded from reality.

Not for long can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and the remnants of its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country. Nor can the damage be kept from invading the self-interest of every Southerner—the business man whose operations are endangered by the decay of law and order, the worker and consumer whose fortunes depend on the health of the economy, the youth whose education is threatened by interruption. Unless thoughtless resistance to both law and reality can be outgrown, the region will be a liability to the nation and the cause of human freedom which the South has believed itself to love.

Fortunately, there is a growing understanding that school closings, violence, demagoguery, and the products of defiance come with a price tag. The South has moved far in recent years toward reclaiming its economic equality with the rest of the nation; only the ignorant or the self-serving would willingly risk destroying that progress. To avoid that danger, however, realism alone compels us to discard our outworn myths and prejudices and face up to the imperatives of change.

AN URGENT OBJECTIVE is to get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators.

Southern communities need to redefine their school problem. Instead of "How can we keep Negroes out?" or "How few can we admit?", they need to consider, "How best can we educate all our youth?" By revising the question, one moves from an emotional to a professional problem, to be solved primarily by educators; and that is as it should be.

For example, we strongly oppose the use of so-called pupil placement as a political device to evade or thwart desegregation. When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate

racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest.

In the present climate there can be value in plans, such as that of Louisville, which permit both Negro and white students relatively easy transfer out of assigned schools. But plans which put on the Negro child and parent the total social and psychological burden of achieving desegregation are unjust and patently intended to escape the law. It is indefensible that children should have to run the gauntlet of hostile officials in order to enjoy their rights under law.

THE AMERICAN LEGAL SYSTEM assumes that when the law has been declared in a case, all persons in similar situations will comply, even though not parties to the case. Neither American constitutionalism nor the common law contemplates an endless web of litigation for the spreading of every legal concept. Nor is this the path to rewarding human relations.

Irresponsible political leadership has decreed this ordeal of litigation, and in some states this leadership is so far unwilling or unable to undo the obstruction it has caused. But positive local leadership has been available in certain areas of the South. In six Southern states, more than 200 school districts have initiated desegregation without conflict and without the compulsion of a specific court order. Hesitant and limited though many of these changes have been, they are at least beginnings toward voluntary compliance with the law. They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees.

Those communities which have desegregated, whether voluntarily or through court order, are now free, as they never before have been, to solve the problems of race relations. They can do so by adopting the only approach that has ever had realistic promise—that is, by treating their Negro citizens as individuals, not as impersonal "problems." Instead of submitting themselves grudgingly to court direction, they can control their destinies by moving on their own initiative to end segregation in good faith.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was conceived sixteen years ago out of the conviction that Southerners themselves must ultimately work out democratic solutions to the South's problems. We cannot—any more than the rest of the world's people—control the global pressures which bear in upon us and dictate the inevitability of change. But we can and must be accountable for the way in which we respond to these historic forces of our time.

We remain convinced that the South, out of its long experience and abundant kindliness, will someday set an example for every part of the world where persons of different color live together. The way to begin is with white and Negro citizens planning together school systems that will respect the personality and rights of each student, and to do this as one phase of a general movement to end segregation in all public life.

Thus will we hasten the time when Southerners are distinguished from each other by individuality, not by race, and are bound to each other by a consciousness, not of color, but of common humanity.

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

Reddick, L. D. "CRUSADER WITHOUT VIOLENCE." Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959. 243 pp., $3.95.

A biography of Martin Luther King, Jr., which, as the fly leaf states, "peers intimately into Negro life in the South, noting new forces that are reshaping race relations there and throughout the nation. It sets the cataclysmic (Montgomery) bus protest in the frame of current history . . . Beyond the insights into personality and the corroborating detail, the political social significance of a changing mood is made clear."

And from Mr. Reddick's first chapter: ". . . the image of the hero or monster or saint scarcely reveals the man. Or satisfies the human heart that asks how the man came to be as he is—and may become. Quite naturally, people want to know what kind of person Martin Luther King really is and how it happens that one so young could achieve, apparently, such poise and moderation in the face of danger and fame. Above all, they search his life as they search their own, seeking after that which is real and rejecting that which is false."

• • •

McCauley, Patrick, and Ball, Edward, editors. "SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS." Southern Education Reporting Service. Benson Printing Company, Nashville, Tennessee. 1959. 174 pp. $4.75; paper bound.

A journalistic report dealing with education in the South during the period just before and since the United States Supreme Court desegregation decision, this volume is divided into two sections. The first, in narrative, includes chapters on Population, Enrollment and Attendance, School Revenue, Expenditures, Personnel, School Transportation, Buildings and Equipment, and Special Services. A second section is statistical, "for the scholar who finds eloquence in a statistic," and provides data continuous with that collected and analyzed for the Ashmore Project ("The Negro and The School," and several other volumes). The statistics cover the period 1952-1957. Chapters were contributed by journalists and educators who are well versed in their field.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

". . . this much is clear. Any community that would hereafter submit to the closing of its public high schools should know that many Little Rock families continue to pay for it today, and that some of the young people involved will never stop paying."

From an Editorial
in the *Arkansas Gazette*

• • •

"Mayor Hartsfield has urged Atlanta businessmen to speak out for continued operation of the public schools. They would be acting with vision and wisdom as well as in their self-interest if they do so."

From an Editorial
in the *Macon News*

• • •

"The wilful destruction of public education in Georgia is unthinkable. Fortunately there is time for the state to free itself of this burden by passing this responsibility on to the communities which will be involved and allowing each to solve it in its own fashion."

From an Editorial
in the *Atlanta Journal*

"Resolved that the Atlanta Council go on record in wholehearted support of our Board of Education in their stand to keep public schools open in Atlanta."

The Atlanta Council,
Parent-Teacher Associations
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

• • •

"Although our first thought in this matter must be of the children who would be affected and of their parents, we would deplore with equal earnestness the inevitable harm and the disrepute which would come to the State of Georgia through the closing of the public schools."

Most Rev. Francis E. Hyland,
Bishop of the Catholic Diocese
of Atlanta
Quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*

• • •

"As a citizen, and not as a superintendent of schools, I have become convinced that there is no substitute for public schools."

Dr. Robert O. Nelson,
Newport News School Superintendent
Quoted by Associated Press

The Changing South in Print!

"New South—an excellent magazine dedicated to saving the South from destroying itself by clinging to the shabby myths of the 19th Century."

Harry W. Ernst
Charleston* (W. Va.) *Gazette

"One of the best sources for materials on the South today."

Current Events

"New South . . . provides editors, students and public-minded citizens with timely, authentic information on developments in the South."

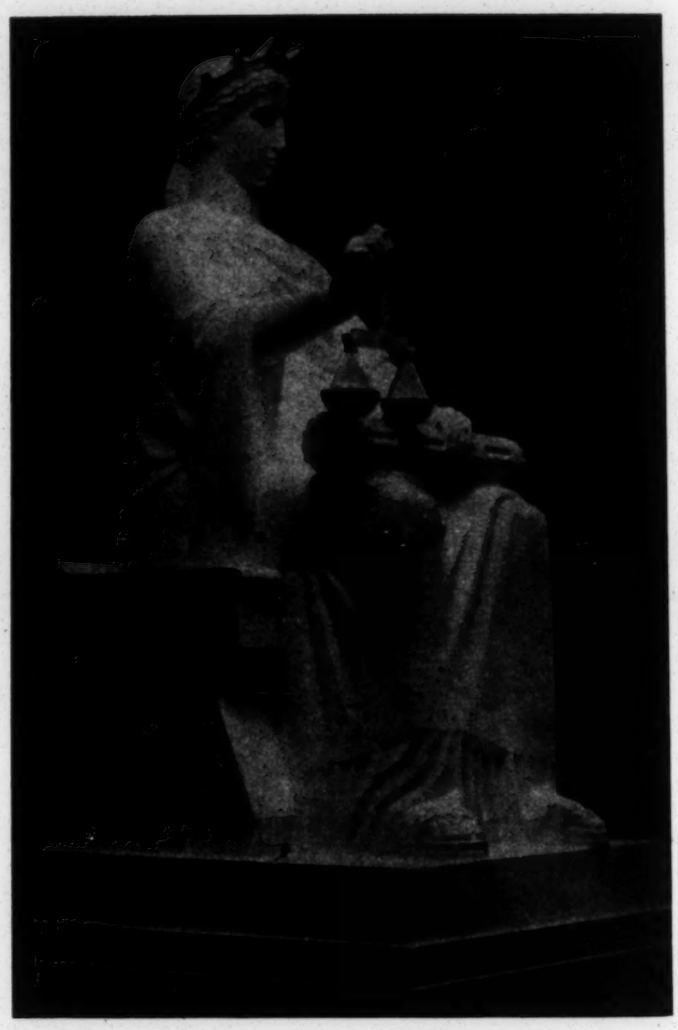
Avery County* (N. C.) *News

"[The Council has] earned a reputation for sound, constructive research and publication of factual material."

Atlanta Constitution

"The Council has put out a notable series of studies in Southern life and needs."

Christian Century



WORK BOOK

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED
of the
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

NOVEMBER 15 - 16, 1960

JUSTICE WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE

Justice is turned back
and righteousness stands afar off
for truth has fallen in the public squares
and righteousness cannot enter.
Isaiah 59:14 R. S. V.

Let justice roll down like waters
and righteousness like an everflowing stream
Amos 5:24 R. S. V.

Love thy neighbor as thyself.
Mark 13:31

Providing for honest things not only in the sight of the Lord but also in the sight of men.
II Cor. 8:21

WE SEEK:

A conviction that will not
let us rest,
A faith that will not
shrink,
A courage that will not
waver.

WE WOULD BE:

Firm in conviction, never
afraid to speak the
truth.
Persuasive in conversation,
Patient and understanding
with those who do not
agree--
"Fervent in spirit,
serving the Lord."

* * * * *

"An inscription to be read by all who visit the chapel at Stanton - Harold, a small village near the center of England. It reads

'In the year 1653
When all things sacred were
throughout the nation
Either demolished or profaned
Sir Robert Shirley, Baronet
founded this church
Whose singular praise it is
To have done the best things
In the worst times, and
Hoped them in the most calamitous.'

It is a song for us to march to, When the 'days are evil.' We know and are persuaded, God has His 'time' too, and in them even the evil is made to serve the good.

Unknown and unheralded, as the world holds, Sir Robert stands out in the minds of those who read and praise as a man of self-discipline and devotion in the midst of social unrest in the Cromwellian." -- Sidney Lovett

From pages 821-822, Vol 6,
Interpreters Bible. Used by
permission of Abingdon Press.

12:30 P.M. - Lunch

2:00 P.M. - Prayer - Mrs. John S. Correll

PANEL - Citizens Free and Responsible
"How We Talk Together" - Mrs. J. B. Pendergrast
Mrs. John Patton
"A Southern Point of View" - Mrs. Eliza Paschall

WORKSHOP GROUPS - Miss Eleanor French, Leader

I. The Church and Human Relations
A. Mrs. I. Wilen, Chairman
B. Mrs. Alfred Lexow, Chairman

II. The Unfinished Revolution
A. Mrs. David Cathcart, Chairman
B. Mrs. Earl Andrews, Chairman

III. Basic Human Rights
A. Mrs. Philip G. Hammer, Chairman
B. Miss Florence Harris, Chairman

IV. Law and Order
A. Mrs. Thomas Green, Chairman
B. Mrs. Harry Strauss, Chairman

6:00 P.M. - Dinner

7:00 P.M. - Meditation - Mrs. William Sale Terrell

Continuation of Workshop groups

NOVEMBER 16

9:30 A.M. - Worship - Mrs. Seymour Haber

Report of Workshop Groups

Discussion

Summary - Miss Thelma Stevens
Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Meditation - Mrs. William Sale Terrell

Song Leader - Miss Rosa Page Welch

WORKSHOP GROUPS

I. THE CHURCH AND HUMAN RELATIONS

A. Chairman
Mrs. I. Wilen

Consultants
Mrs. George Bain
Mrs. Moreland Smith
Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod
Mrs. E. Clayton Calhoun

Reporter
Mrs. Stanley Rawn

B. Chairman
Mrs. Alfred Lexow

Consultants
Mr. Arthur Levin
Mrs. John S. Correll
Mrs. John Stroud
Mrs. Paul Arrington

Reporter
Mrs. Warren Besselieu

II. THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

A. Chairman
Mrs. David Cathcart

Consultants
Miss Carol Lukei
Mrs. Clifford Durr

Reporter
Mrs. John Patton

B. Chairman
Mrs. Earl Andrews

Consultants
Mrs. Mable Morley
Mr. John Constable

Reporter
Mrs. Jennie Ruth Crump

III. BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

A. Chairman
Mrs. Philip G. Hammer

Consultants
Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Mrs. A. W. West
Mrs. George McCaskey

Reporter
Mrs. G. H. Martin

B. Chairman
Miss Florence Harris

Consultants
Mrs. T. M. Breeden
Mrs. R. T. Hollis
Mrs. Howard Aronin

Reporter
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox

IV. LAW AND ORDER

A. Chairman
Mrs. Thomas Green

Consultant
Mr. Leslie Dunbar

Reporter
Miss Mary Lena Wisehart

B. Chairman
Mrs. Harry Strauss

Consultant
Mr. Marion Wright

Reporter
Mrs. H. W. Williams

From The World Outlook, October 1960

The Catholic Church and Lausanne

At this summer's meeting of the European Ecumenical Youth Assembly in Lausanne, Switzerland, a number of Roman Catholic youth were present as observers. The Catholic Action group asked its members to pray for the Assembly.

Bishop Francois Charriere of Geneva issued a statement in which he said that the Roman Catholic Church does not belong to the World Council of Churches, yet it "nevertheless teaches that all humble and sincere efforts aiming at reconciliation of all Christians are the work of the Holy Spirit."

The Catholic population of Lausanne was asked by the Roman Catholic prelate to attend a special mass " to invoke God's blessing on the work of the Assembly."

The bishop's message said that the Lausanne Assembly "gives us encouragement for two reasons."

One reason is that "these are young people who come together to contribute to Christian unity" and when youth are enthusiastic about a great cause "we should all be wrong to despair about the future."

The other reason is that the Assembly theme is centered not on a secondary question "but on the central mystery of Christianity."

It is interesting to notice that, whereas Catholic and Protestant groups have come together rather successfully on secondary issues, it is the primary interest of the "central mystery" that the bishop of Lausanne raised up for praise.

We are not in doubt that it will be many years before the great divisions of the church can be healed. But it is good that some of the talk leading to friction is becoming a thing of the past.

* * * * * * * * * *

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

(Passed by White House Conference on Youth)

480. That all signs, stereotypes, symbols, and practices tending in any way to lessen the dignity of minority segments of our population be eliminated; and that any legislation requiring such practices be repealed.

481. That all discriminatory practices be abolished which deny equal opportunity in--

education
housing
employment
places of public accommodation, publicly or privately owned

482. That the Conference--
endorse and support the nonviolent sit-in demonstrations of Southern students in protest against segregated facilities--welcome the widespread support of students of other colleges throughout the nation

decry the use of force or of political or legal contrivances to prohibit or intimidate the demonstrators

deplore their suspension by some colleges and urge their reinstatement

urge the release of special Federal funds to enable those not reinstated to complete their education.

From VENTURE, September, 1960
Vol. 2, No. 1

RECOMMENDATIONS

THE TEMPORARY STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee recommends that:

A. The General Conference accept the following as the statement of purpose for the student movement.

"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from Judaic-Christian traditions seeks a social order of justice premeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.

"Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Peace dominates war; faith reconciles doubt. Mutual regard cancels enmity. Justice for all overthrows injustice. The redemptive community supercedes systems of gross social immorality.

"Love is the central motif of nonviolence. Love is the force by which God binds man to Himself and man to man. Such love goes to the extreme; it remains loving and forgiving even in the midst of hostility. It matches the capacity of evil to inflict suffering with an even more enduring capacity to absorb evil, all the while persisting in love.

"By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities."

(This Statement of Purpose was adopted in Raleigh, North Carolina on April 17, 1960, at the first general conference of student movement participants.)

The Christian Century

Editorials

AUGUST 24, 1960

Let Us Kneel-in Together!

✦ KNEEL-INS are new in name only. When small groups of Negro college students accompanied by white friends appeared at white churches in Atlanta on recent Sundays, they were doing what had been done many times before in southern and border states. Sporadically through the years Negroes have gone uninvited to white churches and have been received with varying degrees of hospitality or rejection. The motives of Negroes in going to white churches and the motives of whites in receiving or rejecting them have usually been vague and have often been mixed. At times they have been, on both sides, unworthy. It is not impossible and it is not improper to analyze those motives.

The stigma of racial segregation will not be removed until it disappears from white Christian churches, where it began. It will not be removed merely by juxtaposing whites and Negroes in the same church building. Such a relationship may be enough to satisfy the elemental demands of justice at lunch counters and public beaches and in buses and libraries; it is not enough to meet Christ's claim that his disciples are one. To speak of that claim is to speak of a relationship in which affinity is far more important than proximity. Bread served at a lunch counter is one thing; bread shared in church is another.

To say of Negroes that the motives which prompt them to attend white churches are often confused and sometimes ambivalent is not to question their right to attend and hold membership in any Christian church and to participate in the life of that church. It is rather to say that they do have this right, that they should not be excluded on the basis of race and that the fact of race should not make them suspect when they seek communion with white Christians. If white Christians are suspicious, resentful and defiant when Negroes appear at their churches, if even in the house of God they fail to "practice hospitality," the guilt is theirs. But Negro Christians have, nevertheless, a Christian duty; and that duty requires that to the best of their ability they give their white brothers no occasion for offense.

Negroes cannot perform this Christian duty, however, by staying away from white churches. Indeed, by staying away they confirm the clichés upon which exclusivist Christians rely; they deprive such Christians of the opportunity to measure their own faith and the proud protestations of their church against the demands of their Christ. A constant rather than sporadic attendance of Negroes at white churches would do more to compel all Christians of our land to re-examine the ground and purpose of their faith and to revive their calcified churches than any other single social factor.

It is not the *presence* of Negroes that causes white Christians to sin against their brothers. The evil is deeply buried; the appearance of the Negro at the church door merely hoists the signal which calls forth that evil. It is an evil which must be exposed, but it cannot be exposed by consideration of the hypothetical question, "What would we do if a Negro applied for membership?" It is when this actually occurs, when the Negro knocks on the door of the white church, that spirits stir within. Some of these spirits wear the mask of custom, but beneath the mask lurk the features of an ancient hatred. And others of these aroused spirits, struggling to be born, partake of the spirit of Christ. The white Christian church will never be what it ought to be until it is put to this trial, a trial in which Christ and racial custom engage in mortal struggle for the souls of men.

The Negro Christian, then, must approach the white church not for his own sake but as an instrument in the hand of God. He cannot serve as such an instrument if he attends a white church out of mere curiosity or to test for himself whether these Christians mean what they preach and sing. The church is sullied if it is used by men to expose and humiliate other men. The Negro Christian should not go in vanity to prove that he is just as good as other folk and perhaps better. Such profanation of the church has enough devotees among whites. He should not go for the purpose of harassing and disturbing the worship of other men. This is a misdemeanor which the law of the land properly does not tolerate. He should not go defiantly determined to invade and overthrow the last preserve of white supremacy. It must be overthrown, but not by establishment of some other kingdom of pride.

The Negro should go to the white church because he has heard the summoning of God and goes to hear what God will say to *him*. He should go because as a part of Christ's body he cannot endure separation from any part of that body. He should go because he wills under God's leading to be reconciled to his brother and knows no better place to begin than in the church. He should go because he knows that far beyond sit-

ting at lunch counters together, men must break bread together. He should go not once but regularly, for inconstancy will be clear proof that his going is not sincere. He should go willing to sacrifice at the earliest possible date the unique role which his own separated church has played in his life in exchange for a church in which the body of Christ is not divided on racial lines. He should go in such a spirit, and in such a spirit keep on going despite rebuffs and humiliations. Once more the offended must suffer for the redemption of the offender.

But what about the motives of the white man? In four Atlanta churches on August 9 Negro visitors were accepted and were seated indiscriminately. Would the white Christians do it again and again? And with equal grace if the episode lengthens to an epoch in their church life and a few Negro visitors become many? At two of the churches Negro students were offered but declined to accept seats in the balcony and in the basement. Reports do not make clear whether in the two churches there were unoccupied seats among the white communicants. In any event it is unlikely that the Negro students, making their first bid for acceptance in white churches, would settle for the only seating arrangement under which their enslaved grandparents were permitted to worship with white people.

The chairman of ushers in one of the two churches is reported to have said, "They were just a bunch of agitators." (Christians have, of course, been called that from the earliest days of the church.) So long as visitors to a Christian church conduct themselves with quietness and dignity it is not the privilege of any representative of the church to analyze the motives of communicants or to refuse them admission. The church belongs to Christ, not to the ushers, deacons or trustees. Christ knows the hearts of men who come to his church; he will judge and will recompense them according to that judgment. Whatever the motives of the Negro visitors who come to white churches, the usher has only one duty and one proper course of action: to welcome the visitors and to see that they are comfortably seated. If the Negro is engaged in unchristian agitation, cordial white Christians may be the instrument through which God's grace may work a converting power upon his life. If his enterprise is Christian, the absence of slight or rebuff will be pleasing to God whose child has been accepted.

Moreover, it is not enough for white Christians to give a cordial welcome to Negroes in the hope that such a display will disarm the inquisitive or defiant or sincere Negro and thus relieve them of the need to face issues raised by the possibility of his returning again and again. The welcome must be genuine; it must be the greeting of Christian for Christian, of member for potential member. A hypocritical, calculating cordiality can desecrate God's temple just as much as a deliberate rebuff. In a word, the same motives should move both the Negro visitor and the white host: a confession of sin, a need for forgiveness, a commitment of the whole life to God's full will. The sit-ins and the wade-ins succeed, but the will of Christ for the races will not be accomplished until Negro Christians and white Christians break bread together on their knees. For a long time to come the presence of Negroes and whites in the same church will not be normal, but the abnormality can be turned to the glory of God and to the good of all his children.

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THE ABOVE EDITORIAL IS REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION OF THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY. THE FOLLOWING APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 6, 1960.

EPISCOPAL GROUP BACKS SITDOWNS

Hails Negro Store Protests and Urges Similar Fight on Church Racial Bans

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, March 5—A national Protestant Episcopal organization has endorsed demonstrations against segregated public facilities and has suggested that similar protests be aimed at the church.

The action was taken by the board of directors of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity. A statement from the board was released today by the society's headquarters.

The organization was formed two months ago in Raleigh, N. C., at a convention of lay and clergy delegates from the across the nation.

The statement grew out of a series of demonstrations by Negro students against segregated lunch counters in seven Southern states. The Rev. Mr. John B. Morris, executive director of the society, said that the statement was directed to the entire nation.

The board urged churchmen to "question if they can appropriately participate in a church activity which refuses to serve all regardless of race." Then it said:

"We commend those citizens who express love in suffering by passive disobedience to laws or mores that separate on account of race or religion in state or commercial enterprises.

"We suggest that all members of this society consider the participation in like visible objections to practices of the church in separating on account of race in any activity or institution supported, sponsored, controlled or operated by the church."

Mr. Morris said the statement had been drafted last week at the first session of the group's governing board at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York.

The executive secretary remarked in an accompanying statement that it was inevitable that the protests would spread. He said that they would eventually include "both white and Negro students in a Southwide movement to affirm the equal status of all citizens in public accommodations." He continued:

"The churches, where segregation is even more tragic, will not escape involvement. If negotiation and appeal fail, it is very likely that churchmen will find themselves picketing their own institutions and sitting down n restricted pews.

"Such demonstrative witness, motivated by love and expressed in nonviolent, passive resistance to evil, is thoroughly grounded in Christian teaching. Students at lunch counters and churchmen trying to set their house in order need only to look to Jesus for both an example of direct assault on sin as well as for the strength to persevere."

(Single copies of this reprint may be had without charge. It may be ordered for 3¢ each in quantities under 100 and for 2¢ each in any quantity over 100.)

THE EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY. 50 Whitehall St., S. W. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Reprinted from *The Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1960

A Southern Point of View

BY

ELIZA PASCHALL

A Southerner who was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and who received her A.B. from Agnes Scott College, ELIZA PASCHALL *has lived in Atlanta, Georgia, for the past twenty-four years. She is the mother of three children who attend public school in Atlanta and has been active in many local community organizations.*

It is common practice among Southern spokesmen to refer to the "Southern point of view." Our capitol in Atlanta resounds with speeches which say that all Georgians agree. And it is always stated or implied that what they all agree on is that our present system of a legally racially segregated society is best.

With the threat of closed public schools, it has now become "realistic" to admit that, though there may still be doubt as to the jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court over the state of Georgia, we should act as though the jurisdiction were legal rather than shut down all our schools. It has become "courageous" to accept token integration rather than have our children denied schools. All this realism and this courage, it is made quite clear, go against the Southern point of view.

I am a Southerner. From *my* point of view, not only does the U.S. Supreme Court have jurisdiction over Georgia, but the school decision was a correct one. Our schools are separate but not equal, and even if they were, legal racial segregation has no place in a democracy. It is a hangover from slavery. Historically it can be explained in the South, but it cannot be justified from my Southern point of view.

I am tired of justification by comparison. "But it is really so much worse in the North. Look at Chicago. And what about South Africa?" I do not set my standards of morality by what others do, in the North or in Chicago or in South Africa. I set them by what I believe in my heart, and I do believe in my heart that segregation is a disease that infects all parts of a being, human or political. It is a germ from which I should like to protect my children as much as possible, regardless of its virulence in other places.

My Southern point of view cannot accept the argument that a school board increases its effectiveness in administering a law by ignoring it until forced to obey by a court order. "They had to wait until court action, and they had to contest the suit," I am told. Why? I do not see that reluctance to enforce the law necessarily increases public support for those who are finally forced to abide by the law, or that it increases respect for other laws among adults or among youths.

I have heard these officials defended by those who "do not believe in segregation either" on the grounds that ignoring the law is a necessary political move, presumably to gain support of those citizens who prefer that the law be disobeyed. The implication is that the majority of citizens fall into this category. But I believe that there are many Southerners who expect their public officials to honor their oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

I do not agree with the "realistic liberals," who daily play the game which has as its primary rule: To be influential you must stay in the group. What influence do we have if we constantly yield to the pressure of "This is not the time. It would cause trouble"? Above all else, the group says, one must not cause trouble. The chorus goes like this: "We would have no objections, but others might. We might lose members. We might lose business. We might lose an organization." They never seem to consider that by positive action we might gain a soul, and there are many lost souls in the South today.

I resent the time and effort this problem which we create for ourselves takes from constructive efforts to solve more demanding problems that are not of our own making. At every point in the life of the community, these questions rise to plague us. Shall we admit Negroes? Where could we meet? Whom would we offend? The easy way out is to say that the Negroes prefer it this way and that they do not want to come to our

affairs. I do not presume to know the minds of any group of citizens. No doubt many Negroes would not be interested. But I would let any citizen choose to participate or not according to his interests, not according to law or class.

Let me list from my personal experience a few examples of the dilemma facing liberals.

We have elected a Negro to the board of education, but it is difficult for civic groups to arrange meetings at places to which all members of the board may be admitted. The resources of a state educational institution are at the disposal of citizens in planning community projects if only the white population of the community participates. A United Fund agency has a fine International Club, where foreign students are invited to come and meet American students. Negro students are invited if they are from foreign countries, but not if they are Americans. In this instance, American birth seems to be a liability.

A local civic group interested in international affairs votes to affiliate with a national organization, a member of the national board of which is a local resident. He is also a college president and a Negro. He is expected not to attend local meetings. (He hardly would have time anyway, inasmuch as he travels a great deal representing our country on foreign missions.)

And what about private lives? There is no law that I know of regulating whom I may have in my home, but here in the South one always wonders about what the neighbors will think. "Will they understand?" Understand what? That I like some people and not others, but not on the basis of the color of their hair, or their eyes, or their skin? That I want my children to have an opportunity to know other Americans, as well as visitors from India, Pakistan, Germany, and Australia? At our local, integrated Unitarian-Universalist Church, my child has a Negro classmate with whom she has developed a strong friendship. The friend's father is a university professor, honored in his profession, chosen to assist in the planning of the 1960 White House Conference on Youth. But when his daughter comes to see my daughter, they do not go to the corner drugstore. I am not sure what would happen, and so I keep making excuses when asked point-blank, "May we go?"

"You are too sudden," I am told. "Don't try to change things overnight." Eighteen sixty to nineteen sixty: "sudden"? Nineteen fifty-four to nineteen sixty: "deliberate speed"? Our spokesmen say that others do not understand our problems. What is there to understand in a plan to give up all schools rather than admit one Negro child to one "white" school? Substitute "Hungarian and Russian" for "Negro and white," and would we call it democracy? Substitute "Jew and German" for "Negro and white"; would we call it democracy?

No matter how big our other problems are, we evidently feel that none is as great as accepting the fact of certain children's sitting down together to learn.

In a federal court I listened to the judge announce that, by his order, henceforth there were to be no more white and Negro schools in Atlanta. But the fact remains that all the Negroes are assigned to certain schools and all whites to other schools, and all the teachers end up in the same fashion. Even as we talk of possible desegregation, we speak in terms of a Negro child's asking for a transfer to a "white" school, though the judge has said there are no specifically white schools any more.

Week in and week out, at luncheon meetings, we salute the flag and pledge "liberty and justice for all." We do not have to meet the eyes of the Negro waiters, who are standing in the back, for our eyes are looking forward at the flag.

While we meet and eat, we are likely to endorse crash programs to improve the facilities and the treatment of our mentally ill, who are increasing in numbers each year. Yet how can we avoid split personalities, delusions of grandeur, flights from reality as individuals when we indulge in them as a society?

I have sat in the gallery of the state capitol and listened to the governor (several governors, in fact) and the legislators repeat, like a broken record, "We will never — never — never —" And I have wondered, What are they afraid of? Is it just habit? Do they think this is what is expected of them by the people? And do the people, hearing their officials, think the safe thing to do is to repeat after them, each following the other, round and round like a dog chasing his tail?

I am weary of the chase. I can no longer live with my own silence. I am tired of wondering what the neighbors will think. I would declare to the whole world, including my neighbors, that from my point of view democracy is a serious and wonderful thing, that it must be lived as well as believed in, that the game of "I don't mind, but I thought you did" is a vicious circle that binds and restricts and stunts minds and hearts, that if to thine own self thou art not true, thou canst not then be true to any man.

There is another Southerner whose view I would accept as my own. That Southerner is George Washington. The words are "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair." The standard is the Constitution of the United States.

FROM:

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
THE METHODIST CHURCH
March 22, 1960

THE STUDENT "SIT IN" MOVEMENT - Preamble (From Report of Standing Committee on Student Work)

The academic life of the colleges and universities of our country have recently been shaken by what are now commonly called sit-in demonstrations. In recent days, students of no less than 27 colleges and universities in 11 different states have participated. The sit-in demonstrations have become a visible symbol of protest by both Negro and white students against obvious racial discriminations.

The Woman's Division has a deep concern and responsibility among college and university students. We have challenged them to accept the vocation of Christian student-hood. This means for them and the university sound scholarship, academic freedom, and the discipline of study.

These sit-in demonstrations have occurred, however, at a time when colleges and universities, in fact our total society, are confronted with momentous issues that are a part of the world wide revolution. Therefore, anyone who is sensitive to the earth-shaking disturbances of our social order finds himself understanding these students and why they are doing what they are doing. In fact a sensitive Christian not only understands but also sympathizes. Christian students are involved in the demonstrations and Christian students everywhere must take a stand.

The Department of Christian Social Relations also concurs with the Standing Committee on Student Work in its recommendation:
That the Woman's Division endorse the method of non-violence which many students are practicing in the "sit-in" demonstrations. We believe these demonstrations offer to all Christians in this disturbed hour an opportunity for Christian witness. We urge Methodist women everywhere to study the facts which will enable them to understand, interpret, and undergird these students. We believe that every local church should seek in the context of the gospel to clarify its position on the race issue.

The Woman's Division therefore calls upon Methodist women across the nation to combine their efforts with other like minded community groups in such action as the following:

1. Contact your local law enforcement body at once and make sure that the rights of the students to protest are protected so that intimidation and violence of any type will be prohibited.

2. Communicate("face to face") individually and in groups with the management of public eating places in your community and offer your patronage and public support of their restaurants when they extend the service of their facilities to non-white patrons. Write letters of protest to local and national offices of Chain Stores operating eating facilities on a segregated basis.

3. Long range plans may well be made in many places throughout the nation for visits to city governing officials urging repeal of any local ordinances that violate human rights and the enactment of local ordinances that protect human rights and freedom from discrimination based on "custom". (In many states this long range emphasis will call for a program of education and action on a statewide scale for the enactment of State Civil Rights laws.)

4. In cities where there are "Mayor's Committees on Human Relations" or some comparable group such committees should be encouraged and supported in efforts such as are here suggested.

5. In those states where there are state and local organizations with effective program in the area of Human Relations, Woman's Societies and Guilds might with great profit provide an individial membership for their secretary and chairman of Christian Social Relation, in such state and/or local Councils, thereby uniting their efforts with other persons and groups of goodwill and sharing the benefits of the information plans and skills made available through Councils on Human Relations.

It is recommended that the Woman's Division refer this statement to other Division and the Joint Section of the Board of Missions with the hope that they may take similar action on the basic issues involved.

Civil Rights Suits Brought by Department of Justice under the Acts of 1957 and 1960

Terrell County, GEORGIA, carried to Supreme Court, back to District Court, settled in September.

Macon County, ALABAMA, carried to Supreme Court

Fayette County, TENNESSEE, settled out of Court

Haywood County, TENNESSEE, settled

Bienville Parish, LOUISIANA

Washington Parish, LOUISIANA

(for particulars on all of these, see sheets attached)

The Department of Justice has required the production of voting records under Acts of 1960 in the following counties:

Alabama - WILCOX COUNTY - 8,218 Negroes of voting age; 3,056 whites
Negro voters, none - whites 3,040 (New York Times 5-10-60)

SUMTER COUNTY - 8,700 Negroes, 3,600 whites of voting age.
Negro voters 175; whites 2,858 (New York Times 6-7-60)

MONTGOMERY COUNTY - 34,079 Negroes of voting age, 51,869 Whites
Negro voters 3,480; whites 25,520
(New Orleans Times-Picayune)

Florida - UNION COUNTY - Democrats, white 1,752; Negro 2
Republicans, white 3; Negro 1

Georgia - WEBSTER COUNTY - 1,296 Negroes of voting age; 949 whites
Negro voters, none - whites 934 (New York Times 5-10-60)

FAYETTE COUNTY - 1,255 Negroes, 3,387 Whites of voting age
Negro voters 25, whites 3,402 (New York Times 6-7-60)

EARLY COUNTY - 4,774 Negroes, 5,045 whites of voting age
Negro voters 226, whites 3,402 (New York Times, 6-7-60)

Louisiana - EAST CARROLL PARISH - 5,330 Negroes and 3,223 whites of voting age
Negro voters none, whites 2,212

EAST FELICIANA PARISH - 6,235 Negroes, 6,214 whites of voting age
Negro voters 76, whites 2,414

OUACHITA PARISH - 14,532 Negroes, 31,331 whites of voting age
Negro voters 727, whites 24,257
(Times Picayune, 5-24-60

Mississippi - BOLIVAR COUNTY, La Flore

FOREST COUNTY - 12,958 Negroes in county, less than 25 have been permitted to register. Included in the remaining 12,933 Negroes are doctors, teachers, preachers, laymen disfranchised simply because they are Negroes.

South Carolina - MCCORMICK COUNTY - 2,625 Negroes, 2,077 whites of voting age
Negro voters 0, whites 1,399. (New York Times reports now 49 Negro voters)

HAMPTON COUNTY - 4,607 Negroes, 4,617 whites of voting age
Negro voters 250, whites 3,210

CLARENDON COUNTY - 9,279 Negroes and ? whites of voting age
Negro voters 250, whites 3,210

END VOTE BIAS, TERRELL TOLD

From Atlanta Constitution, September 14

MACON--U.S. District Judge William A. Bootle ordered the Terrell registrars to comply with his order within 10 days.

In a 27-page ruling, the federal district judge permanently enjoined the Terrell registrars from engaging in any practices which involve distinction on the base of race or color between Negroes and other citizens in voting and in registration for voting in Terrell County.

Specifically, the judge enjoined the registrars from:

1. Using different colored application forms for white and Negro voters.

2. Keeping separate registration and voting records for whites and Negroes according to race.

3. Delaying action on application for registration by Negroes while not delaying action on applications of whites.

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4. Administering literacy tests requiring Negroes to read and write a more lengthly and difficult paragraph of the constitution of Georgia or of the United States than whites are required to read and write.

5. Administering literacy tests requiring Negroes to read aloud and to write from dictation while not requiring white applicants to do likewise.

6. Administering tests to Negroes singularly and apart from white applicants while administering such tests to white applicants in groups.

7. Requiring a higher standard of literacy of Negroes than of white applicants in passing upon the results of the literacy tests.

The four Negro complainants ordered enrolled on Terrell voter lists are Marjrie Moore Tune, Grace Boyd Gibson, Dave Gibson and Genevieve M. Shedrick

"It is the intent and purpose of this court," Judge Bootle's ruling said, that the persons enjoined shall do whatever is necessary to be done to enroll within 10 days of this decree upon the list of qualified voters of Terrell County, Ga., the names of all of the above four persons."

The lengthy court order also forbids the Terrell registrars from denying registration to any Negro applicant otherwise qualified whose performance in literacy tests is at least equal to that of other applicants who have passed such tests.

The registrars were enjoined "from failing to accord to any Negro citizen of Terrell County in a fair and impartial and non-discriminatory manner each and every right such citizen has or may have under the election laws, customs, usages and regulations of the state of Georgia and under the Constitution and laws of the United States pertaining to suffrage."

TERRELL PROMISES TO GIVE NEGROES EQUAL RIGHT TO VOTE

From Atlanta Journal, September 23

MACON, Ga., Sept. 23--The Terrell County Board of Registrars, loser in the Justice Department's first suit under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, has promised full compliance with a federal court order, to stop discriminating against Negroes.

The Judge has not acted on a Justice Department request for appointment of a federal referee to supervise Negro voter registration in Terrell. Under the injunction, however, any Negro who considered himself discriminated against could ask the court's help.

The report, signed by chief registrar James G. Raines and attorney Charles J. Bloch who represented the registrars announced that the names of four Negroes, Mrs. Marjorie Moore Turner, Mrs. Grace Boyd Gibson, Davey L. Gibson and Mrs. Genevieve M. Shedrick, were added to voting rolls according to directions of Judge Bootle.

The Terrell report said that a plan, drawn up by Raines with the approval of Bloch, was made outlining procedure to be used to comply with the court decree. "Said plan was designed by Mr.Raines for the purpose of being able to show to the court at any time," the report said, "that a conscientious compliance with the court's decrees is being effectuated."

The report said the names of the four persons ordered registered were included "as nearly as possible in alphabetical order" on the copies of the rolls in the possession of the registrars, and that a request had been forwarded to Secretary of State Ben Fortson in Atlanta to correct his list to include the names.

A new list was then drawn placing all voters in alphabetical order "without reference to the race of the voters." Raines said he had destroyed all the green cards previously used for registering Negro voters, while whites used white cards, and that all the information from the tinted cards had been transferred to white cards.

Official Restriction of the Opportunity

of Negroes to Register and Vote

in Macon County, Alabama

1951 - 1960

For more than twenty years, Negro citizens in Macon County, Alabama, in their efforts to register and vote, have almost continuously met strong official resistance. Various techniques have been employed to limit or prevent the participation of Negroes in politics. Although Negroes have constituted more than four-fifths of the total population, they have only just recently constituted one-fourth of the total voters in the County.

Between January 1, 1951 and December 31, 1959 (nine years), certificates of registration were issued to only 510 (32%) of the 1,585 Negroes from whom applications were accepted. This was an average of 56.7 per year.

Following is a list of techniques which have been employed by the white officials to limit or prevent Negroes from political participation:

1. Requiring Negroes and Whites to register in separate rooms and in separate parts of the Macon County Courthouse.

2. Registrars frequently reporting for work late and leaving work early, thus reducing the number of hours available to Negro applicants.

3. Permitting only two Negro applicatns in the registration room at the same time.

4. Requiring Negro applicants to read and transcribe articles from the Constitution of the United States, in addition to filling out the voter registration questionnaire.

5. Conversing with applicants as they write, which practice disturbs them, and stimulates making errors.

6. Permitting a Negro voter to vouch for <u>only two</u> applicants per year.

(See reverse side)

7. Preventing some Negro voters from vouching for any applicant.

8. Failing to issue certificates of registration to Negroes immediately upon the successful completion of the requirements for registration.

9. Failing to inform unsuccessful applicants of their failure to fulfill the requirements for registration.

10. Failing to work on many registration days.

11. Resigning from the board in order not to register Negroes.

To the foregoing restrictions, other Couhty officials have

1. Refused to appoint any Negro voter to serve in any capacity as one of the 108 workers at the polls on election days.

2. Refused to appoint any Negro to serve on the seven-member County Board of Public Welfare.

The State Legislature has also contributed to the restrictive measures by enacting legislation which

1. Permits Boards of Registrars to use twelve of their working days for clerical work only, and in even years to use up to twenty additional days in the precincts away from the courthouse. (There is no requirement that the Board announce in advance which days will be so used.)

2. Gerrymandered the city of Tuskegee in such a manner as to eliminate from residence in the city 400 of its 410 Negro voters. (Not a single white voter was removed from the city).

Supplementing the foregoing, many local white citizens refuse to accept appointment to serve on the Board of Registrars, and the Governor and his two associates (the State Appointing Board) refuse the appoint qualified Negro voters to serve.

From The Christian Century, September 28, 1960

ECONOMIC BOYCOTT

Undercutting the White Citizens' Councils (Fayette County, Tenn.)

Belatedly the Justice Department has acted to stop economic discrimination against Negroes who seek to assert their civil rights by registering to vote. In Tennessee the department has brought injunction suits against banks and individuals in an effort to stop economic coercion impairing citizens' rights. The coercion has been manifested in various ways. A number of Negro teachers have lost their positions; others have been warned that they will be fired if they attempt to register. A Negro minister who had urged his people to register was denied a small loan at a bank even though his cosigner was conspicuously solvent. Negroes have been compelled to move from their homes, to pay loans prematurely, to go far afield to sell their products. Some have been unable to rent land, buy necessities, or obtain services, simply because they tried to behave as good citizens should. Now the justice department has moved to halt the application of economic sanctions against Negroes. In so doing it has struck a solid blow at the so-called White Citizens' Councils, which often apply economic sanctions against Negroes or against whites who seek to help Negroes vote. In fact, economic coercion has been the councils' chief form of attack on Negro rights. It is to be hoped that the Justice Department will file and press suits not only in Tennessee but in other states where the councils practice their cruelties.

Consent judgement was made at Memphis, April 24. The first voting rights case under 1957 Civil Rights Act to be settled by Negotiation.

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HAYWOOD COUNTY

Negroes registered to vote in Haywood County today for the first time since the Reconstruction following the Civil War.--New York Times, May 18, 1960.

Important history in Tennessee voting, and important insurance against any Tennessee responsibility for harsh civil rights legislation in the future, have been made and written in the past few weeks.--Chattanooga Times, May 22, 1960.

LOUISIANA

Bienville Parish

Population - Negro, 10,796 -- White 10,107

Registered - Negro 28 -- White 4,759

5,143 of approximately whites of voting age registered; 26 of 4,475 Negroes.
New York Times, June 8, 1960

Washington Parish, June 29, 1959

Justice Department filed suit against the registrar of the Parish and the White Citizens Council. One thousand two hundred eighty-one qualified Negroes had been removed from the voters list through challenges of the White Citizens Council.

On January 12, 1960, the Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered the names of these 1,281 Negroes to be placed again on the voters list. This decision was upheld by the Supreme Court on February 29, on the grounds the Negroes were asked questions not asked to white people.

Hearings by U. S. Civil Rights Commission in New Orleans, September 27-28, 1960

Berl Bernhard, Commission Deputy staff director reported, the Commission had received complaints of discrimination against Negro registration and voting from 17 Parishes -- Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, Clairborne, De Soto, East Carroll, Jackson, Madison, Ouachita, Red River, Tensas, and Webster from North Louisiana; and from South Louisiana, East Feliciana, West Feliciana, St. Helena, Washington and Plaquemines; 35 witnesses coming from Ouachita, East Carroll, Madison, Caddo, Clairborne, St. Helena, Jackson, Plaquemines, Webster, Red River, Bossier Parishes testified.

Complaints

Listed by Clarence A. Laws, field secretary of the N. A. A. C. P.:

1. Outright refusal to register Negroes.
2. Telling Negroes that the registration office is closed.
3. Telling Negroes that they must come at another time even though whites are being registered.
4. Stating that Negroes have failed to properly identify themselves or to establish citizenship.
5. Alleging that application form for registration was not properly accomplished.
6. Concluding questions asked about the federal or state constitutions or some other subject were not properly answered.

State Attorney Gremillion is contemplating invoking the new law passed by the legislature in 1960, which provides imprisonment of one to five years, a $1,000 fine if a person is convicted of making a false, ficticious, or fraudulent statement to any federal agency, asserting that a state or parish official has denied any right guaranteed by the United States or State Constitution.

From The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, May 8, 1960

Some Officials Hurting State, Mitchell Holds

ROME, Ga., May 7--Without calling any names, Rep. Erwin Mitchell Saturday laid out other Georgians serving in Congress and in state offices as a group "doing more harm to our region than any group of Northern Democrats and Republicans could ever do."

"This small group of men and women, and thankfully it is small and will continue to grow smaller, is one of the major obstacles in the path toward unprecedented economic growth, development, and prosperity in our region," Mr. Mitchell said in a speech here.

The 35-year-old Georgia solon, retiring from Congress because of bad health, made his talk to a meeting of the Seventh District Democratic executive committee. The committee met in the city auditorium Saturday to set the rules under which Mr. Mitchell's successor will be chosen.

About 200 persons were in the audience which heard Congressman Mitchell speak and they interrupted him several times with applause. There was a strong ovation at the end.

The solon said that afterwards, a number of individuals came up to him and extended congratulations on what he had said. A number termed the speech "courageous." Mr. Mitchell said he got no adverse reaction although there may have been some.

The Congressman, whose home is at Dalton in Whitfield County, took the occasion to tell the assembled Democrats that he thinks people who are elected to office on the Democratic ticket should act like Democrats.

"When any candidate seeks to run as a nominee of his party, he thereby signifies that that particular party's ideas and goals most closely approximate his own," Mr. Mitchell said.

"This being so, it is a source of amazement that we constantly return to office, as Democrats, elected officials who have established the practice of berating our party, its leadership and its principles.

"It is absolutely astounding that we permit these men and women to bear the Democratic badge when they at every opportunity, through voice and vote, join with the opposition party. I can say this because I believe in the Democratic Party.

"I can say this because I have not and never will be part of the sham and hyposrisy that permeates the rank of the Democratic Party in the South.

"And when I say this, I am talking about political leadership both state and national throughout the South.

"May the day be forthcoming, and I say to you with the strongest conviction of which I am capable that this day will be forthcoming, when we Democrats will

nominate and elect Democrats and will send scrambling those who use our party only as an expedient avenue to public office."

As one example of the manner in which he believes these "self-styled Democrats" have damaged the South, Mr. Mitchell said they "through their hue and cry have with a great deal of success instilled in the minds of Georgians and other Southerners the false belief that the remainder of the nation literally hates us.

"These are the ones who constantly cry out that Northerners seek to crucify us, to insult us, to make whipping boys of us.

"I have travelled throughout our great nation and I have never found this to be so. I have many friends in the Congress from all over the United States and I know that is not their sentiment. On the contrary, the prevailing sentiment is that the South is a part of the United States, just as is the West, North, and East. . . .

"These political leaders who deem themselves the preservers of our way of life might well be called the destroyers of our future.

"These people through their negative approach and with the help of a substantial portion of the Southern press have sought to convey the impression that we in the South are the last bastion of freedom in our great republic. This we know to be untrue.

"These same thought-molders have developed the negative and defeatist attitude that the remainder of the nation stands aligned against the future growth and progress of the South. This we know to be untrue.

"Our fellow Americans, regardless of where they come from, stand ready to join with us for our mutual benefit if we would only let them. But the attitude of our political leaders closes the door to this prospect.

"They say we are suspicious of you, we don't trust you, and we will not cooperate with you."

As a result, Mr. Mitchell declared, the influence of the South is lessened each year in Washington.

The Southern solons refuse to go along with the "genuine needs" of the nation's metropolitan areas. And as a consequence, the representatives of the metropolitan areas are withdrawing their support from the farm program which is vital to the South, he declared.

"This same untenable attitude has led all public education in our state to the very brink of destruction, Mr. Mitchell stated.

"It warns of federal domination, it shouts federal encroachment and control, it says on the one hand 'stay away federal government and let us operate our schools as we see fit,' and on the other hand it says to you and to me in the local school district that you cannot have the freedom of choice to determine locally what you desire. . . .

"This same leadership screams 'states rights' when the Congress enacts

legislation to insure the right of vote to every qualified American regardless of where he may live. And at the same time it is responsible for legislation that takes away from you the right to vote for the Democratic nominee for president."

Mr. Mitchell was referring to Georgia's presidential electors law, first sponsored by then Gov. Herman Talmadge in 1952, and subsequently extended to apply to later presidential elections.

"How many of you recognize the fact that when we go to the polls in November of this year to elect the President of the United States that here in the state of Georgia, if you desire to vote for the Democratic nominee, you will have no opportunity to do so?

"Our only opportunity will be to vote for a slate of unpledged electors. They will cast the electoral vote of our state for whomever they may choose and without your or my concurrence, advice, or instruction.

"The same leadership that says there is no need for more legislation to insure the privilege of voting in Georgia is the very same leadership that is responsible for taking away from us the cherished right to cast our ballot for the specific Democrat we would like elevated to the presidency."

Congressman Mitchell, formerly a solicitor general and a superior court judge, said that no one is prouder of his heritage than he is.

"No one loves Georgia and the Southland any more than I, but I am afraid that by and large our leadership has been guilty of too much tradition and not enough vision," he declared.

"This is the age of rockets and nuclear power. What is our past, we will continue to revere and will continue to be enriched by it. But we must come of age politically.

"We must elect men to office whohave a full consciousness of America's great reservoir of progress that is awaiting to be tapped. While we should continue to treasure the past and gain experience from it, we should no longer live in it.

"We must have leaders who are living in the present and are looking to the tomorrow."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director J. M. Dabbs, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
Phone: ALpine 2-2722
Exec. Dir.: Robert Hughes
Chairman: Father Albert Foley

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
Phone: FRanklin 4-4521
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Chairman: Mrs. Kyle Engler

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

4241 S. W. 109th Court
Miami 55, Florida
Phone: CAnal 1-8521
Exec. Dir.: William K. Williams
Chairman: Mrs. Mabel Reese

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JAckson 5-4063
Exec. Dir.: Dr. W. C. Cowart
Chairman: Dr. Richard Hocking

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Chairman: The Rev. A. D. Pinckney
Plymouth Congregational Church
1626 West Chestnut Street
Louisville 3, Kentucky

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121 E. Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina
Phone: FRanklin 6-6833
Exec. Dir.: Harry S. Jones
Chairman: Dr. Raymond Wheeler

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
Phone: ALpine 6-8808
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. E. H. Spearman
Chairman: Courtney Siceloff

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2001 Division Street
Nashville, Tennessee
Phone: ALpine 5-6483
Exec. Dir.: Miss Katherine Jones
Chairman: Dr. James Glasse

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia
Phone: MIlton 9-0872
Exec. Dir.: Daniel Bowers
Chairman: Dr. Thomas Henderson

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Chairman: Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas
Ph: JAckson 4-5084
Exec. Secretary: Mrs. George Dumbauld

* cooperating but not financially assisted.

HOW SHALL WE FACE THE EVERYDAY TESTS

AHEAD?

With Faith--the inner spirit with which we win moral victories over chaos, unrest, and evil.

With Belief--a belief in God, his creation and the life everlasting.

With Prayer--as regularly as night follows day.

With Conscience--the counterpoise between right and wrong.

With Courage--the indomitable quality that keeps us going forward.

With Honesty--because it is an obligation within ourselves.

With Content of the simple things--so that we may defeat selfishness and personal concerns from undermining the high plan of His will.

With Love for one another--the new philosophy of life.

With Christian living--that which we can attain only through thinking and doing what is in accord with Christ's teachings.

With trust in this credo--for it is God's will.

--Will Downer, in Epworth Herald. Copyright Stone & Pierce.

JUSTICE WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE

GLEANINGS OF WORKSHOP

FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

CLARK COLLEGE

NOVEMBER 15-16, 1960

Justice is turned back
and righteousness stands afar off
for truth has fallen in the public squares
and righteousness cannot enter.
Isaiah 59:14 R. S. V.

Let justice roll down like waters
and righteousness like an everflowing stream
Amos 5:24 R. S. V.

Love thy neighbor as thyself.
Mark 13:31

Providing for honest things not only in the
sight of the Lord but also in the sight of men.
II Cor. 8:21

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

I pondered a long time to find a title for this Workshop and finally found the answer in a street scene in my home city.

It was the day the Negro college students had announced that they would march to the Capitol and hold a prayer service. They had talked to the Chief of Police and he had promised them protection.

Two thousand more or less of them began their long march to the Capitol but as they neared it they were diverted by Chief Jenkins because of the danger they would face.

He had seen an angry mulling crowd about the Capitol and the 98 State patrolmen stationed there at 6:00 a.m., and armed with clubs, and ordered by the governor to use them, if necessary to keep the students off the grounds. The Chief, true to his promise, was protecting Atlanta college students from the State police - and angry people.

I stood at a window on the 4th floor of Wesley Memorial building and saw them going down Auburn Avenue. Denied the right to pray on the Capitol steps, they were going to a church to pray. They were marching two by two and obeying every traffic light. The distance had been long and concrete streets are not easy on feet. Here and there were girls with pencil-like heels on their shoes, but never faltering, although I knew they were suffering.

I felt hot tears on my arms, my tears I did not know were falling. I knew they were not marching to gain something just for themselves alone, but for me and all others, that our country might be what it started out to be - a land of equal rights for all people.

I knew then, the title of the Workshop had to be JUSTICE WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE.

Dorothy Tilly

GLEANINGS FROM THE WORKSHOP OF "THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED"

JUSTICE WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE

Southern Regional Council
Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia
November 15 - 16, 1960

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Director of Women's Work
Reporter - Mrs. Reed Polychrone, Atlanta, Georgia

OPENING PRAYER - Rev. J. J. Sneed, D. D.

OPENING WORSHIP - Mrs. Mable C. Morley, Director, Education Department of the Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia

SPEAKERS

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director of the Southern Regional Council
Miss Thelma Stevens, Executive Secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church
Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Bernard Lee, Student, Morris Brown College
Mr. Lonnie King, Student, Morehouse College
Miss Mary Ellen Bender, Bethlehem Center, Nashville, Tennessee
Miss Lana Taylor, Student, Spelman College
Mrs. J. B. Pendergrast, HOPE, Inc.
Mr. Marion Wright, Vice-President, Southern Regional Council
Mrs. William S. Terrell, National President, United Church Women
Mrs. John Patton, President, United Church Women of Georgia

DISCUSSION LEADER - Miss Eleanor French, Director, Christian Social Relations, United Church Women, New York, N. Y.

WORKSHOP LEADERS

Mrs. I. Wilen
Mrs. Alfred Lexow
Mrs. David Cathcart
Mrs. Earl Andrews
Mrs. Philip G. Hammer
Mrs. Thomas Green
Miss Thelma Stevens
Mrs. Harry Strauss

WORKSHOP REPORTERS

Mrs. Stanley Rawn
Mrs. Warren Besselieu
Mrs. John Patton
Mrs. Jennie Ruth Crump
Mrs. G. H. Martin
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox
Miss Mary Lena Wisehart
Mrs. H. W. Williams

SONG LEADER - Miss Rosa Page Welch

ONE HUNDRED THIRTY-NINE women gathered together for the yearly Workshop. They came from the following cities and states:

ALABAMA
- Anniston
- Birmingham
- Montgomery
- Prattville
- Tuskegee Institute

ARKANSAS
- Fayetteville
- Fort Smith

CALIFORNIA, San Pedro

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FLORIDA
- Hollywood
- Jacksonville
- Lakeland
- Miami Ft. Lauderdale

GEORGIA
- Albany
- Atlanta
- Augusta
- Conyers
- Decatur
- Elberton
- Thomaston

KENTUCKY
- Fort Thomas
- Lexington
- Louisville

ILLINOIS, Chicago

LOUISIANA
- Lafayette
- New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI
- Jackson
- Meridian
- Water Valley

NORTH CAROLINA
- Charlotte
- Greensboro
- Raleigh
- Rocky Mount
- Sedalia

NEW YORK
- New York City

OKLAHOMA
- Spencer

SOUTH CAROLINA, Greenville

TENNESSEE
- Knoxville
- Maryville
- Nashville

TEXAS
- McKinney
- San Antonio

VIRGINIA
- Arlington
- Chase City
- Danville
- Fairfax
- Norfolk
- Richmond

BASIC BELIEFS AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

By Thelma Stevens - Executive Secretary
The Department of Christian Social Relations - Woman's Division
The Methodist Church

It seems very presumptious for me to try to bring a message on this subject to a group as experienced and dedicated as you. Your courage under the tensions of these times should call all of us to new commitments and action as we seek understanding of the meaning of our basic religious faith for our social responsibility in today's world.

I cannot think of a better way to begin my message than by relating to you briefly a story about Mrs. Tilly - and Mr. Tilly! I should like to pay tribute to their greatness in these times with one little story. Even many years ago they would go for drives in the early mornings always with Mr. Tilly saying as they looked at the needs and suffering of people - "Dorothy, if I make you see this suffering and these needs often enough you will have to do something about them" And through the years they have translated their basic Christian beliefs into their social responsibility!

Let me call your attention to the world we live in today. A world where the revolution of expectation has become the revolution of demand. In a thirty year period, many things have happened in our world. . .Three great power blocks have arisen, the West, the East and the great unknown quantity of the newly awakening nations of Africa and Asia. The old colonialism is dead and a new colonialism is riding abroad. We may become a part of this new colonialism if we don't take care.

One hundred years is too long to leave the abcess of segregation on our land but "The end of the play is known" as Ralph McGill has said! John F. Kennedy has said "We must prove to a watching world we are the wave of the future." What kind of a wave that will be is up to us. Let us ask ourselves these searching questions. Are we losing the world by default? Are we speaking softly and carrying a feather? This does not apply to the women here! Are we obsessed by the traditions of the past? Have we let the climate of conformity dull our consciences and stop our action? People are so immersed in fear of this kind. The silence of the voices of moral and religious groups across the country has caused young people to question the church itself. This is true among Protestant youth. They wonder when the church of Jesus Christ will loose itself from the shackles of tradition and conformity and step into the world of today.

Micah, the Prophet, has said "What does God require of you but to do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with your God." Isaiah said "You shall be called Oaks of Righteousness." Paul wrote his young friend Timothy saying "God did not give us a spirit of timidity - but a spirit of power and love and self control."

We are called today as of old with "A Holy Calling" that lies at the very heart of our Judeo - Christian tradition.

God did not create us for a life of self-satisfaction and greed, but to a life of commitment to the fulfillment of His purpose for His world - to seek justice, righteousness, mercy, reconciliation, humility and yes - suffering. In our

southland we have let the greedy power made politicians use bigotry and prejudice as their platforms.

God has called us with A Holy Calling to be His witness in our home town, our nation and to the whole world.

This individual witness and the prophetic witness of our churches and synagogues can become a great world shaking mountain of power with its source rooted and grounded in our religious faith, which means in brief: The person in God's image - one Father of us all - Justice and love - The coming of God's Kingdom of Righteousness. Its goal is the Redemption of the community life of which we are a part. This community life has no boundaries of geography. In this new age there is "no near, no far."

Even neighborhoods have no real boundaries - only the artificial barriers made up of man's prejudices and fears and lack of understanding.

One of the committees of The World Council of Churches in a report in 1959 made the following profound statement:

"This is what we understand to be the prophetic function of the church. . .to be the watchman, discerning where God is and where the enemy is; warning men of danger. But the task of the watchman is performed not only in speech but by the character and power of his life and the suffering he may have to endure."

In the context of such a witness we are called to do many things. I shall summarize some of these that seem most urgent to me under three interwoven responsibilities:

1 - Information - As responsible leaders whatever our religious rootage may be we must know the facts about our community and our world. We cannot evaluate needs, understand propaganda, or determine priorities for our own task without information. Ours is a complex world with no simple answers - but the very heart of our Judeo - Christian directive is the worth of the person as a child of God.

2 - Indentification - When I was a child I was always hearing the word "Vicarious." It was a strange word to me then - and even now it becomes too much for my comprehension. As I have studied the great prophets of old and Jesus Himself - they "lived" the sorrows and needs and even the sins of the people! The call to repentance by the prophets of old was God's call to His people. But in a world like this we must identify ourselves with the suffering and injustices of people wherever that suffering and injustice exists. We need to understand the fears that make us sin against God's law; understanding brings the healing of reconciliation. We must also understand by this same identification the aspirations and cries of the human heart for freedom and dignity - the chance to be a person! For this there is no retreat! Even the day of the "revolution of expectation" has become the day of "the revolution of demand." Identification may mean suffering and sacrifice to do God's will.

3 - Involvement - To know the facts and vicariously suffer with the peoples of the world is not enough. We must involve ourselves in the redemptive process as God's channels to bring His Kingdom a little nearer. This may call for some

very simple task on our part or for great leadership. It may call for a new voice and a new courage within us - eg. (1) It may mean trying to understand the meaning of the "student Sit-in Movement" as a symbol of God's spirit of reconciliation for His world in Mississippi or Virginia or North Carolina or Oklahoma! It may mean a simple word of concern and support to the students involved. It may mean working to coordinate the forces of goodwill in a community to change the patterns of tradition and practice in relation to segregation. It may mean enlisting responsible citizens to make sure that law enforcement powers act with the highest form of integrity. It may mean going to the minister, priest or rabbi and the official governing group of your local congregation and talking together about the responsibility of your church or synagogue in facing these issues. For some groups the Kneel-In-Movement has called us to new repentance. (2) It may mean sitting in a court room to make sure all the citizens receive a fair trial. (3) It may mean going with some citizens in your community to the registration center or the voting precinct to make sure there is no hitch in utilizing the rights guaranteed under the Constitution. (4) It may mean placing a sign on your front lawn when new neighbors of another race or minority group move in - a sign that says "This House is not for Sale - I like my neighbors." (5) It may mean some economic pressure to assure equality of opportunity in jobs. I can buy my dresses from a saleswoman of a different color from my own and enjoy the process just as much. (6) If enough citizens of all faiths who believe in justice and human dignity made their voices heard and involved themselves in the process of achieving freedom and justice, laws to change patterns would not be needed. Unfortunately this is not the case! Therefore one of the most urgent tasks before us is to work for Federal and State laws that protect the freedoms of all our citizens.

God has called us all with "A Holy Calling" - "The frozen misery of Centuries" is breaking all over the world. The hot bricks in a four mule wagon on a cold January day in - - - - - -County, Mississippi have been replaced with the modern Ford or Chevrolet and a sprinkling of Cadillacs with the comfort and luxury of built in heaters. The four lane highways have replaced the red clay slippery roads - -

But the voices of the White Citizens' Councils in Mississippi or Alabama, Louisiana, or Texas (men and women!) have reached their neighbors on the Rejang River in Sarawak (Borneo) or the far flung communist camps of West China or on the borders of Burma. We are living in a changing world! The shots we fire that destroy human freedom and dignity are heard around the world. Somehow we ourselves and the people we symbolize in our local churches and synagogues have not always let our neighbors know that we are called of God to be His witness. We are called with "A Holy Calling."

"CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE"

by

Marion A. Wright

Linville Falls, North Carolina

Presented at the Annual Meeting of

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

NOVEMBER 15, 1960

Atlanta, Georgia

Emerson wrote: "Your manners are always under examination and by committees little suspected.... but are awarding or denying you very high prizes when you least think of it."

Our manners, then, are always on display. We are forever being judged by them. How do we pass the manners test?

Since February 1, 1960 -- of course long before, for that matter -- the manners of Southern whites have been an object of world interest. On that date a few Negro college boys entered a lunch room in Greensboro, North Carolina and ordered a cup of coffee.

Good manners, on which we pride ourselves, should have prompted us to say, "sit down, draw up a chair, have a cup of coffee" -- things we have been taught to say since childhood. But we didn't speak those warm and simple phrases. Because of our failure, we have undergone some months of turmoil and unrest. We have produced a sense of shock throughout the world.

There began on a regional scale a campaign of civil disobedience. The idea was not new of course. The principle of non-violent resistance to tyranny was old when the pyramids were raised.

Nebuchadnezzar made his great image of gold and set it up on the plains of Babylon. He issued his decree, directing that "at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up."

But Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to his face told Nebuchadnezzar "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image thou hast set up."

And so they walked unscratched through the fiery furnace.

So on the plains of Babylon there was born an idea. Some centuries later, in the city of Jerusalem, it was expressed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. And so, by way of Walden Pond in the words of Thoreau, by way of India in the salt marches of Gandhi, by way of Montgomery, Alabama, in the person and example of Martin Luther King, the idea on February 1, 1960, entered a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The doctrine of non-violent civil disobedience is an honored one in this country. It, of course, does not mean that a man has a right to disobey any law he doesn't like. But he has the right peaceably to protest against laws which offend his religion or conscience, or which place upon him burdens from which his fellow citizens are exempt.

The consciences of Quakers do not permit them to engage in war. They are, therefore, excused from military service. Consciences of Jehovah's Witnesses do not permit them to salute the flag -- which they liken to a graven image. Non-violently, they refused to do so and their action was upheld by the courts. The right of Quakers to refuse to take oaths

in court, or elsewhere, is respected. School children of certain faiths are not required to attend religious chapel services. And so on.

These activities conflict with conscience. The proper way to raise the legal issue is to refuse non-violently to conform.

In the same way one raises the legal issue when he is denied rights and privileges enjoyed by others. To refuse to submit is the direct and practical means of testing the law or custom by which one is penalized. So long as he submits there can be no test.

I think it is evident to all students of constitutional law that, once the legal issue is squarely presented, the right of Negro persons to eat at public eating places will be upheld.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any state action discriminating against a person on account of race. When a state issues a charter, or a city a license, to engage in the restaurant business, there is state action which makes the operation legal and permissible. If the operation is featured by racial discrimination, there is conflict with the Constitution.

Under modern conditions, public eating places are an essential feature of normal living. To deprive a person of a right to eat is to subject him to unnecessary inconvenience and hardship. A place of business, operating under state sanction, is forbidden by the Constitution from racial imposition of such inconvenience and hardship.

With every privilege there is a corresponding duty. When one secures the privilege of operating a public necessity, he accepts the privilege with express or implied limitations. Among these is the qualification that the business shall not be so operated as to needlessly inflict damage upon members of the public. To discriminate racially against possible customers is to inflict upon them the physical hardship and the mental anguish inseparable from denial of service.

A business avails itself of facilities and instrumentalities provided by the public. It could not exist without them. The road, the sidewalk, in front of his store, are provided by public funds. His police and fire protection and, water and electricity, are publicly supplied. There is inspection of sanitation, of premises, and health of personnel. Taxes pay for all of these services. A part of the Negro's tax dollar is included. Is it constitutional for the Negro to be required to pay for services in aid of a business serving only white people?

It was against injustices such as these that the sit-ins were directed. They are in the best tradition of this country from the Boston Tea Party to the Greensboro Coffee Party -- from Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to Martin Luther King.

Thomas Jefferson announced the principle that there are certain rights with which everyone is born. Since they were not conferred by government, government is powerless to take them away. Among them is the right to life, liberty and the

pursuit of happiness. No federal government, no state or city government, and no business authorized by anyone of them, may place road blocks in the way of such pursuit.

The sit-in movement is a test of the validity of that principle. It is based upon Jefferson's maxim.

We are concerned with the national image. That image acquired new luster from the conduct of college boys and girls, of both races, calm, poised and resolute, who demonstrated that moral power alone, schooled, channeled and disciplined, is the inevitable and ultimate victor over oppression.

The initial reaction to demand for lunch counter service was to close the counters. Mark the same reaction in other fields. Close the golf courses. Close the swimming pools. Close the parks. Close the libraries. Close the schools.

Now, if civilization does not inhere in such public instrumentalities, they are at least its expressions. Snip them off one by one, and, one step at a time, you withdraw from civilization. Finally, at the end of this somber process, you have attained complete savagery. Never before in human history have men openly advocated an inversion of the evolutionary process.

That is, not for human beings. I understand that a few scientists are cross breeding horses in an effort to reproduce the dwarfed and stunted Eohippus, primal ancestor of the breed of present day horses. The bunglers who propose to close

schools and libraries would make cave men of us all.

Few among us go that far. But those who seek to preserve segregation retard, if they do not reverse, the normal evolution of society into finer forms.

Men grow by experience, by contact, by absorption. Segregation limits the area of contact, the range of experience. Shut out from the lives of white and Negro alike has been the rich and rewarding experience of acquaintance with those who would bring to association and friendship a wealth of new background and social potential. Whites should realize that they too, are victims of the order they have created.

Occasionally one reads of a demented parent who has for years kept his child secluded in some attic or basement, shut off from contact or association with other humans. The police find the child, undernourished, stunted, filled with fantasies and delusions, ridden with misconceptions and fears. Such life becomes when the world is shut out.

Southerners of both races, without awareness of it, have undergone an isolation differing only in degree from that of the unfortunate child. We, too, have lived without the main stream of life. The circle of those whom we might have known, who might have enlarged the range of our sympathies and understanding, who might have enriched our lives by imparting into them a new breadth and depth, -- that circle has been racially constricted. We, too, have lived in a world of myth and fantasy and fear. We devise our own delusions of grandeur and of inferiority.

We begin now to tug at the bonds. We seek escape and exit into a brighter world. When, happily, full release has been achieved, we will laugh at the fears which so long possessed us and begin, at last, to devote our lives to noble purposes and happy ends.

WORKSHOP PANEL "The Unfinished Revolution" - Miss Eleanor French, Moderator
(Panel to form a backdrop for workshop discussion groups)

"A Southern Point of View"
Mrs. Eliza Paschall

Having spoken for groups such as the League of Women Voters and others for years, recently, at last, I have been able to speak for myself. Finding myself in disagreement with the constantly expressed and traditional "Southern Point of View," I decided I would express my own southern point of view. I should say at this point, that I was born and bred in the South. I married a Southerner. Both my grandfathers fought in the Civil War for the Confederacy, so I am as southern a product as can be found.

I sat down at my typewriter and I did express my southern point of view. It was only a very few pages. I mailed them off to the Atlantic Monthly. A note came back from Mr. Weeks, editor, saying he had been very impressed with the sincerity of my article and that he would work it into one of the forthcoming issues.

I graduated from Agnes Scott here in Atlanta and since the article has been printed, I have received many letters from Scott alumnae saying how relieved they were that I had spoken out. It was a great help to have this support as there have deen derogatory outcries as well.

In writing the article I feel I have been true to myself in declaring my feelings on integration and reiterating my belief in justice for all peoples. I know that this will come to pass in the years ahead.

"The March on the Capitol-Montgomery"
Bernard Lee

When we planned the Montgomery march on the capitol, we realized that the local authorities would be extremely hostile. Montgomery is in the heart of Dixie and is the cradle of the Confederacy. So following the Ghandian philosophy, we informed them of our intentions. The sheriff told us we would be turned back by state troopers. We continued our planning, nonetheless. It was planned for the demonstration to be on a holiday and 700 students assembled to march. We had expected the police but we had not expected a crowd of 5000 white people. We saw that some of them were armed with guns, knives and bayonets. We proceeded with the march and were turned back. This march showed the great courage and purpose of the students.

"The March on the Atlanta Capitol and the Atlanta Kneel-ins"
Lonnie King

In Atlanta, as Montgomery, we students had a march on the Capitol on May 17, 1960. We announced the plan concerning the march at a state NAACP meeting in order to enlist further support. A reporter was seen heading for the door and the next day the Constitution carried an item on page two that Negro students were planning turbulence at the State Capitol in connection with the Supreme Court Decision of

1954. Governor Vandiver issued a statement that the Georgia Militia would form a cordon at the Capitol.

No one knew if the march would come off or not but the paper had let some 4000 students know when and where the march would take place. On the day of the march, the students assembled. We felt we had to go on or the entire Negro community would suffer a moral defeat. So two by two we started down Chestnut Street through the Negro section of town with a police escort.

Chief Jenkins told us we were to turn back when we reached the downtown area but if we did that and stayed within city jurisdiction, everything would be all right. When we arrived downtown, he gave a direct order that we were to turn back and not go on to the Capitol. As we have a police of non-violence and since going on would have meant pushing through police lines, we turned and marched to the Wheat Street Church where we had a tremendous rally.

We proved that the Atlanta people were not fooled by the noise of officials. We showed we were not afraid of sticks and stones and we proved a great deal to our own people.

As to the kneel-ins, we all of us, were sincere in going to the churches. It is awfully hard to turn people out of church.

My group went to Druid Hills to church and were offered a basement room which we refused. We tried to register and they tried to prevent that. We feel that Church, the House of God, is the last place on earth where discrimination should exist. Segregation is wrong in all forms and discrimination is wrong in most all forms. The kneel-ins are being accepted more now and probably as time goes on will be even more so.

"The Sit-ins - Greensboro"
Miss Mary Ellen Bender

The sit-ins and kneel-ins began in Greensboro, N. C. It started when three freshmen from Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina and Bennett College sat-in at a Woolworth lunch counter. This had happened before but this time it caught on. There was very little violence there because of the support of the college leaders, the mayor and the community leaders. After a few initial sit-ins, a six-week cooling off period was called. After that was over, the sit-ins became a very organized effort with the more steady, reliable students participating.

The Greensboro movement was very long. It was about six months before the lunch counters were integrated and in the meantime some of the students had been arrested.

Surely what the students did there in assuming this position and seeing it through means that they are neither a lost or shiftless generation.

"The Sit-ins - Atlanta
Miss Lana Taylor

Student leaders in Atlanta decided something had to be done about the lunchroom situation. Atlanta is often called "the Athens of the South" and the cause had not been far advanced here.

The movement was very well organized right from the start by forming a Committee. Said Committee prepared "An Appeal for Human Rights" which was one complete page in the Atlanta newspapers. They wanted the public to know why the sit-ins were being planned.

The Committee planned the first sit-in for March 15, 1960. It was to occur at the cafeterias of tax supported places. The students were selected very carefully to be sure the non-violence aspect would be preserved. There were to be nine simultaneous sit-ins, the city hall, the Capitol, and the purpose of them was to get a test case to test the Georgia law in this matter. The students were arrested and then released. It is doubtful that their trials will ever come to court.

Again this summer, another sit-in was organized. The Action Committee made the plan and the Research Committee looked into the lunch counters to be utilized. It was planned for October, 1960, in the downtown, Broad Street area. This time the idea was "Jail instead of Bail" so a test case could be procured. In times like these it is the moral law of the universe versus man-made law and we must abide by the universal law when conflict arises.

REPORT OF WORKSHOP GROUPS

I. "The Church and Human Relations"

A. Mrs. I. Wilen, Chairman
B. Mrs. Alfred Lexow, Chairman

1. Since the Church is the House of our Lord, and we are members of His Household - we, the individual members of the Church decided we needed a greater total commitment of our membership if we are to improve human relations. As individuals in our Church, we have a responsibility for individual human relations and as a Church we have a responsibility for human relationships in the community and as a group.

2. It was the consensus that to just invite anyone into our Church membership was not enough. We all agreed that the invitation must be genuine, sincere and warm. In order to do this we must understand each other.

3. Our minister is more apt to take a stand if he knows his congregation is loyal, standing behind him. It helps him to know his higher eschelons agree with him also.

4. Church women should start youth and adult interfaith and interracial groups. In many communities the people have not taken any positive steps to stop anti-Semitic hate-mongers. Fear exists among the Jewish people in the South. Our witness is blurred by what we have not done. Jewish women are involving themselves so that there will be greater understanding. They know ministers cannot stand alone.

5. Churches should hold study groups in the church and in the communities on such subjects as Foreign Policy and on problems in their cities. They might use the "Great Decisions" course.

6. Churches should encourage their members to look after foreign students.

7. We must be motivated by what we believe - the greatest thing we have to fear is fear.

8. The effect of the strife in the South has had a far reaching effect on our nation, on the extension of God's Kingdom and World Peace. We are ashamed that some Christians are such poor followers of Jesus and are not practicing what they preach. The Beatitudes mean so little to us.

II. "The Unfinished Revolution"

A. Mrs. David Cathcart, Chairman
B. Mrs. Earl Andrews, Chairman

1. Support the students and interpret the motives and purposes of the sit-ins and kneel-ins. Make an effort to support or initiate biracial groups to seek the just solution.

2. Set up an interracial committee of citizens to interpret the student movements, serving as a liason group.

3. Churches should invite the Negro students to their youth functions. Other ethnic groups should be secured to help with the demonstrations.

4. Surveys could be conducted to ascertain reactions to the demonstrations.

5. Church women should attend the hearings and talk with the students showing their concern and expressing their interest. Help both morally and financially the students who might be expelled from school.

6. A study should be made where economic boycotts have been successful.

7. Dedicated women should send in their charge cards. Others could write the stores that they are willing to accept desegregation.

8. The Southern Regional Council has material to be given business men and merchants showing that little or no loss of business has been incurred when eating facilities have been desegregated. We should support the merchants who are willing to establish services without discrimination. Letters of appreciation should be sent them and whenever possible a word of approval in a personal way.

9. These are not just student concerns and problems, but ours too. The change is inevitable. The handwriting is on the wall. We must translate the Lord's words into deeds and actions.

III. "Basic Human Rights"

A. Mrs. Philip Hammer, Chairman
B. Miss Thelma Stevens, Chairman

1. Believing that integration is right, we would move towards the goal peacefully in this transition period. We must have understanding, not only of our past so we know what our prejudices are, but we must get our convictions across to the community as individuals and as groups. The Negro should understand psychological aspect of integration on a white person and the whites must see the Negro as a person of dignity, deserving the rights of citizenry.

2. Our children must be made aware of others point of view. Early impressions at home are very important. They must be made cognizant of the fact that one does not have superior feelings towards any group and all races deserve justice and equality. The parents could be provided with a training session program to equip them for questions at home. Also the churches and synagogues could provide normal situations where the children of both races could be together and take it for granted.

3. In discussing the problems of Negro registering, it was agreed that the procedures used by different registrars varied widely. The questionnaires are difficult to answer and the answers themselves were considered by the registrars and it was left to their consideration whether the applicant passed or not.

4. Some cities have Voting Clinics and coaching classes for the questionnaires. Negroes actually work in the polls in some locales.

5. White voters should not take the Negroes to regiater but encourage them as much as possible.

6. Groups such as the League of Women Voters, the PTA's and the United Church Women should bring out the facts about the discriminations in registering and let people know the changes to be made.

7. To help the school situation where governors and legislators are attempting to block the Supreme Court decision: personal letters should be written to the legislators urging them to accept the inevitable and keep our schools open; personal interviews with the governor and legislators by individuals and groups are suggested. They need to know just how their constituents stand.

8. Church groups could do much to provide pleasant experiences for the white and Negro youth to develop a friendly fellowship and understanding.

9. There is great need for aiding the foreign students in this country to feel accepted by entertaining them in our homes, and to prevent them from shunning the Negro for fear of losing their own status with the whites. The church could provide opportunities for the foreign student to enjoy social life together.

10. It was agreed that Housing was a major problem. Some suggested solutions are (a) it was agreed that the majority of the citizens of a town do not know what exists in the slum areas, (b) women should be encouraged to serve readily on survey or on investigating teams to see what substandard housing exists in their communities, (c) as church women we could take pictures (movies) or snapshots or slides of the slum conditions to be shown to church groups and civic groups, and (d) church groups and civic groups should seek the cooperation of their newspapers and radio-television stations in arousing public sentiment for community improvement.

11. One of the problems inherent in the solution of the housing problem is that good housing is dependent upon a living wage. Negro housing can improve only at the rate of work and pay of the Negro.

12. In general it was considered that better relations could be developed between the races by study or discussion groups to build friendships and to reach better understanding of the other's problems. We should let our ministers know that we will back them in preaching the whole gospel, for we regret that some ministers have been forced to resign because of their convictions and actions. We urge the Councils of United Church Women to sponsor integrated meetings not only for themselves, but for the public.

IV. "Law and Order"

A. Mrs. Thomas Green, Chairman
B. Mrs. Harry Strauss, Chairman

1. The Civil Rights Commission is a fact-finding body which recommends action to Congress. In order to present information to it, the persons affected file an affidavit. If sufficient affidavits are filed, the Commission will investigate the situation.

2. The Church because of the very nature of its being and its active participation in our times per se is strongly involved. We recognize the fact that training in Christian social ethics is needed. The Church could sponsor an exchange of choirs, pastors and literature. An interracial prayer group could be formed. Picnics and camp-outs could be done over race lines. Study series using "Christ, the Church and Race" and "In Every Place a Voice" could be planned.

As Abraham Lincoln said "To sin by silence when man should speak out, makes cowards of men."

PANEL "Citizens Free and Responsible" - Miss Eleanor French, Moderator

"How We Talk Together"
Mrs. J. B. Pendergrast

Our problem here in Georgia of the closing of the public schools had to be dealt with. We knew they must be preserved. HOPE or Help Our Public

Education was started with seventeen people in someone's living room. A course of action had to be decided upon. It was felt that the group should remain lily-white in order to have more influence with our legislators. This was not a matter of principle but of expediency. It is now thirty thousand strong and statewide in scope. It is composed of all degrees of feeling concerning integration and segregation among the members. BUT we have worked together and talked together.

The schools are still open although not integrated yet. We have been aided greatly by Ralph McGill and by the educators. We have longed to speak when we have had to be silent. We have had to overcome fear of all kind. I am not sure at this time how effective we have been. Only the future can tell that. But people of like-minded purpose, no matter how varied their personal feelings may be, have banded together and talked and worked and shall continue to do so.

"We Talked Together"
Mrs. John Patton

United Church Women took a long stride in the field of Leadership Education by working with the League of Women Voters, Active Voters, and HOPE, Inc. on Georgia's imperative problem - Open Schools. It was our privilege to have Mr. Jim Peters, State Board of Education President, to be with us in two Workshops. This would have been impossible several years ago but Mr. Peters now has taken a stand for open schools.

Four Workshop on Open Schools were held in strategic spots in Georgia. It is as Church women stand for the imperative of Christian freedom that they will grow in stature and savor with God and man.

"On The Southern Regional Council"
Mr. Leslie Dunbar

All of us at the Southern Regional Council are glad to help Mrs. Tilly with this fine meeting. All of you are taking a role and a part in these changing times in the South.

The Southern Regional Council was established in 1944. It grew out of the old Commission on Racial Cooperation which was started in 1919. Much of the strength of the present Council is due to the fact that it inherited so much goodwill and so many fine members from the old Commission. A group of Negroes during the second World War met in Durham, N. C., and expressed a desire for improvement in the treatment of Negroes in the South. A group of whites met in Atlanta reciprocally and then the two groups fused.

The Council has been very fortunate in its leadership. Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina was the first president. Mr. Paul Williams, a businessman and Catholic layman from Richmond was the second president. The third president was Mr. Marion Wright, a lawyer from North Carolina Mr. James McBride Dabbs, a farmer and writer from South Carolina is the fourth and present president.

The Council with the aid of a sizeable grant in 1954, established Councils on Human Relations in all southern states; they continue everywhere except in Texas, Mississippi and Louisiana. The Southern Regional Council works very closely with them but they have their own independent Boards and are autonomous organizations.

The Southern Regional Council publishes special reports, pamphlets and a monthly magazine, NEW SOUTH.

We have a field consultant service which works with school boards and municipalities, quietly, without publicity. We feel it a great honor when a town asks us for help even though integration there is a long way off. We provide help for radio and TV. The Council is trusted by the press for reliable information.

High school students as well as authors use our information. We supply in a considerable amount the same for governmental agencies.

We seem to be port of call for foreign visitors to Atlanta and it is a great plaasure to look after them.

In the South there have been new developments in the last few months. Thirty cities have set up bi-racial councils. In Florida, the governor has established such a council, state-wide. This has happened in Oklahoma also. The Kentucky legislature has created a bi-racial Commission. This all represents what we stand for.

We are looking forward to the changing South and to taking part in it. It is a mind-changing time. The power structure is more able now to talk with objectivity and honesty. Our policy has always been a simple one: let's reason, think, speak openly about the problems in a shared belief in the individuality of every person in the sight of the law and God.

"B'nai B'rith"
Mrs. Seymour Haber

B'nai B'rith was begun about 118 years ago by a small group of men on New York's Lower East Side to help the poor, the orphaned and the widowed. From this has developed a world wide organization of both men and women. The name means "Sons of the Covenant."

The women decided after working many years with the men that they wanted to form their own chapters. Atlanta has four such chapters.

The program is on a national scale and is varied. It is fundamentally a service organization. It helps support the Jewish National Hospital in Denver, Colorado, which also does research in tuberculosis and heart disease. The hospital is non-sectarian. It also supports the Leo N. Levi Hospital in Hot Springs, Arkansas, which treats arthritis. Belfair, a home for retarded children in Cleveland, Ohio, is also supported. The Hillel houses on college campuses are maintained by B'nai B'rith. We have local youth organizations for both boys and girls. Perhaps the work that you are most familiar with is that of the Anti-Defamation League.

Locally we are involved with the Cerebral Palsy Center and Battle Hill Haven among others. We stand ready to support and to serve.

"United Church Women"
Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod

The United Church Women Councils were first formed on a local level across denominational lines towork on mutual problems and after them came the state councils and then the national one. We now have 2200 councils in 50 states.

We have an official United Nations Observer who interprets the United Nations to others. Our Christian World Missions is a very active department. The work there is changing of course with the rise of new countries and new governments. We have a very active Public Relations Department. We publish a monthly magazine, "The Church Woman" and numerous publications.

We, too, stand to serve, to understand to ameliorate the many problems of our changing world.

"Council of Catholic Women"
Mrs. George W. Bain

Pope Benedict the 15th felt it was necessary to call Catholic men and women to action for the church and so the first National Catholic Welfare Conference was held out of which was formed the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women.

The emphasis is on spiritual development, the home and the community, as far as the program is concerned. The directives come from the bishops. As the other groups are, the Council of Catholic Women is a service group also.

W O R S H I P

Tuesday morning - Period of Meditation - Mrs. Mable Morley

Prayer Hymn: "Father Eternal, Ruler of Creation"

Father eternal, Ruler of creation, Spirit of life, which moved ere form was made; Through the thick darkness covering every nation, Light to man's blindness, O be Thou our aid: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

Races and peoples, lo! we stand divided, And sharing not our griefs, no joy can share; By wars and tumults Love is mocked, derided, His conquering cross no kingdom wills to bear: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

Envious of heart, blind-eyed, with tongues confounded, Nation by nation still goes unforgiven; In wrath and fear, by jealousies surrounded, Building proud towers which shall not reach to heaven: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

How shall we love Thee, holy, hidden Being, If we love not the world which Thou hast made? O give us brother love for better seeing Thy Word made flesh, and in a manger laid: Thy Kingdom come, O Lord, Thy will be done.

The words of this hymn were written in 1919 by Laurence Housman, a famous English author and artist at the request of his friend, the Rector of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Music to the words was composed in 1921 by Geoffry Shaw another Englishman, and the hymn was first sung at a meeting in Queen's Hall, London.

Will you read these stanzas in unison, one at a time, pausing after each one for Scripture and a brief meditation. After we have completed the last stanza with Scripture and meditation, Mrs. Rosa Page Welch will close this worship period praying the Lord's Prayer in song.

Will all of you now read with me stanza one of the Prayer Hymn pausing after the reading for Scripture and meditation. Let us read.

Read stanza one (aloud in unison)

"In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters.
"And God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light. And God saw that the light was good; and God separated the light from the darkness."
Genesis 1:1-4

Let us keep silent now for a few moments and meditate on God our Father eternal whose Spirit was moving over the waters in the beginning, who created the heavens and the earth from that which was without form, void and in deep darkness. As in the beginning when God said "Let there be light" and there was light, let us pray individually and silently that the light of God's revelation will take the blindness from our eyes that we may see Him the only true God and His Will for our world.

Read stanza two (unison)

"I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." (Exodus 20:2)

"And now, Israel, what does the Lord your God require of you, but to fear the Lord your God, to walk in all his w ays, to love him, to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul, and to keep the commandments and statutes of the Lord, which I command you this day for your good? Behold, to the Lord your God belong heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth with all that is in it; yet the Lord set his heart in love upon your fathers and chose their descendants after them, you above all peoples, as at this day. Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no longer stubborn. For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God, who is not partial and takes no bribe. He executes justice for the fatherless and the widow, and loves the sojourner, giving him food and clothing. Love the sojourner therefore; for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt. You shall fear the Lord your God; you shall serve him and cleave to him, and by his name you shall swear. He is your praise; he is your God, who has done for you these great and terrible things which your eyes have seen. Your father went down to Egypt seventy persons; and now the Lord your God has made you as the stars of heaven for multitude.

"You shall therefore love the Lord your God, and keep his charge, his statues, his ordinances, and his commandments always." (Deuteronomy 10:12 - 11:1)

Let us meditate upon our common heritage. There is only one God and he is Lord of us all. (Meditation)

Let us thank him for deliverance from bondage and pray that we may be channels for his Grace to reach out to all those whom our lives touch. (Silent prayer)

Read stanza three (unison)

"Now the whole earth had one language and few words. And as men migrated in the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar and settled there. And they said to one another, 'Come, let us make bricks, and burn them thoroughly.' And they had brick for stone, and a bitumen for mortar. They said, 'Come, let us build ourselves a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens, and let us make a name for ourselves, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.' And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the sons of men had built. And the Lord said, 'Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is only the beginning of what they will do; and nothing that they propose to do will now be impossible for them. Come, let us go down, and there confuse their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from there over the face of all the earth, and they left off building the city. Therefore its name was called Babel, because there the Lord confused the language of all the earth; and from there the Lord scattered them abroad over the face of all the earth."

(Genesis 11:1-9)

Will you meditate on the lack of communication between God's people today and pray for His Mind and His Spirit that we may have understanding and love for each other. (Meditation and prayer)

Read stanza four (unison)

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father. . . And from his fulness have we all received, grace upon grace. For the law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. No one has even seen God; the only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known." (John 1:1,14,16-18)

Let us thank God for himself, for his revelation, and pray that we today may not miss the fulness of His Glory, but that our hearts, minds and wills may be open to Him as each of us is able to comprehend, so that we may be trusted with Him and all that he would reveal to us.

Mrs. Welch will close our worship with "The Lord's Prayer."

W O R S H I P

Tuesday evening - Period of Meditation - Mrs. William Sale Terrell

Hymn - Praise to the Lord! the Almighty, the King of creation!
O my soul, praise Him for He is thy health and salvation!
All ye who hear, now to his temple draw near,
Serve Him in glad adoration!

Praise to the Lord! Who doth prosper thy work and defend thee;
Surely His goodness and mercy here daily attend thee;
Ponder anew - What the Almighty can do,
If with His love He befriend thee!

Praise to the Lord! Oh let all that is in me adore Him!
All that hath life and breath come now with praises before Him!
Let the Amen - Sound from His people again,
Gladly for aye we adore Him.

Scripture - "Seek the Lord while he may be found. Call upon him while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts. Let him return to the Lord that he may have mercy on him, and to our God for he will abundantly pardon. For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways says the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways and my thoughts than your thoughts.

For as the rain and the snow come down from heaven and return not thither but water the earth, making it bring forth and sprout- giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater - so shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth. It shall not return to me empty but it shall accomplish that which I purpose, and prosper in the thing for which I sent it.

For you shall go out in joy and be led forth in peace; the mountains and the hills before you shall break forth into singing and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the cypress; instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle, and it shall be to the Lord for a memorial, for an everlasting sign which shall not be cut off." Isaiah 55, 6-13.

A voice crys "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord. Make straight in the dessert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be lifted up and every mountain and hill made low; the uneven ground shall become level and the rough places a plain - and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together for the mouth of the Lord has spoken." Isaiah 40, 1-5

"With what shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before God on high? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, with tens of thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?

He has shown you O man what is good, and what does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness and to walk humbly with your God." Micah 6, 6-8.

Prayer - "O God and Father of us all, breathe upon us now thy holy calm. Forgive the disorder, the fever, the vain purpose of our lives. We have made haste as those who believe not. We have spent our days contrary to the plainest laws. Our eyes have been fixed to the earth, and rarely lifted to the skies. We have not silenced ourselves to hear, not been patient to understand.

Help us now to stand a while in the shelter of thy shadowing wings, and to be still; to look out again upon life with new vision, that we may understand; to wait for the revelation of thy will that shall make us calm and strong." Amen. Muriel Lester, (WDP, 1940)

Meditation - We have spent the day together in worship, fellowship and discussion, considering our task in the light of our faith, pinpointing the issues and considering the most effective ways of meeting them. Has justice been weighed in the balance and found wanting, or have we found new hope and new courage to tackle our common problems? Do you remember those lines from "There is a Balm in Gilead"? "Sometimes I get discouraged and feel my work's in vain, and then the Holy Spirit revives my soul again." Take confort from the knowledge that "Though the wrong seems oft so strong" it is still God's world, and "He is the ruler yet." I like Moffat's translation of the second and third verses of the 75th Psalm, "God says 'Through all the long delay I am still ruling in my justice; when men in any panic melt away I still uphold the order of the world.'" (RSV. "When the earth totters and all it's inhabitants, it is I who keep steady it's pillars.")

Again and again since last spring when I reread the epistles of Peter I have remembered his injunction "Steady then, keep cool and pray." (Ist Peter 4:7 Moffat) Both nationally and internationally these have been difficult days requiring great patience, wisdom and faith. So it was when First Peter was written. Trustworthy tradition has it that both St. Peter and St. Paul were slain in the persecution of the early Christians that followed the burning of Rome. This letter was presumably written in Rome shortly after the martydom of Paul which gives added significance to Peter's admonition. It is good for us to remember it today with the rising tide of revolution, nationalism and east-west tensions. The demand for human rights, dignity and status, for economic and social justice, is evident all over the world, but justice can be a rather cold and legalistic word unless it is enriched and mellowed by a certain quality of empathy, which the Oxford dictionary defines as "the power of projecting one's personality into, and so fully understanding, the object of contemplation." It was Harry Golden, in his introduction to William Peter's "Southern Temper" who observed that "justice is impossible until the man who has not been injured by injustice is as indignant as the man who has." How much we need the capacity to put ourselves in the other person's shoes! Like Ezekial among the exiles at Telebib who "sat where they sat."

The Man of Galilee made no reference to justice in the sermon on the mount. In fact the only time we find in the concordance that Jesus used the word was in his denunciation of those "who tithe mint and dill and cummin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law-justice, mercy and faith." (Matthew 23, 23.) But he did talk a lot about love and forgiveness and mercy and compassion and about putting first things first. If we really cared about people as persons, and identified ourselves with them our sympathy would become empathy. It is said that Karl Marx had pity for the masses but no compassion for people.

Only when we personalize the needs and suffering of those to whom justice has been denied can we fully comprehend what Harry Golden means when he talks about the "fettering of the human spirit" in his "Only in America." Everyone, from the Fund for the Republic to the Christophers, including educators, politicians and theologians, has been discussing freedom. United Church Women's triennial theme, the meaning, dimensions, and imperatives of freedom, was certainly well chosen. Currently the communions of the National Council of Churches are in the midst of a year of coordinated emphasis on "Christian Responsibility for Freedom." It is said that if a hungry man in Asia were offered four sandwiches or Roosevelt's "four freedoms" he would choose the four sandwiches. Half of the people in the world go to bed hungry every night, but stronger even than the need for freedom from hunger and want and ill health is the passionate desire for the unfettering of the human spirit.

The cover of our Workbook carries the familiar quotation from the prophet Amos: "Let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an everflowing stream." Amos was a shepherd and water was a necessity, an essential for both shepherd and flock. Could it ever be that justice and righteousness could become such an overwhelming flood that the age old stereotypes and the status quo would be completely washed away, and out of the redevelopment process and the cleaning up of the wreckage and driftwood left by the storm, a free new community with no restricted areas for body or spirit could emerge?

William George Jordon in a provocative chapter on "The Way of the Reformer" in his book "The Power of Truth" says "The reformer in morals, in education, in sociology. . .in any line of aspiration, is ever a pioneer. His privilege is to blaze the path for others, to mark at his peril a road that others may follow in safety. He must not expect that the way will be graded and asphalted for him. He must realize that he must face injustice, ingratitude, opposition, misunderstanding, the cruel criticism of contemporaries, and often, hardest of all the wondering reproach of those who love him best.". . ."When nature decides on any man as a reformer she whispers to him his great message, she places in his hand the staff of courage, she wraps around him the robes of patience and self reliance and starts him on his way. Then in order that he may have strength to live through it all, she mercifully calls him back for a moment and makes him - an optimist."

So, as we treasure every upward step, we would see even in life's darkest moments the faint evidences of the dawn, and press on toward the goal of brotherhood for all mankind. "For behold the day comes. . . when all the arrogant and all evil doers will be stubble. . . says the

Lord of Hosts. . . .But for you who fear my name the sun of right-wousness shall rise with healing in it's wings."

Prayer - "O Thou who art the light of the minds that know Thee, the life of the souls that love Thee, and the strength of the thoughts that seek Thee, help us so to know Thee that we may truly love Thee, so to love Thee that we may fully serve Thee, whose service is perfect freedom. Amen."

Gelasian Sacramentary

CLOSING MEDITATION - Mrs. William Sale Terrell (Wednesday morning)

I have recently read several of a series of articles in LIFE magazine. One was entitled "Earth" and the other, "Oceans." Several others are to follow one on "Anartica" and one on "Near Regions of Space."

Life in writing these articles and speaking of the geophysical year whimsically calls it the geo-whizical year because such amazing strides are being made these days in the study of the components around, above and below us.

The first article on "Earth" spoke of "love waves" which are earth tremors and also of the "dawn chorus" which is a kind of radio static in the atmosphere but for us these words would have a different connotation.

There are millions of earth quakes and tremors a year beneath the surface of the earth. A single major quake there can equal one hundred thousand atomic bombs. Illustrative of the deep quakes over our world today are New Orleans, Little Rock, Montgomery and the Congo.

A number of years ago the scientists thought this was a contracting earth and we do have a contracting earth. I heard recently of a marvelous invention which is common property, belonging to us all. A letter can now be transcribed on air mail stationery and sent from New York to Los Angeles in seven minutes. Surely, we do live in a contracting earth. G. K. Chesterson said "It's ironical we have learned to talk around the world when we have nothing to say." But I feel we do have something to say.

Now the theory is that the earth is expanding. Knowledge is being enlarged every day and "outer space" is becoming common in our vocabulary and in our thoughts. We have an expanding family in the United Nations. The ecumenical movement is growing.

The LIFE magazine article on "Oceans" had some fascinating pictures. Often times there may be strong currents on the surface but underneath is a deep flowing stream which can represent to us the mighty stream of prophetic hope and action which is counter to surface discouragements. The South, the United States, the world, all hope the aspirations of right will be realized and what we are seeking will come to pass.

I am reminded of a passage from Scripture, I Corinthians, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels, and have not charity, I am become as

sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing." This thought we must keep forever before us.

A few years ago I was a Lake Winnepausaukee in New Hampshire for a meeting. Each morning early the clouds were covering the mountains surrounding the lake but as day quickened they began to roll away. The 90th Psalm came to mind; "Lord, thou hast been our refuge, from one generation to another. Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever the world was made, thou art God from everlasting, and world without end. Thou turnest man to destruction; again thou sayest, Come again, ye children of men." What a patient God we have, such astonishing patience. He sows generation after generation of men in the hopes that one day His kingdom will be brought to earth.

Some years ago, my husband, on a bitter, winter night, after working late at the office hurried to his car to come home. He found the lock had been tampered with and he was unable to unlock the car. He went to a nearby shop for help. The lady there had no one to send. He asked her as one does in these situations if she had any suggestions of what to do. She said that he could try breathing on the lock. He went back out into the cold night and with the breath of his body breathed into the key hole. Then he tried the key and the car came unlocked. All the way home he thought of the hymn, "Breathe on me Breath of God, fill me with life anew, then I will love what thou dost love and do what thou wouldst do." The Breath of God breathes on us all, filling us with strength anew so we need not fear the quakes, tremors or strong currents abroad today. His kingdom will come.

W O R S H I P

Mrs. Seymour Haber

That We Be Ever Grateful for God's Goodness

READER - We give thanks unto Thee, who art the Lord our God and God of our fathers, for the privilege of life which is ours, for the wonders of earth and sea and sky about us, for all that is good and true in us and in our society, and for that promise of a greater goodness and clearer truth which, because of our faith in Thee, we know shall yet be fulfilled.

Do Thou open our eyes and illumine our souls, so that, despite frustration and pain, despite confusion and anguish, we may stedily discern the signs of Thy beneficent Presence; and, discerning them, may we face the present with confidence, and the future with hope.

God's Goodness - The Testament of Nature

READER - Thy goodness, O Lord, is written large and bold in the Testament of Nature, in the orderliness, the majesty and the beauty of the physical world. Wherefore, with the psalmist of old, we on this Day speak Thy praise.

Bless the Lord, O my soul.
O lord my God, Thou art very great;
Thou art clothed with glory and majesty.

CONG. - Thou coverest Thyself with light as with a garment,
And stretchest out the heavens like a curtain.

READER - Thou makest the clouds Thy chariot;
Thou ridest on the wings of the wind.
Thou makest winds Thy messengers,
The flaming fire Thy ministers.

CONG. - Thou didst establish the earth upon its foundations,
That it should not ever be moved.
Thou makest springs flow in the valleys;
They find their way among the hills.

READER - They give drink to every beast of the field;
The wild asses quench their thirst.

CONG. - Beside them dwell the birds of the air;
From among the branches they sing.

READER - Thou waterest the mountains from Thine upper chambers,
That the earth may be satisfied by the fruit of Thy handiwork.

CONG. - Thou makest grass grow for the cattle,
And herbage for the service of man,
To bring forth bread out of the earth

READER - And wine that cheers the heart of man,
And bread that sustains man's strength.

CONG. - The trees of the Lord drink their fill,
The cedars of Lebanon, which He has planted.

READER - Thou has appointed the moon for festival seasons,
The sun which knows its time for setting.

CONG. - How manifold are Thy works, O Lord!
In Wisdom hast Thou made them all.

READER - Praise ye the Lord from the heavens!
Praise Him in the heights!

CONG. - Let all praise the name of the Lord,
For His name alone is exalted;
His majesty is over earth and heaven.

READER - May the glory of the Lord endure forever;
Let the Lord rejoice in His works.

God's Goodness - The Testament of Man

READER - Thy goodness is inscribed in the Testament of Man, in the powers of his body, the skill of his hand, in his capacity to think, to feel, to aspire, in his ability to communicate with his fellows, in his will to labor cooperatively at their side. Aye it is written large and bold in the nobility of man's spirit.

This is a sign of the goodness of God, that there are men ready to surrender their comfort and their happiness out of love for their fellows, pity for the suffering and devotion to high ideals.

This is a sign of the goodness of God, that, hungering insatiably after the truth, they will sacrifice themselves to attain it, and possessing it, defend it with their lives.

This is a sign of the goodness of God, that they will be free, and, being free, will not rest until freedom be the lot of all men.

This is a sign of the goodness of God, that, though they might be at ease in the world as it is, they labor steadfastly to convert it into what it ought be.

Wherefore with the psalmist we speak our grateful praise to Thee.

CONG. - O Lord, our Lord,
How glorious is Thy name in all the earth,
Whose majesty is sung above the heavens!
When I behold Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers,
The moon and the stars, which Thou hast established;

READER - What is man, that Thou shouldst be mindful of him
Mortal man, that Thou shouldst think of him?

CONG. - Yet Thou hast made him but little less than divine,
And hast crowned him with glory and honor.

READER - Thou hast given him dominion over the works of Thy hands;
Thou hast put all things under his feet;

CONG. - Sheep and oxen, all of them,
Yea, and the beasts of the field,

READER - Birds of the air, and the fish of the sea,
Whatsoever passes through the paths of the seas.

CONG. - O Lord, our Lord,
How glorious is Thy name in all the earth!

God's Goodness - The Testament of Israel

READER - O God, Thy goodness is manifest in the Testament of Israel. From Egypt didst Thou redeem us, O Lord our God, and from the house of bondage didst Thou deliver us. In famine hast Thou fed us, and in plenty sustained us. From the sword hast Thou rescued us, from pestilence hast Thou saved us, and from sore and grievous ills hast Thou delivered us.

With everlasting love Thou hast loved the House of Israel, Thy people; Torah and commandments, laws and judgments hast Thou taught us. Eternal life didst Thou implant in our midst. By Thy Torah we lived, by Thy Torah we live now, and by Thy Torah we shall continue to live and labor for the coming of Thy Kingdom.

Shall we not think Thee, O God, on this Day, for having kept Israel alive, for having bestowed on us the gracious gift of Thy Torah, and for having brought us near to Thy service? Even as it is written by the prophet:

But you, Israel My servant,
Jacob whom I have chosen
The seed of Abraham My Friend,

CONG. - You whom I have taken hold of from the ends of the earth,
And called from its uttermost parts,
Saying: You are My servant,
I have chosen you, not rejected you;

READER - Fear not, for I am with you,
Be not dismayed, for I am your God;
I will strengthen you, yea, I will help you;
Yea, I will uphold you with My victorious right hand.

CONG. - I, the Lord, have called you in righteousness,
I have taken you by the hand;
I have kept you and made you a covenanted people,
A light to the nations;
To open eyes that are blind,
To bring captives out of the dungeon,
Those who sit in darkness out of prison.

God's Goodness - The Testament of America

READER - Thy goodness is revealed in the Testament of America. Into this land there have assembled the outcast and the weary of the older nations of the world. Here they dreamed a new dream of a nation founded on the truth, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

And because Thou hast been with us and Thy goodness has kept us strong, the freedom which they won is still ours. May we ever be worthy of our American heritage; may we ever treasure our liberties, not for ourselves alone but for all our fellowmen; and may our country become a guiding light to all mankind. In the words of Abraham Lincoln:

CONG. - With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in.

READER - To do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

CONG. - Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world.

READER - In founding the United States, our fathere brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

CONG. - It is for us to be here dedicated to the great task remainign before us. We here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that this government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

READER & CONG. - For all these, O Lord our God, we thank Thee: for Thy goodness as maintained in Nature, in the human spirit, in Israel's Torah, and in America's promise. Embolden our hearts so that, surmounting discouragement and despair, we may learn to see clearly Thy bounties, and seeing them, make them manifest to all the world. Amen.

THE TRAGIC FELLOWSHIP OF SOUTHERNERS

BY

JAMES M. DABBS

An address delivered in Little Rock, Arkansas, to an inter-church meeting for worship at Collins Temple Baptist Church under the auspices of the Greater Little Rock Ministerial Association on Brotherhood Sunday, 1960.

JAMES McBRIDE DABBS is president of the Southern Regional Council, an Elder in the Presbyterian Church in the United States, a member of the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

Mr. Dabbs lives and operates Rip Raps Plantation in South Carolina adjacent to the farm where he lived as a boy. He is a graduate of the University of South Carolina and of Clark University. He has done free lance writing since 1937. His first book, *The Southern Heritage,* was published by Knopf in 1958. He wrote the first part of a symposium, *This is the South,* published by Rand McNally in 1959.

The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners

By

James McBride Dabbs

This is Brotherhood Week, and this Sunday is being celebrated as Race Relations Sunday; that is to say, Christian race relations is included in brotherhood. The phrase "Christian race relations" seems to me a doubtful one. I understand brotherhood — whether I practice it or not—but I can't quite see what Christian race relations would mean. Christian relations are preeminently personal relations; race relations are preeminently impersonal relations. Undoubtedly there are good race relations, and bad race relations, or better and worse race relations; but all race relations, to the degree that they are race and not personal relations, are not Christian. And both the intention and the effect of setting up race relations is to prevent personal relations. Always in race relations the man is modified and to a degree lessened by the adjective "white" or "colored." As I act within the frame of race relations, I do not see the man, the embodied soul, but the colored man, and he sees in me the white man. The effect of segregation is to make us see like this. Segregation is a curtain—originally woven out of cotton, it may be called the Cotton Curtain—that both refracts and distorts our vision. The white can see the Negro through it, but he sees him as smaller than natural and as below him; the Negro is influenced by the curtain to see the white as larger than natural and above him.

Behind the question as to whether race relations can become Christian or not is the question as to whether they can even be democratic. They might be so if the two races in question were so organized that each could elect its representative, or representatives, to confer with the representative or representatives

of the other race, and to come to a mutual agreement. This of course is not the case, certainly not in the South. A good many whites have seemed to think it was when they talked as if the Negroes as a whole could bind themselves to voluntary segregation. No Negro is authorized to bind the race. The unadmitted and undemocratic fact in the South is that every white man is considered the representative of the white race, and when he speaks to any Negro he speaks for the whole white race to the whole colored race. This may sound far-fetched, but this is the basic psychology; think it over. In such a psychological climate the white scoundrel can with impunity abuse the Negro gentleman.

I hasten to add that we in the South, both whites and Negroes, have been much better than the system; we have outwitted the system at many points, and persons have spoken to persons even through the Cotton Curtain. But the relations thus established were not race relations but personal relations, and were created against the pressure of race relations. In such moments the goodness of our hearts overcame the evil of our institution.

Let us leave, therefore, Christian race relations with its contradictory implications, and discuss brotherhood. Of course, you aren't safe in defending brotherhood. In a recent address in South Carolina, Governor Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, attacked "pious phrases and professions of . . . brotherhood." Whether I am merely pious or not, you will have to decide.

Since Governor Barnett was defending segregation in this criticism of brotherhood, I'm sure he was not talking about the brotherhood I am. It's true, there's a plenty of spurious brotherhood, spurious Christian brotherhood. Almost anybody is willing to be brothers to almost anybody else in a spiritual vacuum, especially if that vacuum is postponed to a future heaven. Well, perhaps not anybody. Dr. Cowart, of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, outlining recently for a north Georgia Methodist audience the hard choices of a future life, said, "You won't be happy in heaven, because heaven won't be segregated, you don't want to go to hell, and you can't stay in Georgia." But most people are willing to let God do what he wishes about other-worldly spiritual matters, if no real implementation is demanded in this world. Well, spirit in this world is inseparable from matter; and to be concerned about the spiritual welfare of men is to be concerned about their hunger, their pain, their frustrations—all the shock and weariness of human life in this world. If

my brother hunger, would I not give him bread?

"Any religion", says Martin Luther King, "any religion that professes to be concerned with the souls of men and is not concerned with the slums that damn them, the economic conditions that strangle them, and the social conditions that cripple them, is a dry-as-dust religion."

I hope you will pardon a personal reference in my discussion of brotherhood. I don't like to talk about things I don't know from experience. The only truth I really know is what I have felt. Even the rather difficult things I have said about race relations are based upon experience. What I have to say now is, in a sense, simpler. It is what I know about the brotherhood of man.

Twenty-five years ago, I faced bitter, tragic disappointment. In the depth of my depression, I suddenly had a clear realization of what I'd been stumbling toward for years: that in my disappointment, I was a human being, suffering what all men in one way or another suffer. I was one with the human race. With that realization came a surge of confidence, even of joy, such as I have seldom known. I stood at last upon solid ground, because I stood shoulder to shoulder with mankind. Maybe we were still in the dark, all of us, maybe we still don't know where we were going; but wherever it was, we were going there together.

Did I love the human race in that moment? I think it is fair to say, Yes, as I loved myself. I don't say that I have maintained this love, or have ever expressed it to each individual. This, however, is the perpetual gap between the vision and the achievement. In the moment of vision, we say, "Lord, I believe"; but with its immediate fading, we add, "Help thou mine unbelief." Whether we believe continuously or not, we know we want to believe.

But you may ask, where did God come into my experience? I shall ask another question. Whence came that miracle—a miracle of love—through which my moment of greatest need became the moment of greatest abundance: the miracle of man the neighbor? Did it not come from God, who at that moment out of nothing created everything? If man is a creature that loves, whence comes that love but from the Creator? And if, as John says, we cannot love God except as we love our neighbor, isn't it possibly true —though John didn't say so—that we cannot help loving God as we love our neighbor? That this love of our neighbor is the love of God—God's love—

reaching out from us to the love of God in him. This could be so.

I am sure only of this, that in my poverty I had found riches. I was rich in my poverty because I found mankind poverty-stricken with me. Did I love men out of my poverty or out of my riches? Was I seeking their love to sustain me, or was I bestowing the newly discovered wealth of my love upon them. I couldn't have loved them if I hadn't realized our common poverty. But neither could I have loved them if I hadn't been rich in love. I loved them, perhaps, as men always love, out of a rich poverty, out of poor riches. I loved them because I realized the depth of our common poverty, but without the riches of love I couldn't have known we were poor. I loved them because I felt them worthy of love, and I felt this because I felt myself worthy of love. If I had hated myself, I should have hated or despised them as I saw them without myself.

Whether this is the Christian view or not, I don't know, but I have to stand by it as the best I know. I think it is the view men may come to when they have accepted the tragedy of life, and are ready to move beyond it.

I don't know that anyone has expressed the tragic view better than Ortega y Gasset in *The Revolt of the Masses.* ". . . To live is to feel oneself lost—He who accepts it has already begun to find himself, to be on firm ground. Instinctively, as do the shipwrecked, he will look round for something to which to cling, and that tragic, ruthless glance, absolutely sincere, because it is a question of his salvation, will cause him to bring order into the chaos of his life. These are the only genuine ideas; the ideas of the shipwrecked."

We are all shipwrecked, or due to be, if only we know it. We are all brothers in shipwreck. As such, we reach for the hand of any neighbor, search the face of every man, seeking some hope. You remember the pagan Saxon king, seated on a winter's night with his liege men around him, being asked if he would receive certain visitors—they were Christian monks—just come from a far-off place named Rome. What was his reply? Life, he said, is like a bird, which on a night like this flutters in from the darkness to our lighted hall, circles the fire a few times, and flutters into the darkness again. If these strangers can tell us anything of this bird, let them speak.

If these strangers can tell us anything of the bird, let them speak. This is the question underlying

all questions, the mood of the Saxon king the mood in which a man meets a man. For each of us, in our moment of essential humanity, is a shipwrecked sailor, and every face is a sail upon the far horizon. We reach toward it, we listen for the reassuring cry, "Brother, be of good cheer, we too have known". Known the loneliness, the darkness, and the fellowship around the fire.

In that moment in which I realized the tragic oneness of human life, was I conscious at all of the several races of men? I assure you, I was not. I think I would have laughed then if you had asked me. All this happened years before I had the slightest interest in the race issue in the South. So far as I was concerned then, segregation was the way we did things and the question of change never entered my mind. But when the race issue became central in the South, I must have applied to it what I had learned in that moment of vision. Under that universal light, the issue simply vanished. So far as I am concerned, race is a marginal comment, a footnote, in the book of life. When you've got to get the story itself in order to survive, you can't bother much about marginal comments.

So much for the human predicament. Let's turn closer home, and seek for brotherhood in the South. Whether Southerners possess that tragic temperament which both Unamuno and Ortega attribute to their Spanish fellow-countrymen, I am not sure. I read recently some comments of a Southern specialist in Spanish history who thinks they do. Like the Spaniards, he says, we are proud, inflexible, resentful of outside interference, blind to the changing world, clinging to the past as if it alone held the secret of our identity. And there are other similarities, and a few dissimilarities. Regardless of this, it can surely be maintained that the South has had a tragic history. For a brief period we created a life with a touch of splendor, and through our achievements and through our great failure, we have become a myth in the western world. Whether we are known for our achievements or our failure, I don't know. Perhaps for both, for even the failure was splendid. I have remarked sometimes that the South should either have won the war or should have lost it meanly. But she lost it so grandly that it is hard for us to forget the splendor of that defeat. Indeed, I think that to some degree we tend to follow lost causes even today just because they're doomed to be lost. This is one heritage of Pickett's immortal charge.

It's this knowledge of defeat that makes us the most mature section of the country. We are unique

in the United States. But this very difference from other Americans brings us closer to Europeans. I recently heard an outstanding Southern historian remark that Europeans have no trouble in understanding the South, for Europeans too have known failure and defeat. What they find difficult to understand is the brash successful Yankee. Among Southerners, they find brothers in defeat.

It must have become apparent by now that I've been talking for the last few minutes mainly about the white South. The colored South was not defeated in the Civil War; its cause was victorious. And though it had furnished much of the labor to create the splendid South that was defeated, it has never received proper credit for it, and could not be expected to be especially disturbed by its destruction. Nevertheless, American Negroes have had, and continue to have, a tragic life. A life of hopes deferred, of visions dimmed, of few opportunities and many frustrations. The tragedy of the colored South is different from that of the white South; perhaps its most striking difference is that to a considerable degree it was caused by the actions of the white South. This being the case, Negroes might find it impossible to recognize the tragedy of the white South, or to recognize in white Southerners their brothers in defeat. It's possible, however, that, strange as it sounds, they may be able to do this better than we. For we were the first to inflict the injury, and we have continued to take the lead, and it's very difficult to accept as your equal one whom you have injured. In fact, you need to look down upon him to prove to yourself that you have the right to injure him.

In contrast to this, I have seen many Negroes show keen sympathy for the white Southerner's dilemma. They have reason for disliking us, but two of the main reasons for dislike, they lack: They have neither injured us—at least they have taken no initiative in this—nor have they given us anything. We mostly took what we wanted. You know the old comment: "What d'you hate me for? I never gave you anything."

One difference between the tragedy of the white Southerner and that of the Negro Southerner is this: the Negro Southerner has learned more from his experience than we from ours. We too have learned—our sense of the complexity and difficulty of life, at our best a gentleness, a kindliness—but we are far from learning from our history what we may yet learn. The Negro has learned conciliation and patience—highly civilized virtues. And in his music, especially in his spirituals, he has created out of his

tragedy enduring art. I don't know what we whites have created out of ours to match it. And yet I am happy to recall, as the scholars tell us, that the Negro spirituals are rooted in the revival songs of the whites; and I am happy and humbled to remember that it was out of the injustice that my forefathers inflicted upon their forefathers that the songs were born. No, this isn't quite accurate. I am happy in the songs; I am happy, and amazed, that our strange life here together produced these songs. This is to me the grace of God: that out of much evil beauty should flower. Should I therefore continue to sin that the grace of God might the more abound, asked Paul. God forbid. But I hope I can recognize the grace of God when I see it.

I recall once, on a summer afternoon, attending services in the Negro church at home. We were singing some hymn, I forget what it was, but it must have carried the assurance of heaven. For as I gazed through the open door across the summer fields beyond, I shouldn't have been surprised to see Jacob's Ladder rising there in the corn, with the radiant angels ascending and descending upon it.

The Negro has learned more from his tragic life than we from ours because he put the main quarrel were it should be put. The spirituals show this. They express his quarrel with God. The philosopher Whitehead says that men are first indifferent to God, then they quarrel with him, then—sometimes—they go on to love him. In the spirituals the Negroes lament that life isn't what they would have it, nor are they the people they would be, but they go on to express their faith that God will make it right. Now, I know that religion can be an opiate, and to a degree it has been with the Negroes. But if you look around you today, you will find the Negro, having quarreled with God and made some peace with him, prepared now to move with assurance into the quarrel with men. Remember the walking thousands in Montgomery. You see, it goes like this. When you quarrel with God, you take on the whole show. And when you get licked—as you will—and yield to God's love, you conclude, properly, that what licked you can lick anybody else. You go into the struggle, therefore, with assurance, having the All-Powerful on your side.

The basic reason why we Southern whites haven't learned from our history the great lessons it contains is that we have quarreled too much with men, too little with God. We've generally assumed that *so far as the social order* was concerned God was on our side. We have put an enormous amount

of energy into our personal quarrels with God over cards and liquor and women—or men, as the case may be. We have fought God and sinned, and repented, and fought him again. We have tried, we still try, to be better men and women. But it seldom occurs to us that God might want us to build a better South, nor to ask how you can have good men and women in an unjust social order.

The reason for our prevailing quarrel with men lies deep in history. When we adopted slavery and the aristocratic government that naturally went with it, we turned our faces toward the past, while the rest of the country, along with Europe, was turning toward the future of the machine and democracy. Developing then a kind of life radically different from the life of the rest of the Western World, and yet determined to be closely united economically with that world, we laid the groundwork of the quarrel, and have been engaged in it, and unsuccessfully, ever since. We lost the Civil War and slavery; we lost our aristocratic government and have been moving into a "numerous democracy" with insufficient preparation. (It was John Locke, in the Great Charter of the Province of Carolina, who hoped to God we'd never have a "numerous democracy".) In brief, we've had such fundamental and continuing reasons to quarrel with the rest of the world, that, *as regards the structure of our society,* we have rarely quarreled with our better selves, with the voice of conscience, with the voice of God. Nineteen sixty finds us engaged in the same quarrel, with continued fervor but with weakening effect. All our trouble, we say, lies with the NAACP and the Nine Old Men. I'm not here to defend either the NAACP or the Supreme Court. I'm simply remarking that we're caught in the old trap. We set up a society that had to quarrel with Western society; the more we quarreled the more aware we became of outside evils, the less aware of evils at home. The more we quarreled with men, the less we quarreled with God. Indeed, our general claim is that God is on our side, and all the rest are heathen. I think we might wrestle with God a while and see what he would say about that.

But what's all this got to do with Brotherhood Week? We're considering the possibility of spiritual brotherhood here in the South as a whole. Such brotherhood rests, as I see it, upon the tragic view of life—or, maybe, upon the Christian view, which is tragic, with a cross at its center. Both whites and Negroes in the South have had a tragic history. But neither group has really understood its history and

accepted it. The Negroes have understood theirs better than the whites, but even the Negroes are slow to realize that their basic strength lies in the very hardness of the life they have lived; upon such a past as this, it is possible for them to create a towering future. As for the whites, we have admitted that through the Civil War we lost the institution of slavery. But that we destroyed through secession the federal union of Madison and Jefferson, and became a strongly national state, we haven't yet admitted or accepted. I mean by "we" the loud and so-far accepted voices of the South.

Now, with my individualistic background, and with my individualistic, hot-tempered father, I'm the last man to say accept what you don't believe. If a thing seems wrong, fight it to Kingdom Come. But be certain you know what you're doing. In a life and death struggle like this, no man should merely accept the name of goodness—what people say, what's done, what the custom is, even what the way of life is—but should inquire if it be goodness. That is, you've got to take the fight inside yourself, you've got to quarrel with yourself; you've got to quarrel with God. As you do this, you may find that many of the vehement quarrels of earlier days don't seem to matter at all.

As we white and Negro Southerners come to accept our history, we shall find that we are much closer together than we had thought. We whites don't mind admitting in our pride that the Negroes have copied us; but we hesitate to admit that we have copied them. It would be extraordinarily strange if, living here together so long, we haven't copied them. We Southerners have copied each other, in good things and in bad. Far more than we think, we are one people. Put two Southerners of equal training in a dark room, one white and one colored, and listen to them talk, and I doubt if you'd be able to tell by the expression or by the ideas which one was talking—unless the Negro thought they were being listened to.

Most of us as Christians believe that what happens happens in the providence of God. God controls and uses even the selfishness of men to his own purposes. What exists in the South today is therefore God's providence. Whether it shall affect us as his mercy or his judgment, depends, I think, upon whether we can accept it or not. I do not mean that we shall do nothing about the present; of course not. I merely mean that we shouldn't waste time longing for another time or place or situation, but should make out of the present the best we can. As

the old phrase has it, we should improve every occasion. To improve any occasion is to discover and to create within it more of the spirit of brotherly love which we have learned from Christ, our elder brother in God. The South today waits for this improvement. All Southerners are bound together by their long and tragic history. Though our institutions say we are two, our hearts increasingly whisper we are one. Let us listen to our hearts and go on from there.

Additional copies available from:

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

or

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Interracial News Service

A DIGEST OF TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

BI-MONTHLY $2.50 FOR TWO YEARS

VOLUME 32 JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1961 NUMBER 1

RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS DENOMINATIONAL STATEMENTS, 1959-1960

On a biennial basis the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations has published compilations of statements by denominations regarding various aspects of racial and cultural relations. These compilations have carried statements up to and including the year 1958.

Because of continuing requests for this service, the editors of INTERRACIAL NEWS SERVICE are devoting this issue to such a compilation of statements. Because of space limitations, it has been necessary to excerpt carefully the pertinent sections of the statements for inclusion in this collection. If full copies of any of these statements, or statements prior to 1955, are needed, it is suggested that the denominations be contacted directly.

Addresses of the denominations may be obtained from the *Yearbook of American Churches* 1961, or from the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

All denominational bodies who are members of the National Council of Churches were contacted for statements. The failure to include any particular statement is due to the editors' ignorance of its existence.

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION
May 1959

Civil Rights

. . . BE IT RESOLVED: That we call upon the 86th Congress to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission and broaden the authority of the Justice Department to permit intervention in school desegregation and all other civil rights cases; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we respectfully urge the President of the United States to bring the prestige and power of his Administration to uphold the authority of the Civil Rights Commission to the end that the full guarantees of our Bill of Rights may be enjoyed by all Americans.

Integration

. . . THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That all Unitarian churches and fellowships continue to take positive steps in inviting and welcoming all persons regardless of race or color; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That the Board of Directors of the American Unitarian Association be empowered to extend appropriate assistance, including financial, to any Unitarian church or fellowship suffering loss or damage through the practice of the above principles.

BAPTIST BODIES
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION
June 9, 1959

1. ***Race Relations***

. . . With these steps [confession, action, fellowship] as the test of our deep and sincere desire to be obedient servants of Christ in our relations with all races, we do agree:

a. That membership in every Baptist church should be open to all people regardless of their race or national origin.

b. That every church should work to express its desire that equal opportunity for all persons shall be the rule in education, employment, housing, and political activity.

c. That members of our churches should base their fellowship and association on individual merit without regard to national origins.

d. That our churches should express their opposition to the practice of segregation whether in country clubs, sororities, fraternities, service clubs, organizations of property owners, cemeteries, and all exclusive groups that deny membership on the basis of race or national origin.

e. That all Baptist organizations, schools, homes and hospitals shall follow such practices as are clear policies of complete integration.

f. That members and churches participate actively in groups and organizations whose purpose it is to foster better race relations and understanding within the framework of our national constitution.

In conclusion, let us continue in humility and prayer our work in behalf of human understanding and racial peace, trusting in the mercy of God to use our best efforts to work His purposes in the world.

. . . 5. ***Indian Americans***

Realizing that the socio-economic progress of our nation and that of the Indian American is moving with tremendous acceleration and that any move which attempts to slow or stop this progress is both unwarranted and unfair, let us: —

1. Redouble our mission interest knowing that we are working against time in our effort to assist the Indian American to become genuinely a part of our society.

2. Urge our local churches to seek out and welcome into their fellowship these fellow Christians who are moving into our cities in great numbers.

3. Urge our committees, local and national, to be constantly alert to promote wise Christian thinking and action relative to legislation concerning the Indian American.

. . . 8. ***Housing***

In view of the fact that housing presents a continuing, and in some areas of our nation, a critical problem, we urge that our churches assume a definite and forthright stand for better housing conditions in their communities, and in the nation as a whole.

We would recommend that our church people become familiar with housing conditions in their own areas, as well as projected plans for future redevelopment in the offices of city planners. We urge our people to see the need to eliminate ghettos and vast spans of housing geared to one economic or social group, as well as the filth, and the landlord persecution and indifference which prevail in many of our urban areas.

We would recommend that our churches cooperate and participate with other community organizations which have already attacked the housing problem and which are responsible for much of the gains we have received in the past.

We recommend also that our church people not be counted among those who panic when members of minority groups seek housing in their neighborhoods, but rather that they work toward maintaining a climate of understanding and brotherhood, as well as a concerted effort, with the new people, to keep their neighborhoods in good order.

We urge American Baptists to work for open occupancy in rental and sale housing regardless of race, creed or color.

We ask all American Baptists who offer any real estate in their possession for rent or sale to do so without regard to race, creed or color.

June 7, 1960

1. ***Race Relations***

. . . as the test of our deep and sincere desire to be obedient servants of Christ in our relations with all races, we do agree:

a. That members of our churches should base their fellowship and associations on individual merit and that membership in every Baptist church should be open to all people regardless of their race or national origin.

b. That our churches should express their opposition to the practice of segregation in country clubs, sororities, fraternities, service clubs, organizations of property owners, cemeteries, and all exclusive groups that deny membership on the basis of race or national origin.

c. That all Baptist organizations, schools, homes and hospitals shall follow such practices as are clear policies of complete integration.

d. That members and churches participate actively in groups and organizations whose purpose it is to foster better race relations and understanding within the framework of our national constitution.

One of the most crucial issues for many persons of minority groups is the inequality of housing opportunities.

We therefore urge Congress to enact legislation, and the President to issue the necessary executive orders, to provide for the immediate cancellation of all federal loans, loan insurance,

or mortgage guarantees granted to any builder who is found guilty of violating any ordinance or state or federal law prohibiting discrimination based on race, color, religion, or national origin in the building, selling, leasing, renting, or transfer of such publicly-assisted housing.

We further urge Congress to enact legislation that would require as a condition of every contract for federal aid in the housing program either public or private, that the property involved shall not be restricted against any person, on the grounds of race, color, religion, creed or national origin, with regard to the building, selling, leasing, renting or transfer of such housing.

Throughout the nation, students (Baptist and non-Baptist) have sought to demonstrate their concern for equal opportunities by methods of non-violent resistance.

We support these young people and encourage adults to bear witness to their concern in creative techniques.

Several American communities have enlisted individuals and families who covenant to accept all new neighbors graciously and to rent or sell without regard to race, creed or color.

We recommend that the Council on Christian Social Progress study this development to the end that they may make such covenant cards available to the constituents of our churches.

In conclusion, let us continue in humility and prayer our work in behalf of human understanding and racial peace, trusting in the mercy of God to use our best efforts to work His purposes in the world.

. . . 8. *Immigration*

Christians maintain that persons are created in the image of God with full rights as members of the human family. We cannot avoid the consequences of this belief in the area of immigration and naturalization in the United States.

As citizens and churchmen, we request Congress to act to remove the inequities in America's immigration and naturalization law. We oppose the use of discrimination based on race and national origin; we decry the differences in the treatment of naturalized and native born citizens.

To demonstrate the concern of our nation for a world problem, and mindful of the dangers to free governments because of the population explosion, American Baptists support legislation which would allow some of the "surplus peoples" to make this country their homeland. . . .

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
Christian Life Commission Report
1959

Community Tensions in Human Relations

There are few communities in America that are unaffected by serious tensions in social and economic relations. The church has a double role to play in facing these tensions and the issues that create them. Its primary role is to proclaim its gospel of love, mercy, and justice for all men. But as the body of Christ in its community it must stand as a witness to righteousness amid the material and social concerns that affect the lives of men.

. . . At the present the greater tensions growing out of this recurring racial malady appear in the southern region of our land. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 on the status of legal segregation in the public schools precipitated a racial conflict that has raged for these five years. The issue has been complicated by the radical demands for immediate and complete removal of all forms of segregation on one hand, and by an equally radical insistence on the maintenance of the traditional system of segregation on the other. These two extremes have nullified much of the progress in racial understanding that had been made within the last decade. Extreme advocates of both positions became about the only voices that were heard on the racial issues involved.

This Commission believes the time has come for a Christian rapprochement on this question. In any solution we seek the freedom of the individual and the full autonomy of the churches must be recognized and respected. But at the same time, we must remember that the church is the body of which Christ is the Head. It is to be governed by his laws, motivated by his love, and guided by his mind and Spirit. The church is not the state, but its voice must be heard in state affairs. It is not a law enforcement agency, but it must call for respect of the law and cultivate public opinion which demands the enforcement of the law.

We believe the time has come for the restoration of communication between the white and colored peoples in the South. It is at this point that Christianity faces one of the severest tests of its wisdom, sincerity, and courage. The continuing problem of racial adjustment and understanding must be met realistically, constructively, and patiently.

Christian Life Commission
February 29 — March 1, 1960

. . . The Commission wishes to again reaffirm its historic emphasis upon the biblical principle of the value of human personality as taught by our Lord. In the light of recent efforts on the part of Negro citizens in many areas in securing equal rights, especially the right to vote, the Commission urges our Southern Baptist people to make use of every opportunity to help Negro citizens to secure these rights through peaceful and legal means and to thoughtfully oppose any customs which may tend to humiliate them in any way.

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN
Annual Conference
1959

. . . Spurious gospels of racism, nationalism, reliance upon armed force, obsession with sex, and the worship of mammon are proclaimed everywhere with strident insistence and devilish cunning. Distrust and conflict are deliberately fomented. Disrespect for law and honor is widespread. Gentleness and purity and brotherhood are held up to scorn.

. . . The church must witness in order to be united; and unity can come only as the church uses her total energy to witness to the world about her experience of the grace of God, which has brought forgiveness, brotherhood, peace, and power to serve the present age.

. . . Evangelism . . . helps men to see and repent of the modern expression of this sin in reliance upon war and preparation for massive retaliation; in racial bigotry and segregation; in idolatrous materialism and preoccupation with the values of a sensate culture.

. . . Evangelism is a call to deep and sincere repentance and resolute turning away from war, racial pride and segregation, materialism, idolatry, and impurity.

General Brotherhood Board
March 24, 1960

Resolution on Nonviolence in Race Relations

. . . we, the General Brotherhood Board, resolve:

1. That we believe discrimination against racial, cultural and religious minorities is morally wrong;
2. That action to remove this discrimination is imperative, both in the light of the Christian ethic and in the spirit of our democratic tradition;
3. That we see our first obligation to seek change through honest discussion and negotiation, but, such methods failing, we regard peaceful nonviolent direct action as an appropriate Christian witness for those whose consciences so lead them;
4. That we commend those persons who, guided by conscience and conviction, are seeking by nonviolent methods to remove long-standing practices of social and cultural discrimination, and urge them not to meet violence with violence but to adhere faithfully to the principles of nonviolent direct action, returning good for evil, while persistently pursuing their goals of justice and reconciliation;
5. That we express to businessmen, governmental officials, and the public our deep concern for the racial tensions in which many of them are involved, and we earnestly and prayerfully urge them to exert their leadership to avoid violence and to reevaluate their practices in light of our changing society;
6. That we urge the members of different racial and cultural groups in every community to join together in fellowship, worship, work, study, and action so that tensions and mistrust may be replaced by understanding and brotherhood;
7. That we encourage all Christians to examine their own consciences and practices relating to racial and cultural issues; to support as they can peaceful, nonviolent methods for achieving justice and reconciliation; and to pray more earnestly for God's forgiveness, guidance, and sustaining power in their efforts toward Christian brotherhood.

Annual Conference
1960

. . . We Express our Deep Concern about These Problems of Critical Urgency in our Time and We Call on All our Brethren to Work Diligently Toward Their Solution:

. . . (2) The slow pace of racial integration which postpones too long the time when this nation under God achieves liberty and justice for all and which damages our position among nations.

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST
International Convention
1959

Concerning a Study of Race Relations

. . . THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the Denver Assembly of the International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) commend to the churches, ministers, agencies, and related bodies an intensive study of the racial

situation and what we as a brotherhood should be saying and doing to relate the Christian gospel to that situation.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the department of social welfare of The United Christian Missionary Society be encouraged to provide to the churches, agencies and other related groups materials and suggestions for conducting such a study, including the sending to all congregations and agencies a Summary of Actions taken by Convention Assemblies that deal with racial and cultural relations.

International Convention 1960

The Role of the Church in a Multiracial Society

. . . THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the International Convention of the Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ) here assembled at Louisville, Kentucky, October 21-26, 1960, approves the following statement of principles and policies.

Furthermore the Convention commends this statement to the churches and their members as a guide in working for the achievement of Christian race relations in their own lives and communities as their consciences shall lead them.

. . . The Witness to Love Begins in the "House of the Lord"

10. The church is the body of Christ, a fellowship or community of those who have accepted the calling of God and who are banded together for worship, mutual support and encouragement and above all to witness to the world of the love of God revealed in Jesus Christ.

11. One of the great ugly facts of our day is that the fellowship of the Church, expressed in a community of persons serving one another in love, is denied and perverted by discrimination based upon class distinctions of color and social status.

12. Such discrimination is contrary to the practice of the first century Christian Churches. The New Testament congregations were made up of persons of various capacities, abilities, national, racial and cultural backgrounds joined together in mutual service and appreciation.

13. Congregations and church-related institutions such as colleges and general agencies should raise the following questions as a way of measuring their life against the tradition of the body of Christ:

a. Is the congregation or agency open to all who come regardless of racial, cultural, or social status?

b. Is the congregation making a real effort to serve all persons in its community through evangelism, worship, fellowship and service?

c. Has the congregation recognized its responsibility in these times to dramatize or symbolize its Christian convictions that the body of Christ has no racial restrictions?

d. Are church-related agencies — agencies responsible to the churches, or looking to the churches for support — representative of the major racial groups within the brotherhood in the persons on their staffs and on their policy-making boards?

14. We recognize that history and geography have created different problems for different congregations and agencies within our brotherhood. Not all can move at the same rate in the direction of full Christian fellowship. For some — in single race communities for example — their present witness to full fellowship may be only symbolic.

15. All of us fall short of the Gospel imperative but all of us can take some steps now.

. . . The Witness to Love in Society-at-Large

. . . 18. It is difficult to say beforehand for any specific community, at any given moment, what would constitute . . . a maximum opportunity. For our present moment in history, however, certain directions for action seem clear. These directions are toward the removal of barriers that restrict the opportunities of persons of any group for growth in understanding and mutual service. Therefore we should work toward the conditions of freedom of access for every man in the following areas of community life:

a. Freedom of access to voting rights.

Voting restrictions based on class or color should be removed. A healthy, democratic community requires full political participation by all who live in it. The person denied the right to vote cannot achieve his full potential as a responsible citizen.

As Christians we should study the voting laws and customs of our community, our county and our state to discover if there is discrimination based on race or class. We should join forces with other civic and community groups interested in removing all such barriers we discover.

b. Freedom of access to employment opportunities.

While there has been general improvement over the past 20 years in the job opportunities open to persons without racial discrimination there is no part of the nation where persons of minority racial groups can be sure that a job applicant will be judged only in his ability to handle the job. Barriers of discrimination against certain races and especially Negroes exist in some labor unions, some employment agencies and some managerial groups. The church in its own practices has given little leadership to the concept of "merit employment."

As Christians we believe that God calls a man to serve him in his particular vocation. So believing, we should remove every barrier that prevents, on the basis of color, any man from serving God and his fellows in a job which calls forth, to the fullest extent, his God given capacities.

c. Freedom of access to housing.

Segregated housing patterns are the rule — with noteworthy exceptions — in cities and towns across the nation. While recognizing that the desire to live with persons of one's own group is sometimes the deciding factor in racially segregated situations, yet we must face the fact that discrimination in housing rental and sales, aided and abetted by real estate practices, has resulted in enforced segregation in many communities. For Christians, simple justice requires that any housing should be available on the same conditions to every person. The "ghetto" pattern of restricting people of one color to a designated area can not be justified in terms of human values, community values nor property values.

To remove the racial restrictions on housing we need to work toward a community-wide pattern of "open occupancy" — all housing available without regard to race. We also need to work toward providing low cost housing for families in the lower income groups.

d. Freedom of access to all public and semi-public facilities.

Facilities owned by any unit of government — post office, courthouse, city hall — are without dispute for the service of *all* citizens. In most communities such facilities are in fact available for use without racial restrictions. Other facilities, publicly owned or publicly licensed or operating under public franchise such as parks, cemeteries, recreational centers, bus lines, restaurants, hotels, and theaters are not yet equally free of racial restrictions. Discriminatory practices in the use of such public and semi-public accommodations stand as a continuing barrier to the full development of all our citizens.

We should seek to remove such barriers through legislation, and through our own personal witness to the operators of these facilities.

e. Freedom of access to educational opportunities.

Racial segregation in public schools remains a fact of our national life even though compulsory segregation was ruled by the Supreme Court in 1954 to be unconstitutional. Compliance with the Supreme Court decision on the part of political and educational authorities in twelve states and the District of Columbia has brought at least a beginning of the process of desegregation. In the school year 1959-60 more than 2½ million public school pupils are attending formerly segregated schools of 749 school districts in these twelve states. Five states have continued their compulsory segregation pattern. Many other school districts, in the 12 states where a beginning has been made have not changed their segregated pattern.

Even in states that do not have legal school segregation, the practice of restricted residential neighborhoods has led to school segregation in fact if not in policy. As Christian citizens in whatever situation we have a responsibility to work toward the achievement of full educational opportunities for every child in the community. . . .

FRIENDS BODIES

PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS 1960

Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting are painfully aware of the barriers to equality and brotherhood that continue to prevail in our country. We are fully aware of our failure to practice Christian brotherhood without regard to race or color.

We are greatly moved by the current non-violent efforts of our brothers in many cities to break down the barriers of segregation and inequality. We commend their efforts and encourage them to remain nonviolent as an expression of Christian love. We urge Friends and other people of good will to work in a spirit of reconciling love.

We offer our prayers in support of the efforts of these people to live as we want to live. We offer our prayers to all people who are striving to reach a proper solution of the problems involved. Friends are encouraged to give individual support to nonviolent action in whatever ways open to them. And Friends are reminded of the necessity to re-examine our lives that we may remove prejudice and discriminatory practices wherever we find them.

THE FIVE YEARS MEETING OF FRIENDS
July 14-21, 1960

Race . . .

EVERY MEMBER CONCERNED —

We humbly recognize that our Society as a whole has not been true to this basic Christian belief. Too often pioneering in racial equality has been left to the few. But in this day of racial crisis every member of the Society of Friends should be concerned that all races have equal opportunity to participate with one another in worship, education, housing, employment and voting, and to join in our fellowship.

CHRIST'S TEACHINGS RELEVANT —

The Christian way to combat injustice is to act in the spirit of love and forgiveness which Christ both lived and taught. . . . In recent months and years our Negro brothers in Christ have practiced to a remarkable degree these precepts of the Master as they have opposed injustice non-violently and in the spirit of Christian love. We are grateful to them for their leadership in demonstrating the relevance of Christ's teaching in our time and in our own communities.

A GOD GIVEN RIGHT —

Race prejudice and hatred are spiritual and moral diseases not confined to any one section of one country or to any one nation. In God's world there is no place for discrimination or prejudice because of racial or national origin, economic circumstance or religious belief. We believe that that there is something in every man which can respond to the Love of God, and that every man has the God given right to walk over the earth in dignity and self respect. We have the opportunity and the obligation to help secure this right for all.

LUTHERAN BODIES

NATIONAL LUTHERAN COUNCIL
February 2-5, 1960

Resolution Related to Recent Outbreaks of Anti-Semitism

WHEREAS the National Lutheran Council devoutly believes that God created one human family, that all men everywhere, whatever their color, culture, class, caste or religion, are inseparably related and bound together as members of that one human family, and that all men are created in the image of God and are equal in status before Him;

BE IT RESOLVED: That we call upon the participating Bodies of the National Lutheran Council to urge their members:

1. To condemn all irresponsible acts of violence and vandalism aimed at robbing religious or racial groups or individuals of their dignity as children of God;
2. To deplore the spirit of hatred which such acts reflect;
3. To cooperate with the constructive forces in their communities to prevent their recurrence.

VOTED: That the above resolution be adopted.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH — MISSOURI SYNOD
June 1959

Combating Racial Discrimination

. . . RESOLVED, That The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, in convention assembled in San Francisco, Calif., June 17-27, 1959, respectfully urge ourselves and our brethren in The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod to continue in the good work that was begun at the St. Paul convention and adopt, at the 44th regular convention of Synod, the following resolutions, numbered a, b, and c, as amplifications of Synod's 1956 statement of principles.

(a)

. . . RESOLVED, That we take notice of the continuing opposition to these Scriptural truths; that we testify against it and that we apply these teachings to the eradication of such racial or ethnic antipathies as may still persist in our midst.

(b)

. . . RESOLVED, That we continue our efforts to combat erroneous ideas about race and that we encourage our pastors, teachers, professors, and laymen to utilize every appropriate opportunity to combat ignorance and prejudice by stressing in our congregations, schools, colleges, seminaries, and our every daily lives those truths about race which are in accord with sound theology and true science.

(c)

. . . RESOLVED, That we urge the editors of the Lutheran Witness and other official publications and literature to give frequent expression to the stand which our church has taken on racial discrimination, as set forth in the resolution adopted in St. Paul.

Establishing Contact With the American Indians

. . . RESOLVED, That Synod urge the Board of Missions in North and South America to encourage the mission boards of the various Districts to cooperate, wherever possible, with the offices of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs in those metropolitan areas into which Indians are moving; and be it further

RESOLVED, That Synod urge congregations in these metropolitan areas to consider these American Indians their responsibility.

MENNONITE CHURCH
General Conference
August 17, 1959

The Christian and Race Relations

. . . Our Commitment

1. By the grace of God we as individuals and congregations will strive sincerely and prayerfully to love every person as we are loved by Christ. Each person is infinitely precious in the sight of God and as God's child he must be as precious to us. Always mindful of this, we will reach out in service to our fellowmen, irrespective of race, language or color of skin.
2. We will conscientiously strive to free ourselves from pride, condescension, and scorn toward any group whether it be racial, national, economic, or religious.
3. We are strengthened in these concerns by a firm conviction that the historic Christian peace witness is now demanded. Peacemakers are surely needed in the midst of the present deadly racial warring of man against man. We will therefore surrender ourselves completely to the love of God that we may become channels of his reconciling purpose to build a brotherhood of love in Christ Jesus — a brotherhood which is open to all men.
4. We call on our member congregations and our conference institutions to examine themselves and to purge themselves from prejudiced attitudes and practices toward racial and other minority groups. We further ask them to oppose such prejudice wherever it appears in their local congregations, institutions, and communities. To give reality to this confession and commitment we request:

a. Each congregation of our Conference prayerfully to consider adoption of the following: As a congregation under the Lordship of Christ and by the grace of God we declare that "In every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is accepted by Him" (Acts 10:35). Such a person of whatever color or national origin is therefore welcome to us as brother and member, co-worker and leader.

b. Each conference-related institution prayerfully to consider adoption of the following: As an institution under the Lordship of Christ and by the grace of God we declare that we will in our personnel and admission policies and in our programs of service give consideration to all persons without regard to color or national origin.

METHODIST BODIES

THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
College of Bishops
1960

Bombing and Desecration

Bombings and desecration of churches and synagogues, vandalism in public institutions, not excluding churches and synagogues, while apparently world-wide in scope have nevertheless been demonstrated in America.

. . . We have suffered grievously from such practices, as a minority group. Yet we here register our unwavering condemnation of such offenses. We call upon our own people to set their faces as hard as flint against all bombing, desecration, and vandalism. . . .

Civil Rights

. . . Civil rights must be extended until every American, of whatever hue, sex, or condition, shall enjoy not only the suffrage and religious freedom, but also the right to every public service, and the privilege of entrance to any vocation, trade, or profession in which that person is qualified.

To establish an objective code of civil rights will serve as *one* way to guarantee the opening of doors in elementary schools, secondary schools, institutes and colleges and universities to all students, and to secure that they remain therein, free from harassment by pupils, teachers, boards, trustees, officers of county or city or state government, — and even a National Guard.

Housing

It has been remarked that no fewer than twenty-seven million Americans, or approximately one-sixth of the population, because of race, color or ethnic attachment, are being denied the traditional American privilege, to a greater or lesser degree, of freedom to choose, and to move to selected places of residence.

The problem is a complex one, but not so great that it cannot be predicted that it will not become more prominent as millions of our people migrate from the South to the North and West, and from farm to the cities, and thus increase a congestion that has already brought a host of ills in its train. Low-cost housing, whether by Federal or other governments, cannot fill the gap for there is a demand for better housing

among our folk who are economically able to afford better homes in less congested areas. Neither class must be neglected, but we call upon the authorities to devote a particular energy to this development which promises to make segregation more prominent and hardened than previously; for segregation in housing will lead also to segregation in other areas.

We call upon our membership to acquaint themselves with this problem, to the end that they may not only seek after improvement in homes and housing, but that they may also join forces with individuals and movements which seek an amicable, Christian solution to the vexing problem. It is a problem of the body, of the soul and spirit, — of which the latter two must be untrammeled and free.

Urban Renewal and Demolition

There has been great progress in many cities to raze slums and blighted areas within their confines. We will support movements to destroy the slums; but we will note that along with that razing must also come provision for displaced slum-dwellers.

Our folk are frequently found in such areas, and are charged, by that very fact, with preferring the slums. However, they are not by nature slum-dwellers. Economic, political, and not infrequently social factors operate to segregate them in the blighted areas. It is, however, a matter of concern to us to note that urban renewal is so accurately aimed at Negro communities, razing churches and homes, breaking down community bonds, bringing disorganization among our people, and posing for them the problem of securing other housing for themselves and their institutions. We especially decry the practice of renewing areas in which our people dwell, and then making impossible their relocation in them.

Instances are known where such renewed areas are later sold to, and occupied by, other races, with Negroes excluded. Under the conditions, our folk view urban renewal as a masquerade, — as just a newer device to remove and to segregate them in less desirable areas, if indeed it attempts to settle them at all.

We call upon the authorities to review such practices, to assess the effect upon our people. We call upon our people to acquaint themselves with the probable effects of such movements, and to prepare to enter into discussion and conference with associations and authorities who seek to minimize the effect upon displaced minorities. . . .

College of Bishops & General Board
May 2-5, 1960

A Statement on Sit-In Movements and Resistance

We view with great concern the recent demonstrations of sit-in movements at lunch counters, and resistance to segregation in public places, engaged in by students of colleges in the South. We find it difficult to be impartial in these matters, for many of the students are personal friends and some are relatives. Moreover, the impact of the conditions which they resist falls upon us all.

. . . We stand in humble admiration before the courage of unprivileged students practicing non-violence, non-violence comparable to those practiced by our Lord Christ Himself. We are especially gratified to note that intimidated, overborne, and facing seemingly hopeless odds they nevertheless remained unequivocally loyal to America.

. . . Therefore, in this acutely personal situation, — affecting our Church, our ministry, our members, our young people, our own sons and daughters — we call upon you to keep the faith, to lose not hope, and to resist with every spiritual means all degradation and indignity imposed upon weaker and underprivileged human beings. You can do no less; God, through Christ, could call upon you to do no more.

THE METHODIST CHURCH
General Conference
1960

Social Creed

. . . FREEDOM FROM DISCRIMINATION

We stand for the equal rights of racial, cultural, and religious groups and insist that the social, economic, and spiritual principles set forth in this Creed apply to all alike. The right to choose a home, enter a school, secure employment, vote, or join a church should not be limited by a person's race, culture, or religion.

. . . CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS

We stand for the recognition and maintenance of the rights and responsibilities of free speech, free assembly, and a free press, and for the encouragement of free communication of ideas essential to the discovery of truth.

We stand for the right of all individuals and groups to advocate any peaceful and constitutional method for the solution of problems that may confront society.

We stand upon the principle of testing every such proposal in the light of the teaching of Jesus.

The Methodist Church and Race

. . . we recommend:

1. That a cooperative study be made by the General Boards of the Church of our institutions — including local churches, colleges, universities, theological schools, publishing agencies, hospitals and homes — as to their admission and employment policies and practices, and availability of services. It is the responsibility of these institutions that their policies and practices be in accord with the teachings of Jesus.

2. That Methodists in their homes, in their work, in their churches and in their communities actively work to eliminate discrimination and enforced segregation on the basis of race, color, or national origin, that as a church we pursue a program of education and action to bring about Christian practices with respect to housing, open occupancy, school, opportunity of employment, and community acceptance which, in the spirit of Christ, create a sense of belonging.

3. That as basic steps toward the removal of racial barriers in the organizational structure of the Church are taken, consistent planning shall be undertaken by every jurisdiction and conference to implement the procedures duly authorized in Amendment IX of the Constitution of the Methodist Church. In realization of this goal, bishops, district superintendents, pastors and laymen are urged to use with greater Christian courage all available channels, including the local churches, to create a climate of understanding and acceptance of this responsibility.

4. That Methodists at national and international meetings of the Church make provision for equality of accommodations for all races without discrimination or segregation.

5. That the many racial and national groups which make up our Methodist world fellowship be afforded the opportunity without discrimination to enjoy full participation in all activities and on all levels of the Church.

The Methodist Church and Race — A Program of Action

The continuing program of The Methodist Church to (1) abolish the Central Jurisdiction, (2) promote inter-racial brotherhood through Christian love, and (3) achieve a more inclusive Church shall be entrusted to a quadrennial Commission on Inter-jurisdictional Relations.

"(1) We recommend that the General Conference of 1960 shall elect upon nomination of the College of Bishops of each Jurisdiction a quadrennial Commission on Inter-jurisdictional Relations.

"(2) The responsibilities and authority of this Commission shall be as follows:

"(a) To study and recommend courses of action which will implement the use of Amendment IX on all levels of church structure.

"(b) To study the possibilities and problems inherent in the transfer of churches, districts, annual conferences and areas as provided in Amendment IX, and to give such information, guidance and other assistance as may be possible and proper to those considering such transfer.

"(c) To make an immediate study of the reasons for reluctance to make use of Amendment IX, where such reluctance exists, and to bring together responsible churchmen, ministerial and lay, to expedite action.

"(d). Where such transfers cannot be made in either direction at present, to recommend the immediate development of a long range program designed to create better understanding of mutual problems.

"(e) To give attention and study to such matters as may impede the speedy implementation of Amendment IX, including the adjustment of ministerial requirements, pension and apportionment differentials, minimum support, church extension and ministerial itinerancy.

"(f) To make progress reports to the Council of Bishops, and to the Church through the church press.

"(g) To present an inclusive report to the General Conference of 1964 containing findings and recommendations which shall be printed and distributed to the delegates at least three months prior to the convening of the Conference.

"(h) To work closely with the Boards of Social and Economic Relations, or their successors, in General Jurisdictional and Annual Conferences, with the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Woman's Division of Christian Service, and with all boards and agencies having information and facilities for expediting the use of Amendment IX and for promoting interracial brotherhood and Christian love.

"3. We recommend that the General Conference Commission on Inter-jurisdictional Relations shall consider the duly elected representatives of each Jurisdiction on its membership as Jurisdictional Commissions and delegate to them such responsibilities as may properly and expeditiously be fulfilled by them.

"4. We recommend that the General Conference Commission make specific delegation of responsibilities, wherever possible, on local, district, annual conference and area levels of church structure:

"(a) In cooperation with existing agencies to formulate and promote programs of education and courses of action to develop greater interracial understanding and brotherhood on all levels of church life.

"(b) To study the policies, programs, and activities of the Church, its agencies and related institutions with respect to the practice of interracial brotherhood.

"(c) To assist church extension through the establishment, wherever possible, of preaching places, and the organization of new congregations characterized by interracial brotherhood.

"5. We recommend that this proposed quadrennial Commission be given adequate financing to carry out fully and efficiently the responsibilities assigned to it. We recommend that the Commission meet before the conclusion of this General Conference."

Special Resolutions

. . . Religious Discrimination

Whereas, there have been recent outbreaks of Anti-Semitism in the United States and abroad; which have involved vandalism as well as verbal and printed expressions of hate,

. . . Be It Resolved that as Methodists we express our Christian concern about sectarian and anti-religious bitterness, violence, hate and such evils. We oppose any form of religious persecution and urge cooperation in extending aid to victims of vandalism and/or persecution. We should develop constructive, positive programs to counteract hate and to develop community attitudes which prevent discrimination against any religious group.

. . . Covenant of Human Rights

The Methodist Church reaffirms its support of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights . . . We urge the Senate of the United States and the governing bodies of those countries who have not already done so, to ratify the Convention on Genocide and the Convention on the Political Rights of Women.

In the General Assembly of the United Nations our representatives should give sympathetic consideration to a Covenant of Human Rights and the Senate should consider it on its merits.

. . . Human Rights

We regret that many citizens of our country are denied basic human rights. The recent wave of sit-in demonstrations and picketing at lunch counters has reminded us of such denials.

We commend participating students for the dignified nonviolent manner in which they have conducted themselves. We further commend the good professional performance of police forces which have prevented chaos in those cities where the demonstrations have occurred. Should such demonstrations continue, we hope that they will be carried out in a similar manner. Demonstrations must be seen as a means of awakening community conscience and not as a goal in themselves. Economic sanctions of any kind should be viewed as a last resort when attempts at negotiation fail.

Students should be free to exercise their personal Christian responsibilities. Methodist institutions should not penalize students who do so.

All of us must recognize that the dimensions of social change are tremendous. We view the present action by students as a challenge to accept Negroes in their respective communities on terms of dignity.

MORAVIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

Southern Province
Provincial Synod
1959

The Church as a Brotherhood

The Church of Jesus Christ, despite all the distinctions between male and female, Jew and non-Jew, white and colored, poor and rich, is one in its Lord. The Unitas Fratrum recognizes no distinction between those who are one in the Lord Jesus Christ. We are called to testify that God in Jesus Christ brings His people into being out of "every race, kindred and tongue", pardons sinners beneath the Cross and brings them into one body. We oppose any discrimination in our midst because of race or standing, and we regard it as a commandment of the Lord to bear public witness to this and to demonstrate by word and deed that we are brothers and sisters in Christ.

The Church as a Ministering Community

Jesus Christ came not to be ministered unto but to minister. The Church accepts service to Him as its only vocation. Each member is called to this ministry. We believe that in the Renewed Unity the Lord has called us particularly to mission service among the peoples of the world. In this, and in all other forms of service, both at home and abroad, to which the Lord commits us, He expects us to confess Him and witness to His love in unselfish service.

Serving our Neighbor

Our Lord Jesus entered into this world's misery to bear it and to overcome it. We seek to follow Him in serving His brethren. Like the love of Jesus, this service knows no bounds. Therefore we pray the Lord ever anew to point out to us the way to reach our neighbor, opening our heart and hand to him in his need.

Serving the World

Jesus Christ maintains in love and faithfulness His commitment to this fallen world. Therefore we must remain concerned for this world. We may not withdraw from it through indifference, pride or fear. Together with the universal Christian Church, the Unitas Fratrum challenges mankind with the message of the love of God, striving to promote the peace of the world and seeking to attain what is best for all men. For the sake of this world, the Unitas Fratrum hopes for and looks to the day when the victory of Christ will be manifested over sin and death and the new world will appear.

POLISH NATIONAL CATHOLIC CHURCH

November 19, 1960

Statement by Prime Bishop

The integration question, so vital in the United States, must be decided favorably for the Negroes, but from a Christian point of view.

The problem confronting every Christian is how to effect it. It is the opinion of the Polish National Catholic Church, that enforcement by law is not the absolute solver of problems.

A Negro child escorted into a White school by an officer of the law causes a resentment among the White children and deprives the Negro child of security and acceptance. A Negro child can always be forced by law into a school, but will it become a part and a pattern of the spirit of interdependence among students?

It is the Polish National Catholic opinion that integration can come only by the slow, evolutionary method of schooling the heart and the mind.

It is therefore a great missionary challenge to our united front. We, the National Council of Churches, should and must accept this mission of making it a TRUE integration.

By true integration we understand an equal and constant cooperation of the Negroes with the Whites — an integration that cannot be forced by blitzkrieg methods, but by an expression of good will between the Negro and the White and then a reeducation according to the teaching of Christ.

It is our opinion that in this particular field of work, we cannot stand alone, that it is necessary to obtain the help and the cooperation of the government, the public schools and the Churches.

PRESBYTERIAN BODIES

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S.

General Assembly
April 28, 1959

Christian Harmony in Race Relations

It is generally observed that race relations have changed in recent years. Estrangement between the two races principally involved is quite evident, with varying degrees of intensity.

. . . The Christian community in its testimony in behalf of justice and fairness to all people certainly cannot without shame lag behind the efforts of secular agencies in behalf of these goals. And since it is apparent that the attitudes and actions of extreme groups result in divisions of our society into hostile factions, the Christian community is challenged by these hostilities to intensify its efforts toward effecting peace in Christ's name among men, through a ministry of reconciliation that is the thrust of its gospel.

To this end Christians must be dedicated by the very liberty that is theirs in Christ to keeping safe the freedom of the two peoples to meet voluntarily in unhampered assembly and genuine fellowship.

In order that we may be more effective witnesses to the community as a whole, our own reconciling efforts in interracial affairs must assume more tangible reality within the life of the church itself. And as strong measures are concerted to assure full opportunity for developing the Negro in society, in like proportion are responsibility and obligation laid upon the Negro himself to assume his full role in the whole life of the community.

Community agencies which now suffer from lack of his qualified assistance, such as planning committees, hospital boards, welfare and other social betterment commissions, could rightfully expect responsible performance from Negro citizens as they do from white citizens. Surely it should be the Christian's zeal to show forth the excellence of the power of God for righteousness in the affairs of men.

General Assembly
May 4, 1960

. . . Rights of Citizens

. . . The Assembly strongly urges laymen and ministers, as Christian citizens, to redouble their efforts to right the wrongs presently suffered by individuals and groups because of race, creed, or nationality, and to confront seriously their commitment

to Jesus Christ in all of life; and engage in prayer to God for his forgiveness of the involvement of the church in the injustices of our day, and for guidance, courage, and strength to meet the challenge of these critical days according to His will.

. . . *Racial Desegregation* **(In Response to Overtures)**

Overture 7: The Presbytery of Potomac overtures the General Assembly asking that Court to remind the Boards of Trustees of the institutions which are within the concern, support and jurisdiction of its member Synods of the former action of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, urging the opening of the doors of our institutions to qualified students without regard to social distinctions; and to urge upon these Synods and these Boards of Trustees that they consider the implementation of this action with decisiveness and dispatch.

This overture was answered by the General Assembly in the affirmative for the following reasons:

1. That the 1954 General Assembly reached this decision after due deliberation in its effort to fulfill its role to seek the mind of Christ on this difficult issue;
2. That many Synods and institutions have not acted on this matter or have taken contrary actions;
3. That our mission work in Africa and elsewhere is seriously handicapped by our inability to educate potential native leaders in Presbyterian, U.S. colleges whereas scholarships are provided for them behind the Iron Curtain without racial discrimination; and
4. That the current situation imperatively calls for a strong and urgent reaffirmation of the 1954 Assembly's stand.

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH U. S. A.
General Assembly
May 27, 1959

Race Relations

Freedom of Association

. . . The 171st General Assembly

Cautions United Presbyterians that they should not support or tolerate such assaults on the God-given and constitutionally guaranteed rights of all citizens under the mistaken notion that they are merely defending a racial arrangement they happen to prefer, and

Calls upon United Presbyterians to defend the right of every lawful organization or association, especially those under attack, to work to achieve legitimate social goals, lest the very fabric of our democratic system itself be destroyed.

Voting Rights

. . . The 171st General Assembly

Commends the Commission for its wisdom in setting up State Advisory Committees and for its fairness in holding public hearings;

Petitions the 86th Congress to establish the Civil Rights Commission as a permanent agency and to grant it such additional powers as may be needed to increase its effectiveness, and

Calls upon United Presbyterians to enlist in the effort to secure full voting rights for all American citizens.

Executive Action by Federal Agencies

. . . The 171st General Assembly

Petitions the Executive Department of the Federal Government to require that public tax money be used on a racially nondiscriminatory basis in a manner comparable to that which has already been employed in the letting of Government Contracts.

Residential Desegregation

. . . The 171st General Assembly

Commends those churches which have engaged their members in covenants of open occupancy and urges others to follow this example, thus assisting the movement toward residential desegregation,

Urges careful study of the report of the Commission on Race and Housing in local churches and in presbytery social education and action committees, looking toward corporate support of such of its recommendations as are judged most pertinent to their locality, and

Urges United Presbyterian Church judicatories publicly to support the passage of fair housing legislation in those states where such legislation has been or can be introduced.

Reordering Our Own House

. . . The 171st General Assembly

Commends those congregations which have acknowledged the leading of the Holy Spirit into a fellowship that knows no racial or cultural barriers and those formerly separate all-white and all-Negro judicatories which by mutual sacrifice and statesmanship have successfully united, and

Calls upon our whole church and its members to labor unceasingly toward the goal to which God is calling us.

May 25, 1960

Race Relations

. . . The 172nd General Assembly

Affirms its determination neither to rest nor become silent on this issue until all citizens of our country have equal access to the rights, responsibilities, and privileges of citizenship, and all Christians can find full participation in the work and worship of Christ's church, without respect to their race or ethnic origin;

Reaffirms the actions of previous Assemblies on the achievement of a nonsegregated church and a nonsegregated society; and

Addresses itself now to the following matters: (1) discrimination in public accommodations; (2) the responsibility and right of all citizens to vote; (3) the call of ministers without respect to race; (4) the vocational aspirations and training of nonwhite youth; and (5) desegregation in public schools.

1. Public Accommodations

a. Statutory Prohibitions

. . . The 172nd General Assembly

Calls upon our judicatories and church members to insist that public officials enforce such statutory prohibitions where they exist, and to support such legislation where it has been, or can be, introduced;

Urges our members to take note of hotels, restaurants, and other public accommodations that discriminate and to communicate to the owners or managers their desire to see such discriminatory practices eliminated; and

Urges United Presbyterians, individually and in concert, to seek out and patronize those places of public accommodation that serve the public without such discrimination.

b. Student Demonstrations

. . . The 172nd General Assembly

Commends those who, when struck, did not strike back; who, when cursed, did not curse back; who acted with patience and dignity in the face of violence and hostility;

Assures students of our common cause with those who for the sake of conscience participate in such responsible nonviolent demonstrations;

Urges them to continue to recognize the dangers to the civil order inherent in conflict with established authority; and

Urges United Presbyterians to search their conscience and prayerfully to determine, within the fellowship of the church, whether God calls them to support these efforts.

2. Voting Rights and Responsibilities

. . . The 172nd General Assembly

Urges state legislators and the United States Congress to continue to work for legislation that will effectively secure and protect the rights of all citizens to vote, regardless of race;

Commends efforts to stimulate, train, and protect Negro and other citizens in the exercise of their responsibility to register and vote by such agencies as United Church Women, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the League of Women Voters; and

Urges United Presbyterians to participate actively in these or other such legitimate efforts and to defend them against unwarranted and irresponsible attacks.

3. The Calling of Ministers

. . . The 172nd General Assembly

Urges churches attempting to fill pastoral or staff vacancies to communicate to the Department of Ministerial Relations their desire to consider the best-qualified candidates without regard to the candidates' race;

Urges presbytery committees on ministerial relations in counseling with churches seeking ministers to encourage these churches to consider and hear qualified candidates without respect to race or ethnic origin; and

Requests the Department of Ministerial Relations to encourage every church using its service to consider and hear candidates, without regard to race or color, whose stated qualifications meet the needs of the church.

4. Raising Vocational Aspirations and Training of Nonwhite Youth

. . . The 172nd General Assembly

Urges those leaders, such as pastors and vocational counselors, who have access to the minds and hearts of nonwhite youth to nourish in them a growing faith in the ability of our society to correct previous patterns of discrimination in employment, and to encourage them to continue their education and/or training, even for job categories that may presently be closed to members of their race;

Urges United Presbyterian employers in both church and nonchurch organizations to see that their recruiting, training, hiring, and promoting practices are conducted on a merit or seniority basis, without regard to the race or ethnic origin of employees;

Calls upon labor unions with discriminatory policies or practices quickly to bring them into line with the oft-repeated statements of the major international unions in favor of nondiscriminatory membership;

Repeats its call to all United Presbyterian members and judicatories to support and implement state and local Fair Employment Practices legislation; and

Commends such agencies as the National Urban League for their continuous program of placement and education of both potential employees and employers.

5. Desegregation in the Public Schools

a. Voluntary Compliance

. . . The 172nd General Assembly

Commends the wise and statesmanlike leadership that led to voluntary compliance with the Supreme Court's decision; and

Calls upon United Presbyterians to give leadership in the movement toward voluntary compliance with the law of the land, assuring them of the support and assistance of their church.

b. The Ambiguity of Minimal Desegregation

. . . The 172nd General Assembly

Reminds all Christians that, while "token" desegregation and other plans that admit a small number of Negro pupils to white schools may be preferable to rigidly segregated or closed public schools, such arrangements fall far short of the ethical demands of our Lord and even of the full intent of the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 and 1955; and

Urges Christians wholly to support every legitimate effort to achieve the full freedom of every child to attend, without respect to color, any public school for which he is qualified.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The National Council

April 27, 1960

1. *Resolved,* That the National Council asserts the appropriateness of the actions of its staff members in preparing the Background Paper on the Sit-in Demonstrations, recognizing the consistency of these actions with understandings of Council on the policy governing the operation of departmental officers; and be it further

Resolved, That the Council finds the document in question to be correctly based on official documents of the House of Bishops, the Lambeth Conference and the General Convention; and be it further

Resolved, That the Council is determined to develop for all its officers policies and criteria for constructive exercise of responsibility in preparing and distributing materials of all kinds; and be it further

Resolved, That the Council reminds all its officers that the heaviest responsibility for the work of the Church is carried by the Bishops of the Church, and that consequently officers are expected to consider seriously advising diocesan authorities in advance of impending significant publications of Council's staff.

2. *Resolved,* That the National Council recommends the Study Document on Sit-in Demonstrations for serious consideration and a study on the part of the people of the Church.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA

June 1960

. . . Resolved, that the General Synod earnestly commend to all the Classes of the Reformed Church in America that steps be taken to make it clear that the worship and fellowship of the Reformed Churches are open to all irrespective of race and class and that this fact be made known to the public through the use of the local newspaper and other suitable means of communication.

[redacted].

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

General Synod

July 8, 1959

Race Relations

. . . We . . . call upon our churches and their members to pray and work:

For the elimination of pride and prejudice from our hearts;

For the end of racial segregation and discrimination in our communities — in church life, in housing, in employment, in education, in public accommodations and services, and in the exercise of political rights;

For the alleviation of poverty, ignorance, illness, and all other handicaps which are aggravated by unequal opportunity and by segregation imposed by law or custom;

For the furtherance of human rights throughout the world and respect for all men as persons created in the image of God.

Council for Christian Social Action

1959

Our Christian Concern for Public Education

. . . We affirm our support of the public school system, democratically controlled by the entire community, financed through general taxation, and open to all children without discrimination as to race, creed, or economic status.

. . . We urge that members of our churches help strengthen the public schools by:

. . . refusing the use of church or other private property for private schools to evade desegregation of public schools.

January 31, 1960

Qualifications for the Office of President of the United States

The Council for Christian Social Action unequivocally states its conviction that no citizen should be denied nomination by a political party or election to the office of President on grounds of race, religion, or ethnic origin.

To accept as unwritten law, or to assume, that no Roman Catholic should be President of the United States would amount to a denial of fundamental American principles and would infringe liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. . . .

June 15, 1960

Statement in Support of the Students Protesting Segregation

. . . The basic issue runs far deeper than the comparatively simple matter of being able to purchase a cup of coffee and drink it along with other customers. In these demonstrations there is caught up the yearning of the human spirit for freedom, dignity, and equality. Here is a symbol of protest against all forms of discrimination. This is the struggle not of one group alone, but of all. It is a struggle of humanity for humanity's sake.

We commend the students of America, Negro and white, North and South, who have so challenged the conscience of their country. Especially do we commend their high motivation and their courage, their self-discipline and exemplary behavior in the face of provocation. We support their demand for the recognition of human dignity and urge all Christians to join us in such support to the end that this nation, under God, shall indeed have a new birth of freedom.

Board of Home Missions of the Congregational and Christian Churches

April 28, 1960

Statement in Support of Students

. . . The Board of Home Missions, through its Executive Committee meeting on April 28, 1960, expresses its support of the students of its own affiliated colleges and of other educational institutions in their demonstrations against racial discrimination in stores, eating establishments, libraries and other places purporting to serve the general public.

. . . As evidence of the sincerity of our convictions, the Board of Home Missions will, through the Division of Higher Education and The American Missionary Association, extend financial aid in cases of hardship caused by dismissal of students from college or from part-time employment, another common form of reprisal. The Board will also use its good offices with the colleges associated with it to help qualified students gain admission to colleges where they will not be victims of discriminatory policies and practices. Applications from students will be received by the Board's Division of Higher Education and the American Missionary Association.

The matter in these pages is presented for the reader's information. Unless so stated, it is not to be construed as reflecting the attitudes or positions of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations or of The National Council of Churches.

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PREJUDICE IS AN OPINION WITHOUT ANY VISIBLE MEANS OF SUPPORT.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE
CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U.S.A.
DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS
475 Riverside Drive New York 27, N. Y.

Return Postage Guaranteed

THIS I BELIEVE

by

HAYWOOD N. HILL, M.D.

I AM A SOUTHERNER. I was bred in the South where my forefathers were slave holders and Confederate soldiers. I was born and raised in Southern towns with their rigid racial patterns and their typical Southern prejudice. I was away from the South for a few years, but I returned to live in the South by choice and intend to remain here for the rest of my life. I love the South and its people.

I like to have two black arms in my kitchen and two black legs pushing my lawn mower, to help take the drudgery out of living for myself and my family, and I like having them at a very minimum of cost to me.

I like choosing my own friends and associates, and I like eating in pleasant places with well bred people of my own race, class, and status.

A message given before an adult church school class at Trinity Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, on January 1, 1961. Dr. Hill is teacher of the class and an elder of the church.

I like to worship in a church which is composed of my friends and equals where I will be among my own group, racially, socially, and intellectually.

I like for my children to go to school with their own kind and with other children of their own racial, social, and intellectual level. I like for them to be shielded against poverty, ignorance, dirt, and disease.

I like to practice medicine among intelligent, cooperative people who understand what I am trying to do for them, who are friends as well as patients, and who pay their bills.

I like to live in a neighborhood composed of people of my own group who have pleasant, well kept homes, and where there is no conflict or strife.

I do not want my daughter to marry a Negro.

I like the racial status quo. I am a Southerner.

But, I am also a Christian. As a Christian I must believe that God created all men and that all men are equal in the sight of God. I must believe that all men are my brothers and are children of God, and that I am my brother's keeper. I must believe that Jesus meant what He said when He commanded me to love my neighbor as myself and when He commanded me to do unto others as I would have them do unto me. I must believe that the church is God's house and that it does not belong to me, to the congregation of Trinity Presbyterian Church, or to the Southern Presbyterian Church. I must believe in the fellowship of all believers.

I am also a scientist and have devoted my life to the pursuit of objective truth. Therefore, I must know that while there are individual differences among people that there is no such thing as racial inferiority. I must know that within every group there are individuals with different potentialities, and that I cannot arbitrarily classify anyone on the basis of his race or color. I must know that poverty and ignorance and isolation, call it segregation if you will, breed feelings of inferiority, frustration, resentment, and despair and that these feelings in turn lead to misery, to immorality, and to crime which, in turn, not only depress the people and the communities involved but the community as a whole and the whole country.

Therefore, as a Christian and as a scientist I am obligated to act on the basis of what I know and what I believe and not on the basis of what I like. I must live by conviction and by conscience rather than by preference and by prejudice.

I must, therefore, regard every man, rich or poor, black or white, as a child of God and as a person, not as some kind of subhuman being or animal or even as an inferior. I must try to see to it that every individual gets equal rights under the law and in politics. This applies particularly to the right of equal justice in the courts and to the right of the exercise of political privilege; that is, the right to vote. If I fear the effects of bloc voting and voting from ignorance, then I must try to see to it that every man is educated to the point where he votes intelligently.

I am obligated to pay a living wage to every man who works for me and to do my best to see that others do the same. I must accord to every man the right to rise to the limit of his abilities in any job or profession, and I must make every attempt to see that no man is blocked because of his race or his social status. If any individual of any race rises to a position equal to mine, then I must accord to him the same privileges that I have and welcome him as an equal.

I must see to it that everyone has an opportunity for an education as good as my own children have. If this means, as the social scientists, the courts, and the Negroes themselves believe, that that education must be the same education as my children have, then I must accept it and encourage it.

I must try to see to it that no man be humiliated and rejected because of his color. If this means that the Negro eats where I eat, sits next to me in the theatre, or rides next to me in public transportation, then I am obligated to accept it.

I must see to it that every man has an opportunity for a decent home and decent surroundings, and if this means that he will live in my neighborhood or in the house next to mine, then that is the way it must be.

If a Negro wants to worship in my church or join my church, then I am obligated to see to it that he is not only accepted but welcomed into that church, even if it be Trinity Presbyterian Church. I must not be led by false pride to try to judge his motives for coming into that church, and I must welcome him on the same basis that I would welcome any other individual.

I must try to overlook the selfish politicians who use the Negro for their own ends; the Communist agitators who delight in stirring up racial strife; the noisy, aggressive Negro who abuses his privileges and who makes life unpleasant for me; and even the Negroes who exploit their own race. I must ignore such irrelevant questions as which race settled this country, which

race pays the most taxes, etc., and remember the basic principles on which I am trying to act and in which I believe.

I must not only accept the efforts of the Negro to achieve his legitimate aspirations, but I must try to help him achieve them, and I believe that the church must do the same if it is a truly Christian church. I must do this, even though it goes against my deepest prejudices and even though it threatens my superior and isolated position in the community and even though it entails the risk of intermarriage.

Basically, the problem is not one of what I like but of what I know to be right. I must not let my wishes determine my attitude toward my associates, my school, my church, or even my own family, but if I am true to the principles which I profess, then I must act according to those principles. This, I believe.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
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THE ROOTS OF BIAS

Are they in our churches and their teachings?

By THE RT. REV. JAMES A. PIKE BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL DIOCESE OF CALIFORNIA

A WOMAN with hate on her face screeches at a small Negro child entering a New Orleans school. A crowd jeers at a white Methodist minister taking his child to the same school, threatens a Roman Catholic priest and calls him a "Communist" and "bastard." A synagogue is bombed in Peoria, Ill. Nonwhite United Nations delegates receive obscene, abusive letters. A spate of campaign literature paints Roman Catholics as enemies of our country.

Most of us tend to think that such evil acts as these are committed in spite of organized religion, which teaches the love of one's neighbor and the brotherhood of man.

But many of the people who are responsible for these acts of hate are church members. The sad and shocking truth is that the roots of bias often reach back to the pulpit and the Sunday-school class; the seeds of hatred frequently are planted by the churches themselves by what they *teach*, what they *fail to teach* and what they *are*.

Fortunately, in recent years, the Christian churches have started examining their religious-education materials to see in what ways they foster or abet prejudice, and in what ways, if any, they counteract it. In 1933, Drew University began analyzing Protestant Sunday-school textbooks at the suggestion of the American Jewish Committee. The tragic plight of the Jews under Nazism and the alarming resurgence of anti-Semitism in America stimulated these studies. Since that time, a survey of Jewish textbooks has been made at Dropsie College; a Roman Catholic self-study is nearing completion at St. Louis University; a seven-year examination of Protestant teaching materials has been completed at Yale. The United Church of Christ and the Methodist Church recently announced that they are analyzing their own publications.

The Yale study, conducted by Dr. Bernhard E. Olson, is the most comprehensive. Dr. Olson has analyzed the educational materials of four Protestant groups, classified as fundamentalist, conservative, liberal and "neo-orthodox" (in this case, United Presbyterian).

Dr. Olson (whose study will be published next fall by the Yale University Press under the title *Victims and Oppressors: Intergroup Relations in Protestant Curricula*) finds that the four groups vary widely in what they teach about other religious groups. For example, liberal and neo-orthodox teaching materials are found to be most unprejudiced. Whatever references with negative

implications their church materials make about other groups are balanced by positive or corrective statements. The fundamentalist group stands about in the middle of the scale, while the conservative group is rated most biased, since it most consistently makes hostile or negative judgments when Jews, Roman Catholics, non-Christians and even other Protestants are mentioned. In spite of wide variations, some general conclusions emerge:

Where material deals *directly* with intergroup relations, it is almost always "on the side of the angels." Anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism and racial prejudice are condemned when they are treated *as such*. But when the material deals with New Testament theology and religious history, prejudicial ideas and impressions are likely to creep in, with Roman Catholics and Jews as the main targets. This type of prejudice-forming material is particularly dangerous, due to the very fact that it is *indirect* and therefore not likely to be challenged. Moreover, much of the teaching material passes up the opportunity to correct misleading impressions; prejudice frequently is encouraged by what is left unsaid.

THIS holds true, for example, in Protestant portrayals of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as in Roman Catholic materials dealing with Protestantism. Take the following excerpt from a Protestant Sunday-school lesson:

In the early centuries, under pagan persecution, thousands of Christians were put to death, and a thousand years later, during the popish persecutions, millions perished.

Clearly, "millions perished" is an exaggeration, and the word "popish" has a derogatory tone. Furthermore, nothing is included in the lesson about Protestant persecutions of Roman Catholics; no mention is made of the fact that, until fairly recent times, hardly anyone believed in religious freedom except for his own group.

Some Roman Catholic materials dwell on the lust and tyranny of Henry VIII, while ignoring the generally low level of morals in leaders of church and state during the late medieval period. Some emphasize the pride of Martin Luther, without explaining the serious theological issues at stake in the Reformation.

Even more misleading are the references to Jews in many church-school materials. Dr. Olson has found that some of the topics most difficult to discuss without resorting to negative images and unfair statements about Jews were the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees, the Crucifixion, the dispersion of the Jews and the Jewish resistance to conversion.

Most Christians identify "Pharisees" with "hypocrites" and regard them as generally evil. This is due to faulty religious education. The truth is that Jesus took the Pharisees seriously and felt it was particularly important to express judgment against them *precisely because* they were the most serious and devout Jews of His day. Some Protestant writers recognize this when they say the Pharisees represent the *status quo* of society. More pointedly, they represent *ourselves* at our most respectable. But, as Dr. Olson points out, we conceive of most stories as having a hero and a villain, and we like to identify ourselves with the hero. Therefore, students of the Bible tend to identify themselves with Christ against the Pharisees. Actually, they should be identifying themselves with the Pharisees, against whom stood—and stands—the judgment of Christ.

The term "Christ killers" is the most hateful expression used by anti-Semites. Yet Dr. Olson finds a number of passages from Protestant texts that place the collective guilt for Christ's death on "the Jews," thereby giving approbation to the phrase. (Two of the denominations studied conscientiously avoid making such a charge.)

Actually, the responsibility for Jesus's death is a complex matter. While He had vivid disagreements with the Pharisees, those primarily responsible for His undoing were the Jewish ecclesiastical leaders, who belonged to a tiny minority group known as the Sadducees. (There were perhaps not more than 2,000 at the time.) Jesus threatened their income and status because He opposed the Temple abuses and because His teaching presented a direct pathway to God, bypassing the system they ran. Also, the Sadducees were collaborating with Israel's Roman oppressors. Both the Sadducees and the Romans feared Jesus as a threat to the *status quo*.

It was this small and unrepresentative group of Jews, in collaboration with the Romans, who conspired toward Jesus's death. The "multitude" that the leaders were able to stir up were only a small fraction of the Jews in Israel. The fact is that Jesus's disciples and early followers were Jews. Yet one Sunday-school lesson says:

When Jesus was in the Temple for the last time, a few days before His Passion, He asked the Jews, "What think ye of Christ?" Their answer was a great disappointment to Him. But on Good Friday they showed what they thought. Their hearts were so filled with hatred toward Him that they shouted themselves hoarse, crying, "Crucify Him!" That was the thanks He received for coming into this world to save and to bless them.

The indiscriminate use of the phrase "the Jews" in referring to the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the witnesses or the mob is quite typical of many lessons. Seldom is the term "the Jews" used to describe Jesus's friends and followers. Another writer of Sunday-school material advises teachers:

In treating the trial before the governor, present Pilate as an irresolute judge who let himself be driven by a bloody mob to condemn the innocent. The Jews' sin was the greater.

The same writer later adds this comment, containing slurs on two minority groups:

Pilate was not a willing tool of the Jews as later many kings and emperors obediently carried out the order of the papists to persecute and slaughter the true Christians.

Similar in its implications—and with strong emotional connotations—is this comment:

Foiled by the unexpected choice of the Jews, Pilate tried to move them to leniency toward Jesus by appealing to their feelings of sympathy and humanity. He thought that when they saw Jesus suffering great bodily agony, they would feel sorry for Him. . . . Severely bruised and with blood streaming from His body, Jesus was presented to the Jews by Pilate with the pitying appeal, "Behold the Man." . . . The hardhearted, unbelieving Jews could not even thus be moved to pity.

Christ opposed all forms of prejudice during His life, but texts used in many Sunday schools tell the complex story of His death in a way that contributes to bias

THE dangers of this type of generalization are summarized by Dr. Olson: 1) It displaces the Crucifixion event from its context of time and place. "The Jews" can mean any or all Jews anywhere. 2) It divorces Jesus from His own people and nation. Jesus, His family, His disciples and many other friends and followers were all Jews too. 3) It places the blame on *all* Jews of Jesus's time. 4) It omits the role of the Roman authorities.

In all fairness, it must be mentioned that passages such as this have often been *voluntarily* corrected by publishers, once their implications became apparent. It is not malice, but insensitivity—a lack of awareness that the destinies of real people may be affected—that allows statements of this kind to appear.

The dispersion of the Jews and their conse-

"THE CRUCIFIXION," BY HUBERT VAN EYCK, COURTESY OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, FLETCHER FUND, 1933

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quent suffering ("due to their rejection of Christ") provide an even more obvious foundation for anti-Semitism, as presented in some religious material. One Roman Catholic text tells us: "In spite of countless graces given the Chosen People, they voluntarily blinded themselves to Christ's teachings." Another religious educational medium of that faith says that ". . . the Jews . . . by the bad influence of their pride and hypocrisy, hindered the spread of the knowledge of God among other nations." Dr. Olson notes that, to one of the Protestant denominations, the Jews, as a people, appear to exist only as a "warning" to Christians of the "dangers" of unbelief.

CURIOUSLY enough, when one text describes the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A. D. 70, it does not condemn the oppressor; instead, the Jews who attempted to liberate their nation from the Romans are dubbed "disloyal subjects." The text assigns the Sunday-school class an uncharitable task: "Give proof that the curse which the Jews called down upon their nation still rests on them and their children even to this very day."

In none of these instances is anti-Semitism endorsed. In fact, some of the very books and manuals quoted above exhort their readers against anti-Semitism.

In our own time, we have seen the disastrous consequences of carrying such thinking to extremes. To implant the idea that a people suffer, not because of man's inhumanity and brutality, but because they are *cursed*, is to make it easy to become indifferent to their fate.

Why would groups devoted to truth, justice and love allow such poison to be introduced into the minds and hearts of their adherents? The reasons for the lingering presence of bias in religious material are devious and sometimes subtle.

One particularly worrisome reason lies in the profound theological differences that prevail. Some people think it might be better for brotherhood if all teaching about such sensitive matters as the Crucifixion, the Pharisees and the Reformation could be omitted from curricula. In fact, some of them have expressed the hope that teaching about the Cross be dropped from Christian Sunday schools. Obviously, this is not possible. Each religious group must teach its faith as it sees it. We cannot ask the Lutherans *not* to teach that the Protestant reformers were right and the popes and the Council of Trent were wrong. Uniquely, the Yale study assumes that any remedy for the kind of teaching that inculcates prejudice must lie within the limits of the theological position of the group involved.

"Church segregation tends to strengthen barriers between races."

BUT prejudice can also creep into religious textbooks for reasons that are psychological and sociological rather than theological:

• Some of those preparing religious texts may themselves be biased. Furthermore, misleading material in the hands of thousands of Sunday-school teachers throughout the nation, many of whom hold conscious or unconscious prejudices, hugely magnifies the ill effects.

• Many of those preparing Biblical and theological teachings are not conscious of the dangers of sowing the seeds of bias. Through inadvertence, rather than intent, they end up with bias-producing presentations.

• Many people—no less in the churches than out—have a psychological need to build up their "in-group" at the expense of all "out-groups." Sometimes, this need takes the form of an irrational view of out-groups as threats to their own particular "in-group." These disturbed people look for opportunities to put all outsiders in a lower position, before God or man.

• Many people—inside the churches as well as outside—do not wish the mores of their group or community disturbed. They want to maintain the exclusion of certain people from social organizations, from housing in certain neighborhoods, from political office. They welcome any data that appears to support and justify the *status quo*.

• Christians, no less than others, like to avoid or minimize the judgment of God on themselves. Some of them prefer to read Biblical materials in such a way as to transfer His judgments to others, leaving them with a comfortable identification with God and Christ. This is, of course, a perversion of the revelation of the Scriptures. It is only if we as Christians can view ourselves as the sort of people who crucified Christ that the New Testament can have any saving effect upon us.

THE same reasons for prejudice apply, though in a different way, to discrimination against Negroes. The Yale study indicates that there is very little in church teaching materials that would create anti-Negro feeling. The evil generally lies not so much in what the churches *teach*, but in what they *are*. The actual segregation in U. S. churches (perhaps greater than in any other significant grouping in our society) tends to strengthen, rather than break down, the barriers between the races. The social teaching of the national church bodies against discrimination all too seldom filters down to the local congregations. The positive teaching in Sunday-school material evidently is not enough to offset community mores (to which so many Christians give higher allegiance than to the official teaching of their church.)

One might infer from all this that organized religion is an evil because of what it does in developing and encouraging prejudice. Is it inevitable that bias-producing material must accompany the full presentation of Christian doctrine? If so, even the believer might well doubt the soundness of the Christian message.

Actually, it is not at all necessary that the tares of prejudice be sown as the wheat of the Gospel is planted. Dr. Olson's study shows that prejudice-free books and manuals can be prepared without compromising a faith's essential beliefs. Furthermore, positive data can be added to head off possible wrong impressions.

How to do this presents a different problem to each of the religious groups. The conservative churches, which take a literal view of Scripture, can present a careful analysis of the meaning of the persons referred to as "the Jews." They can explain the true religious posture of the Pharisees.

Fundamentalist churchmen who feel it necessary to explain the dispersion and suffering of the Jews as a consequence of their having "rejected Christ" can take particular pains—as many do now—to make clear that man has no right to inflict pain on another group of God's children.

With no doctrine about God's plans for the Jews or Gentiles, the liberal churches easily avoid putting a "curse" on modern Jews. They do not take the doctrinal issues of the Reformation seriously, but rather see the movement as a fight for individual freedom. Therefore, they have no need to say things that would create hatred toward Jews or Roman Catholics.

In the neo-orthodox churches, the strong emphasis on man's continuing sin and his identification with those who had a part in Christ's death breaks down the distinction between Gentile and Jew. And though they must define the tenets of the Reformation with care, neo-orthodox instructors are able to stress those teachings held in common with the Roman Catholic Church, as well as those on which there are profound disagreements. In describing the Reformation period, they can tell the whole truth, including many evil things on both sides—and many good things as well.

All groups can teach and teach again the essential Christian message of love of neighbor and the obligation to seek justice. They can help their members feel inner peace and avoid the need for religious or racial "in-group" security.

This is certainly one of the most important tasks of the churches today. It is disgraceful that people are being barred from neighborhoods and clubs on a basis that would have barred Jesus himself—due in strong measure to the influence of His own church. It is distressing that regular churchgoers are agents of segregation. And it is shameful that the rift of the Reformation is being widened by some churches.

YET, for all these shortcomings of its followers, Christianity itself provides the needed antidotes. Dr. Olson's study reveals how the churches can—and do—fight prejudice, without compromising Christian beliefs. The conception of sin as universal means that confession of sin must begin with oneself, with one's own group, with one's own nation or church. Prejudice is seen as a form of idolatry—a putting of one's own group, church or nation above God.

Christ came to heal, not to hurt. Prejudice wounds our fellow men. Christians especially should take particular care as we teach His Gospel to avoid sowing seeds of hatred toward those of His own background—or hatred toward *any* minority group. He died for all.

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The Myth of the Moderates

The so-called moderate does not stand between racist and integrationist, offering a workable compromise; rather he stands to the side, unable to apply his outmoded ideas.

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW

✦ FEW PROTESTANTS today will contest the fact that race has become one of our most pressing social issues. At the higher levels, every major denomination has made it clear that racial integration is a Christian imperative. At the lower levels, omitting some outstanding exceptions, the church offers little but discriminatory practices and segregated establishments.

The problem is pressing because Protestantism has deeply committed itself; if it fails to implement its ideals at the parish level, organized Protestantism will have become largely a fraternal order, will no longer be an effective moral force in our society. "The day of reckoning," writes Gordon W. Allport, "has come for the Christian Church. The world is now too small, too crowded, too perilous, and too rapidly changing to permit further temporizing with bigotry and discrimination. . . . The task is difficult; the challenge is immediate."

But what are the barriers restraining the church in this hour of challenge? Certainly one important barrier is the failure of many Christians, north and south, to grasp the full meaning of the Christian imperative on race. And this failure seems to be less a matter of blatant bigotry than it is the resistance of a counter-ideology—the ideology of so-called moderation.

The Ideology of Moderation

The cherished idea in the south of the middle-of-the-road moderate has become ambiguous in recent years. It is sometimes used to describe such an outstanding liberal as Ralph McGill, publisher of the *Atlanta Constitution;* it is sometimes employed purposely by liberals to make their ideas more acceptable; it is sometimes used by out-right racists in order to appear more polite. But generally moderates are mild, not wild, segregationists; they are "the gentle people of prejudice" who have deep doubts about racial equality though they are educated enough to suspect that the desegregation process is inevitable. The term "moderate," then, is their own self-identification, bearing little relationship to what St. Paul or Noah Webster meant by it.

Though the ideology has numerous variations, its basic framework and assumptions are quite simple. The moderate's fundamental tenet is that he mans the lonely and unrewarding bastion between two equally dangerous camps of extremists: rabid racists and impatient integrationists. Indeed, his two types of antagonists appear to him as virtual mirror-opposites. He sees himself as a realist, neither demagogic nor idealistic. He abhors both violence and force—the chief methods he perceives his antagonists as using. Time, he believes, offers the only solution; the hearts and minds of men are not changed by laws and entrenched traditions are not changed overnight. Open strife initiated by hoodlums and impulsive pronouncements initiated by liberals serve, he says, only to make his task more difficult.

Over future centuries, race relations might slowly have improved; why, then, asks the moderate, couldn't the good race relations and the close communication between the races that once existed have continued? It must have been the outsiders that disrupted everything—the agitators, the communists, the Supreme Court.

Thus the moderate shares with the racist real hostility toward the U.S. Supreme Court and the nine men in black who, he feels, in 1954 followed 20th century sociology rather than 19th century law. He differs sharply from the racist, however, in how far he will go to resist desegregation. In city after city in the south, moderation calls for no constructive action until a crisis strikes the community directly, and then it means hurriedly arranging some type of pitifully token desegregation in order to avoid closed schools and a business decline. In short, economics frequently becomes more important than segregation for the moderate, though not for the racist. But Christian morality is seldom involved in these token arrangements.

In all of this, the moderate acts as the anaesthetist of the church's conscience. Preserving fellowship at all costs, he insists that it is better not to invoke the moral imperative on race. Instead, as one Protestant leader proclaimed in the midst of crisis, reconciliation without repentance is advocated: "Segregationists and integrationists can both be good Christians." "Gentle Jesus" is remembered, the strong Jesus of the temple courtyard forgotten.

A Christian Delusion

The ideology of moderation is a secular myth; its basic assumptions and conclusions simply are not valid. Worse, the ideology of moderation has become a Christian delusion, frustrating the attempts of organized religion to implement its ideals.

The moderate is not, as he fondly believes, the realistic middleman, shot at by extremists on both sides. He is usually a paternalistic segregationist of 19th century vintage. He does not stand *between* racists and integrationists, offering a workable and reasonable compromise. Rather he stands *to the side,* wringing his hands in despair over the conflict but unable to apply his outdated ideas to the emergence of a new south."

The moderate is thus less realistic than most integrationists, who at least see race relations in their 1961 context and propose positive action. While southern moderates and racists discuss the Civil War and their dislike of desegregation, integrationists of both races are tackling such *real* problems as, for example, how to assimilate educationally retarded Negro children into biracial schools.

Guilty Bystanders

Consider, too, the moderate's abhorrence of violence. So far violence has tended to occur after moderates have abdicated their influence to wild segregationists. Sometimes, before abdicating, moderates have suggested that segregated schooling might return if there were open strife. Following this implicit invitation, hoodlum violence is merely the end product of the moderate's equivocal position. Like the inactive bystander at a lynching, the moderate must share responsibility for the terror tactics of the racists.

Moreover, the charge that integrationists wish to use force to achieve their ends is not supported by the facts. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for instance, has never advocated the use of force. It has used the courts and the ballot box, not bombs and burning crosses. Yet in a widely read book, one leading southern churchman, like other moderates, has equated the N.A.A.C.P.'s methods with those of violent white groups.

The proposed solution of "more time" for the south

is tragically inadequate. Time is never a factor in itself; it is what is done with time that is crucial, and here the moderate has no suggestions. Since 1954, time has largely been used in the south to build up racist resistance—hundreds of new state segregation laws, the founding of the White Citizens' Councils, the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan.

But the moderate continues to cling to "time" in the abstract because of the reasonable argument that traditions cannot be changed overnight. But whoever said they could? Integrationists merely point out that southern culture has already changed. Indeed, the influential moderate himself has been more responsible than anyone else for the south's rapid industrial revolution of the past two generations. Segregation, itself only a very late 19th century institution, stands out conspicuously today as the last vestige of the old order that the moderate simultaneously defends and destroys. Negroes and white liberals in the south ask only that this one discordant note be harmonized with the already urbanized and industrialized society that is the "new south."

Supporting the ideology's emphasis on time is the often repeated claim that laws cannot change the hearts and minds of men. Persuasive as it may sound, this principle has been repeatedly found to be incorrect by social science research of the past few decades. Laws can and do change attitudes; they accomplish this by first modifying the behavior of men, following which men fit their new actions to new ideas. Thus, given firm leadership, successful desegregation does not require majority support. A 1954 public opinion poll in Oklahoma, for example, showed that a large majority of the state's whites opposed school desegregation. Yet within a few years school desegregation was begun throughout the state with no serious incidents.

Social science findings, however, are not trusted by either moderates or racists. They charge that the 1954 Supreme Court followed sociologists and psychologists rather than legel precedent. They base their claims on one brief footnote in the 1954 opinion that refers to seven social science research studies. But they ignore the fact that the separate-but-equal, Plessy vs. Ferguson decision of 1896, so dear to their hearts, was itself just as importantly influenced by the social science of its day. Lacking only a footnote, the 1896 decision repeats the then current social science reasoning and employs such social Darwinism concepts as "racial instincts" and "natural affinities."

Paternalism: One-way Communication

The segregationists further cling to the "legal precedent" that they contend was set down forever by the decision of 1896. They conveniently overlook the fact that the 1954 ruling was only the logical continuation of a 44-year trend in racial cases that began in 1910 when a former private in the Confederate army, Edward White, became chief justice. Furthermore, the Plessy decision was not the first ruling in this area. It glaringly reversed, among other decisions, the 1873 Supreme Court opinion that racially separate facilities were discriminatory and unequal (Washington, Alexandria, and Georgetown Railroad Co. vs. Brown).

When the moderate accuses integrationists of destroying the good race relations and close racial communication of former times, he presents a pathetic commentary on what he considers to be racial harmony. Good race relations, for him, refers to the relaxed relations of paternalism when the white man's superior status went unquestioned. And communications between the races during the paternalistic era was never "close" in a two-way sense. Negroes, frequently as domestics, have known all about the white community, but whites, save for liberals, have rarely known the Negro community. When white leaders sought biracial conferences, they, not the Negro community, selected the Negro "leaders." Today's Negro leaders have earned their positions within Negro circles, and moderates consequently find them new and strange. No real breakdown of communication between the races has thus occurred; very little ever existed to break down. The present tension in American society is the necessary transitional period during which both races are learning the new ways of true equality and real two-way communication between human beings.

Not realizing that there are many moderate counterparts in the north, the southern moderate resents any interference from the outside into "his problem." Once again his outdated blinders restrict his view. Mass Negro migration to virtually all northern cities has made absurd his contention that race is his concern alone.

Yes, counters the southern moderate, just look at the serious racial problems outside the south that migration has brought. This is, of course, true; but northern failures hardly justify southern failures. Indeed, the very fact that these problems are northern, southern, eastern and western places race relations in their proper national perspective. As long as most white Christians in the north refuse to have Negroes live near them, church actions on race are as relevant for the north as the south. One does not have to be a moral perfectionist to agree, for example, that the failure of Protestant leadership in the Deerfields, Levittowns, and Gross Points throughout the north is as complete and reprehensible as the operation of all-white church-related schools and colleges throughout the south.

In all fairness, however, it must be admitted that the ideology of moderation is quite accurate in two important respects. First, when the moderate claims that the religious activists make his task more difficult, he is undoubtedly correct. Concerned Methodists who work to abolish the Central jurisdiction and to enroll qualified Negro students at Duke, Emory and Southern Methodist universities *are* making the Methodist moderate's task more difficult. Concerned Southern Baptists who insist that race relations work in their denomination requires more than the present $1 for every $500 spent on foreign missions *are* making the Baptist moderate's task more difficult. And concerned Episcopalians who have formed the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity in order to achieve full cultural and racial inclusiveness within their denomination *are* making the Episcopalian moderate's task more difficult.

Such concerned Protestants are immediately labeled as "extremists" by the moderate. At first blush, one would hardly think the serious and straightforward advocacy of the church's own principles constitutes extremism. Yet, on reflection, the moderate is again quite right. The literal translation of Christian principles into action in a world in which, to use Bishop James Pike's apt phrase, "Christianity is in retreat," is indeed a radical effort. In this sense, Christianity itself is an extreme movement, and one wonders if it has not retreated in direct relation to how "moderate" and satisfied with the status quo it has become.

The disheartening array of racially separate Protestant institutions—hospitals, schools, camps, conference centers, churches—is continued today largely because of the counterideology of moderation. Protestantism suffers less from the blind racism of the threatened poor than it does from the moderation of the "gentle people of prejudice."

We need, then, to begin at once direct and positive witness to our highest religious principles of inclusiveness. We need to develop fresh approaches that can simultaneously challenge the moderate and attack the real complexities of the racial issue. And let us not forget that in meeting injustice, Christ was not a moderate.

Comment on This Issue . . . .

Longer-time readers will identify **Thomas F. Pettigrew** as coauthor of a perceptive analysis (June 4, 1958) of the attitudes characterizing Little Rock clergyman in the racial crisis stemming from attempts at token school integration in Arkansas' capital city. An expanded version of that analysis appeared as a Public Affairs Press book titled *Christians in Racial Crisis: A Study of the Little Rock Ministry*. Now Dr. Pettigrew, a native of Virginia and an associate professor of social psychology at Harvard University, explores the attitudes of today's "gentle people of prejudice." Author of numerous articles on psychological factors in social and cultural relationships, Dr. Pettigrew is chairman of the Protestant Episcopal National Council's committee on intergroup relations and a board member of the Episcopal Council for Cultural and Racial Unity. • • •

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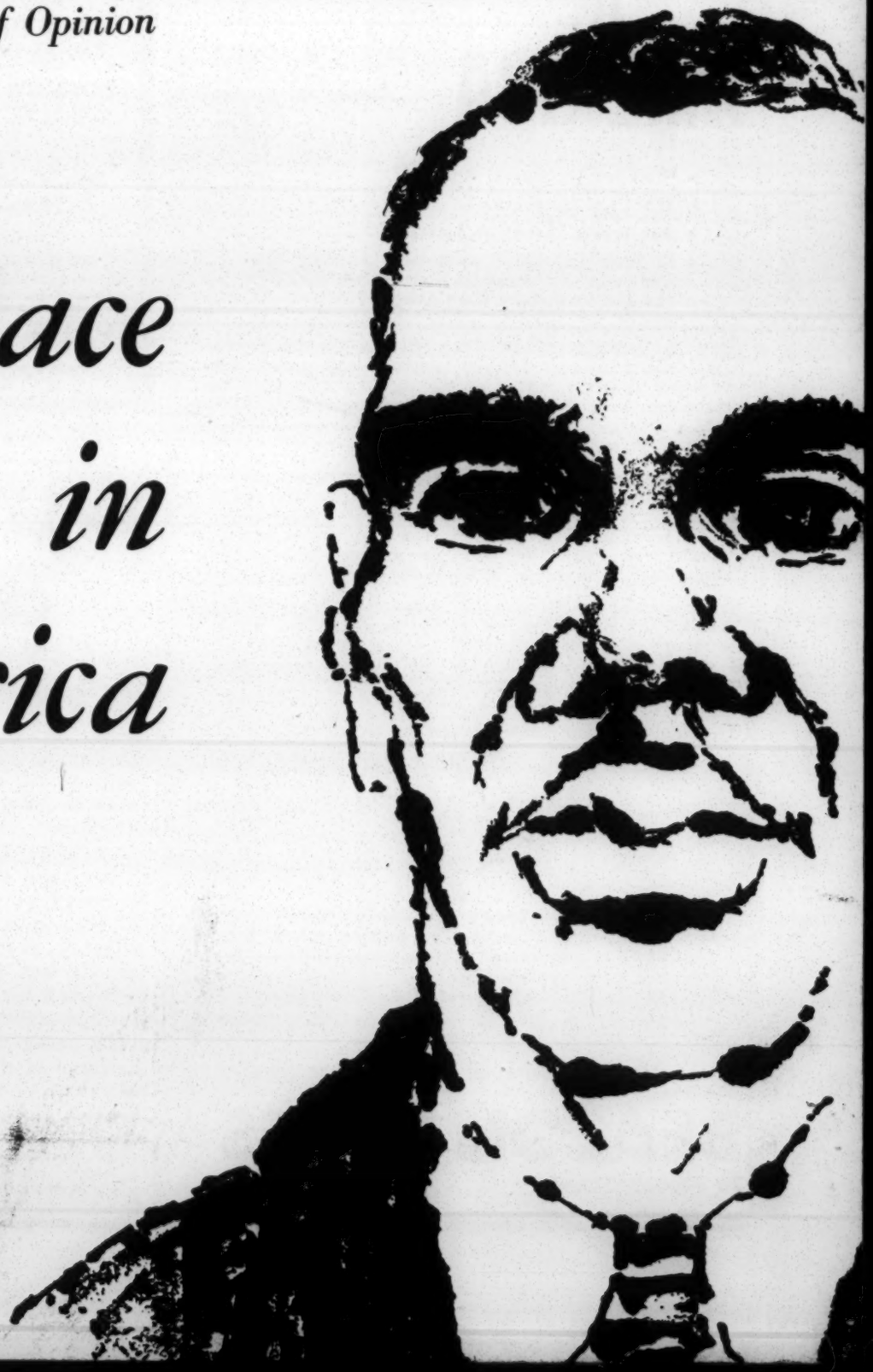

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Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?

Many clergymen in the South, says this Arkansas pastor, are compromising their beliefs by playing it safe on the integration issue.

By Robert Paul Sessions

In 1956, when Van Buren, Arkansas, became the first town in the state ordered by a Federal court to desegregate its schools, a handful of clergymen led the way to eventual community acceptance of integration, despite riots, student walkouts and threats from vehement segregationists. One pastor, the Rev. William Wilder of St. John's Methodist Church, rose in a White Citizens Council meeting to defend gradual integration as the working out of a Christian ideal. Resentment of his stand was widespread among ardent segregationists. One woman expressed her contempt for Mr. Wilder with these words: "I'd rot in hell before I'd join his church!"

Her reaction is representative of the feelings of many Southerners toward any white minister who might appear to be taking "the Negroes' side" in the human-rights struggle. Throughout Dixie, whites will oppose Negro ministers, such as Georgia's Martin Luther King, who lead "their own people" toward realization of their civil rights. But Southerners are much more resentful toward, and often feel betrayed by, white ministers or church groups who, in the words of a White Citizens Council pamphlet, "give aid and comfort to the enemies of the South."

Last November five-year-old Pamela Lynn Foreman was the first child to defy a white boycott at William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans. A Federal court decree had admitted one Negro girl to previously all-white classes in the school, and militant segregationists were determined to fight even token integration with a complete boycott by white students.

Pamela, accompanied by her father, the Rev. Lloyd Foreman, a Methodist minister, and a Catholic priest, the Rev. Jerome Drolet, had had to approach the school through lines of angry, cursing women.

Despite the screaming, resentful crowds, Mr. Foreman continued to bring his daughter to the school. As days went by, he helped hesitant white mothers get their children in and out of the school building, and gradually the boycott began to crumble. Kept away from the school by police, the segregationists gathered outside Mr. Foreman's home, throwing stones at Mr. Foreman's dog and house and chanting over and over:

Nigger lover, nigger lover, nigger lover, boo,
We hate niggers and we hate you.

Even after Mr. Foreman temporarily moved his family to a private dwelling, vandals tossed a brick through a window of the parsonage, dumped red paint inside and on the porch and damaged an air conditioner.

On December second, while the New Orleans school troubles continued, Dr. Marion A. Boggs, moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the United States and pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Little Rock, flew to New Orleans to preach before a church group. He told reporters that his church believes a Negro should be given equal opportunity in every field, and although counseling "forbearance and moderation," insisted that "there is no question that integration will come."

Last year, in Nashville, white ministerial students from Vanderbilt School of Religion helped Negroes plan and carry out successful sit-ins at downtown department-store lunch counters. Earlier, in (Continued on Page 82)

Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?

(Continued from Page 37)

Houston and Atlanta, separate resolutions by white ministers had urged continuance of public education and orderly compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings. Still earlier, in Little Rock, four white ministers—a Southern Baptist. a Christian (Disciples of Christ) and two Presbyterians—had walked with the first Negro students through the mobs gathered around Central High School.

"My husband has been a Methodist all his life, but if it comes to choosing between being a Methodist and an American, he'll be an American every time." Those words were in a personal letter sent to me by Mrs. Jim Johnson, wife of a present justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court. She heatedly took issue with a widely published sermon in which I had declared that "a leader of the so-called White Citizens Councils"—whom Mrs. Johnson assumed to be her husband—"would like to ride a wave of race prejudice right into the governor's mansion."

"I am aware that a large number of ministers in the Presbyterian Church have been very effectively brainwashed." Thus spoke Arkansas's Gov. Orval Faubus at a press conference when a reporter asked him about opposition by Presbyterian ministers to his segregationist policies.

Another reporter inquired of the governor, "By whom have they been brainwashed?"

He answered, "The left-wingers and the Communists."

These statements are typical of many which have been spoken or written since the Supreme Court decision of 1954 on integration of the public schools. They reflect a widespread distrust among Southerners toward those of their white ministers who have stood apart from or opposed the prevailing tide of segregationist sentiment.

We Southerners have been quick to blame our racial difficulties on everyone but ourselves. "Communists," "Yankees," "the Supreme Court," the N.A.A.C.P., the Justice Department, newsmen and, more recently, college professors—all have come in for their share of vilification. But on the local level, perhaps no single group has felt more keenly the pressure of adverse public opinion than the Protestant ministers, Roman Catholic priests and Jewish rabbis. Integration is a dirty word in the South, and what little talk there has been of its moral rightness has come primarily from the clergy.

Letters to the editors of Southern papers and editorials in those papers have condemned white ministers with such words as "do-gooders," "meddlers," "traitors to the Southern way of life."

Are Southern ministers betraying the South?

The question deserves an honest answer. But if we are to answer intelligently, we must understand the situation of the average Southern clergyman. We must determine what the place of a minister should be in such a situation and ask if a majority of Southern pastors are fulfilling that role. When we have done this, we will discover that most ministers involved are betraying the South—but not in the way radical segregationists so vehemently claim.

A survey by a leading interdenominational ministers' journal disclosed that the average pastor in the South today is an integrationist at heart. He recognizes it will take time, thought, prayer and patience to work out the ideal of brotherhood in public life and even in the church itself.

But there is little uncertainty in his mind as to what the ultimate Christian ideal is. Every major Christian denomination and Jewish body has voted its approval of the principle behind the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

It is one thing to hold a belief, however, and another to express it. How easy it must be for concerned Christians in the North and West to minimize the troubles, even the tragedies, which confront those in the South who would express openly and unmistakably a belief in a brotherhood which knows no racial barriers.

Perhaps the greatest pain for a sensitive spirit is actually to experience the unbelievable, frustrating, sheer blindness of racial prejudice in persons whom you love and who are praiseworthy in other ways. Many a Southern pastor has come to understand more clearly during the current unrest Jesus's words from the cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Another dreaded agony is that of having to choose between protecting the organized church we love and proclaiming the universal gospel we believe. There are places in the South where a clergyman's forthrignt advocacy of even gradual integration might mean not only his own dismissal but the wholesale withdrawal of members from his church. For the concerned pastor it means the loss of particular members, individuals who may have many fine qualities and whose spiritual needs are related to more than this one issue.

Loss of membership also means loss of financial support for the total program of the organized church, with its mission stations, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, colleges, church schools and youth work. Many a local pastor has had to decide, "Shall I endanger the financial lifeblood of these causes by preaching my convictions on the one cause of brotherhood?"

And if we choose to remain silent lest we destroy the church as a prospering institution, then we are haunted by the realization that in watering down its message we may already have destroyed the true church, the mystical body of Christ whose fellowship knows no color line.

For the minister who dares to speak out, there are other unpleasant, sometimes frightening, experiences—burning crosses on the lawn, telephoned threats at midnight, bricks through windows, social ostracism within the community, loss of job and its attendant effect on his family.

One pastor serving in a strongly segregationist area told me, "I don't mind the threats against myself, but I shudder to think what they might do to my little daughter."

In another community a Baptist minister confided to a Methodist pastor who openly had supported the Supreme Court decisions, "I want you to know that I appreciate and agree with all you have said and written upholding the Supreme Court decision. But I don't have the church organization to protect me that you Methodists have. If I said publicly what you have, I could be voted out on my ear overnight. Finding a new church at my age would be hard if not impossible."

Church organization or not, Methodists, too, feel this fear. A year ago I said to a trustee of Hendrix College, a Methodist school in Conway, Arkansas, "I notice that thirteen of the thirty-odd members of the Hendrix board of trustees are ministers. Especially with our state colleges integrated, why don't those ministers have more influence toward opening our church college to all qualified applicants?"

His answer: "But look at the thirteen and you'll find that almost without exception they occupy our larger pulpits and higher offices. They are not going to jeopardize their positions by championing unpopular causes, even if they favor those causes in their hearts."

How correct he was became evident a few weeks later when the board voted to continue the school's segregation policy. Of the twenty-three trustees present, ten were ministers. Two of the ministers abstained when the vote was taken; the others, including Bishop Paul E. Martin, voted for segregation.

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There are some less obvious, though just as insidious, dangers facing the clergyman who would make a clear witness for racial brotherhood. One is the temptation to seek crucifixion for its own sake, or just to prove to ourselves that "we're not afraid." Some of the clergy, well-intentioned but thoughtless, seem to seek out ways of rubbing salt into the wounds of segregationist members of their flocks. Spirit, manner and timing are important. We are physicians as well as prophets.

Another peril is the temptation to oversimplify either the principles or the principals involved. Every Southern minister is familiar with the desire expressed in this oft-quoted prayer: "God grant me the serenity to accept the things I cannot change, the courage to change the things I can, and the wisdom to know the difference."

The average pastor in a Southern state today is damned if he does and damned if he doesn't speak his honest convictions. There is a story making the after-dinner rounds in Arkansas which illustrates this dilemma. A group of doctors and psychiatrists were debating whether there might be a physiological difference between persons of differing opinions on the integration controversy. So they performed exploratory operations on three ministers, one an outspoken integrationist, the second an ardent segregationist, and the third a bishop who had not committed himself either way. The integrationist was discovered to have no brain, the segregationist no heart, and the bishop no backbone.

As one wag put it, "There are no black and white answers to this question," nor are divisions among the clergy as easily discernible as might be imagined. One can be genuinely Christian in his theoretical concept of brotherhood, yet be thoroughly un-Christian in the practical working out of his ideal—through cowardice or intolerance or lack of understanding. It is possible to be prejudiced toward those who are prejudiced and bigoted in your attitude toward the bigoted. A segregationist can be un-Christian in denying the kinship of all men, yet in expressing his convictions display many commendable traits—patience or kindness or thoughtfulness.

Countless complexities and numberless extenuating circumstances cloud the issues and make rationalization easy for the Southern pastor who believes that racial discrimination is morally wrong. What is he to do? A clergyman in any time of controversy is under pressure to "speak for the people," to reflect as closely as possible the feelings and standards of his congregation. But most intelligent churchgoers know that when the pulpit becomes a mere echo of the pew, the preacher becomes a parrot, and religion a mockery.

In theory at least, the pastor's role is clear. With humility and affection, and respecting honest differences of opinion, he is to make plain and work for what he believes is God's will in the particular situation. Nineteen centuries ago the Christian missionary St. Paul described this as "speaking the truth in love."

Are we freely and openheartedly "speaking the truth in love"? Is there a clear, united voice in the pulpits of the South, challenging people to recognize and renounce their racial prejudices? Are bishops and other denominational leaders declaring consistently and without equivocation that removing barriers of discrimination is not only technically the law of the land but ethically and morally right? Is there an unmistakable call to brotherhood as a principle?

The truth is that the vast majority of ministers in the South are compromising what they believe, diluting or suppressing their convictions, for motives ranging from self-preservation to preservation of the church. Instead of speaking the truth in love, we soft-pedal it in fear.

When Jesus of Nazareth faced controversy, he was willing to go to a cruel death on a cross rather than withdraw and compromise his convictions. Most ministers in the South today are not willing to face a personal Calvary themselves for their faith. Some of them may even wonder if perhaps Jesus Himself made a mistake in pressing His hand so far that crucifixion became the result. One thing appears certain: If He were a minister today—say in Georgia, Mississippi or Arkansas—and if He dealt with people and controversial issues as do successful pastors in many of our larger Southern churches, Jesus might have escaped most of the opposition, suffering and tragedy which marked His life and death in the first century.

We modern ministers, on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line, recognize good human relations as the key to professional achievement. Paraphrasing scripture, we study to show ourselves approved unto man, rightly compromising the word of truth. "Surely," we tell ourselves, "Jesus was wrong, or misquoted by Luke, when He said, 'Woe unto you when all men speak well of you.'" Our goal, the mark of our success, is to have all men speak well of us. In fairness it might be said that we seek men's approval not for personal glory, but so that "the program of the church" may prosper and that "the kingdom" may advance.

We are experts at keeping our people happy—with themselves and with their church. Thus we win acclaim as "successful" ministers, heads of flourishing churches. In an age of financial prosperity and booming attendance at worship services, it is relatively easy in the average congregation to have one great year after another—*if* we stay on good terms with our people.

Staying on good terms means not only pleasing as many as possible but avoiding the slightest suggestion of dissension, controversy, or ill will. Discretion is the better part of our valor. As pastors, we never push changes, administrative or moral, faster than our people are ready to accept them. We employ ingenious methods to avoid, postpone, or soft-pedal any possibility of friction between our laymen and ourselves, and we shrink in terror from the thought of outright opposition to our ministry.

We enjoy standing richly gowned in art-carved pulpits and preaching "Christ crucified." But there is no place in our scheme of things for a personal Calvary for ourselves. We eulogize the blood of the martyrs, but are much too practical to let ourselves become martyrs to any cause. Do not misunderstand me. We have the highest of ideals and we long to have a real part in promoting their practice by our people, *provided* we can remain comfortable and popular in the process.

To an outsider it might seem difficult for a Christian minister with genuine convictions of brotherhood to remain comfortable and popular amid the South's present turmoil. But it's fairly easy—if you know how. Several techniques have proved eminently useful to Southern ministers who wish to be successful and yet whose Christian leanings on integration may differ sharply from those of a sizable majority of their parishioners or the general public within their community. The genius of these techniques is that each, up to a point, makes sense. But all together, and misused, they add up to a betrayal both of the peoples'

need for moral leadership and of the principles for which the church is supposed to stand. There are other methods, but these ten seem most popular in the South today:

ONE: If possible, as is true in the present case, appeal for your position not on the basis of its moral rightness, but as "the law of the land." If a clergyman is careful how he says it, he'll not get in much trouble plugging for law and order. Here in the South one of our cardinal rules is never, never, never to say plainly that integration is morally right. We play it smart and let the Justice Department and the N.A.A.C.P. fight our battle for us. We may even imply to our people that we ourselves "don't necessarily" like the Supreme Court decision, but "it's the law of the land," and so "whether we like it or not" we will obey, "as good citizens."

This position does have its embarrassing moments, however, as when we remember that the church cannot make the law of the land the measure of its moral code. There are acts condemned by the church as immoral, but condoned by the laws of our states and nation. There are evil deeds no human laws punish, and good deeds no laws of man require. Nor can we forget that there might be times when a man will oppose the law of the land *because* he is a Christian.

TWO: Take the public pulse. If you can't lick 'em, join 'em, and if your conscience won't let you join them, be clever enough not to do anything which would offend them. A Baptist minister in Arkansas, asked by a reporter what he'd do if Negroes came to worship at his church, replied, "I'd have to talk to my deacons, and whatever they decided would be all right with me."

This technique we Arkansans have learned from Orval Faubus, our astute governor, who from the very beginning of this controversy has had regular public-opinion polls taken by an independent firm, presumably so he can decide what his own public stand will be. Judging by Faubus's success, it seems a pity Jesus didn't have the latest poll from Jerusalem before He set His face steadfastly to go there.

THREE: Try the silent treatment. Ignore controversy in the pulpit. Preach always on safe topics like prayer, the Bible and the gospel, applying these to life only in areas where there is no danger of disagreement. As one minister told me, "You'll never get many people against you by what you don't say."

On the weekday morning in September, 1957, when Governor Faubus called out the Arkansas National Guard to turn Negro students away from Central High School, I joshed a minister who at the time was the pastor of a large Methodist church in the Little Rock area. "Say," I told him, "I see your last Sunday's sermon on brotherhood didn't do much good."

Not in a joking mood, he snapped back, "Listen, brother, I've had enough sense through this whole affair to keep my mouth shut."

FOUR: Be "concerned." The closest some Episcopal and Methodist bishops in the South have come to expressing publicly their own convictions about integration is to voice "concern." The genius of this approach is obvious—the most ardent segregationist on your church roll can agree with you. He, too, is concerned, so is the lonesome integrationist. You have your entire congregation with you, so long as you do not get too specific with your concern.

This trick, too, we have learned from the politicians. Before his very narrow and much-questioned defeat at the polls by segregationist Dale Alford, "concern for this grave problem" was a favorite approach of Brooks Hays, former Arkansas Congressman and former head of the Southern Baptist Convention, now a Kennedy appointee as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations.

One of the ablest and most sincere men who ever tried to bring his religion to his public service, Congressman Hays constantly had to walk a tightrope stretched between the high ideals of his great church and strong segregationist sentiment in his home district. It likely would have been political suicide for him to proclaim as his personal views the clear pronouncement by the Southern Baptist Convention that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 is a reflection of the Christian goal of brotherhood. Had he been more open, Hays probably would have lost by a landslide instead of almost winning.

FIVE: Walk the middle ground. This technique involves being neither for nor against integration, neither hot nor cold about segregation, at least in the eyes of your congregation or the general public.

Such an approach has many advantages for the minister who is more concerned with keeping his people together than with making clear the ethical demands of his religion. But it is a disturbing solution; for if, as most denominational bodies have declared, forced segregation and discrimination are sins, then the pastor who walks the middle ground finds his silence condoning sin and neglecting the claims of brotherhood. His refusal to take sides must be measured by Jesus's words, "He who is not with me is against me." In being neither hot nor cold the Bible-minded minister must rationalize or ignore Revelation 3:15-16: "I know your works; you are neither cold nor hot. Would that you were cold or hot! So, because you are lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew you out of my mouth."

SIX: Take a stand for taking a stand. Preach sermons defending the freedom of the pulpit and a minister's responsibility for expressing his honest convictions, but never use that freedom to fulfill your own responsibility to let the people know how you stand.

A Methodist Church bishop took the opportunity, when guest preacher in one of his larger churches, to read a prepared statement voicing his concern about a racial crisis facing the South. He urged "obedience to law and orderly processes," "a spirit of humility, penitence and prayer," and a demonstration of "love rather than hate." He upheld in telling words the right of every pastor to preach whatever he feels is God's will. However, the bishop's statement failed to hold up what his own beliefs about integration are, or how he believed "love" might have been applied in the particular crisis facing the people to whom he spoke. One wonders whether the true freedom of the pulpit is best maintained by defending it or by using it. But there's no question which is easier—and safer.

SEVEN: Obfuscate. If the meaning of this word is unclear, you get the idea. A highly effective formula for safely salving your conscience is to preach your honest convictions in uncertain terms. Use words and phrases so general, or so ambiguous, that even those who think they understand you cannot be offended.

The secretary of one Methodist annual conference Board of Social and Economic Relations was instructed not to use the words, "race," "integration" or "Supreme Court," in composing the board's annual report. The resulting vague section on "brotherhood" was, in his own words, "one of the finest expressions of nothing ever written." Another member of this same board described facetiously the ideal for a Social and Economic Relations report: "Be against sin in all its many forms, but don't name any of them, lest you offend someone."

EIGHT: Delay adopting a policy. Not many weeks after Little Rock became world news because of its racial troubles, Henderson Methodist Church in that city turned away five Negroes who came to worship. The minister, head usher, and official-board chairman conferred while the Negroes waited outside, then turned the five away, explaining to them and the press that "the church board had not taken any action about Negroes' attending our services." To an outsider it appeared this pastor and his people did not know whether they believe in brotherhood and that they would have to wait until they adopted a policy to find out.

More than four years have passed since then. The church has a new pastor and has erected a beautiful new sanctuary. But according to the minister, the church's official board still has not "taken any action about Negroes' attending."

A good way to put off adopting a policy and thus delaying the necessity of taking a stand is to refer the matter to a committee for study. Five years ago the Board of Education of the North Arkansas Conference of the Methodist Church petitioned the trustees of Hendrix College, asking them "to remove any bar or restriction to the admission of students because of race, creed or religion." The trustees include several wealthy, influential Methodist laymen who are ardent segregationists. The board referred the matter to a "committee on enrollment," where it stayed despite repeated yearly resolutions from the church conference favoring elimination of racial discrimination.

Finally, in April, 1960, under pressure from the state Methodist Student Movement, the Hendrix trustees made a public statement that the college would continue segregation. To indignant student and ministerial groups, the college president, Dr. Marshall Steel, gave assurances that the subject would be considered again at a future date. It now appears that two sectarian schools, Hendrix and Ouachita Baptist College, may be the last strongholds of segregation among Arkansas colleges, not because their leaders believe in permanent moral and ethical neutrality, but because of a seemingly eternal delay in adopting a policy.

NINE: Act collectively and avoid personal involvement. Some of our successful clergymen in the South have worked for integration by backing collective statements at convention, synod or conference meetings. There, they are glad to vote for a clear resolution on brotherhood, provided their lay delegate is not present and the vote is not recorded by name. They are glad to attend off-the-cuff meetings with other ministers to consider the crisis and pray about it, but find it inexpedient in their own communities to do or say anything about the issue.

Perhaps this difference between ministerial action on the local church and other levels is responsible for the frequent apparent surprise of Southern laymen at "official" pronouncements by responsible church bodies.

TEN: Take your time. Do not expect human nature to change overnight, or even in a few years. Be content with people as they are, not as you or God might wish them to be. When an issue arises which might cause dissension, never press for what you feel is right if it will offend a vocal minority or majority. Tell yourself over and over, "These things take time." This is one of the easiest ways to quiet your conscience and escape your Calvary.

An old gospel song expresses this temptation.

Seems now some soul to say,
"Go, spirit, go Thy way;
Some more convenient day
On Thee I'll call."

Across the South today there are thousands of ministers with firm convictions of brotherhood, but waiting for "some more convenient day" to express them.

Let me hasten to discount any impression I may have given that no pastors are giving a clear and effective witness. There are a few in every denomination who have been altogether honest with their congregations and who have dared to speak and act in love for what they believe to be the will of God. When their story is written, it will be an inspiring one of courage, of sacrifice, of surprising influence and of an inner satisfaction which cannot be described, only experienced. This satisfaction the world can neither give nor take away.

But one unavoidable conclusion remains. There is evidence all over the Southland that most of us are compromising our convictions for the sake of continued popularity and the surface prosperity of "the church." A Methodist district superintendent who has had the fortitude to make his own beliefs known told me, "Bob, one of the big troubles with our church today is that we have too many ministers who are trying to play it safe."

Just to recognize the situation, however, is not enough. Desperately needed is change—new attitudes and actions by laymen and clergy alike. Let us pray that God will inspire Americans in general and Southerners in particular to expect honesty and conviction in their ministers. Let us pray that God will give our pastors the courage and wisdom to help the Christians of the South find a Christian solution to a baffling problem which cannot be wished away. THE END

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New South

Will D. Campbell
ON RELIGIOUS RACISM

Chief Herbert T. Jenkins
ON POLICING PROGRESS

JUNE / 1962

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

New South

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EVERYBODY IN OUR OFFICE loves Nobbie Morgan, Mrs. Tilly's secretary, for her good looks, her ebullient good nature, her hardworking competence and her tolerant kindness. I enjoy all this, too, but I think what I enjoy more is Nobbie's gorgeous sense of ridicule. I can look into her bright dark eyes and her repressed, dimpling smile and then relish any bore or madman or solemn fool who comes into our office when I know Nobbie has recognized him and is out there hearing our ridiculous dialogue. I also love Nobbie's free, strong spirit and pride, and as "sweet" as we all keep saying she is, I think we'd better not mess around with Nobbie when the chips are down. I've never been sure what the down chips mean, but it sounds crucial, and when things are crucial, with right and wrong and meanness and kindness clashing, I don't want to be aggravating Nobbie.

Nobbie is a handsome, dark brown, busty young Negro with a lovely pug face and a lively and humorous awareness of her womanhood. I, on the other hand, am an aging, pallid, gray-haired white lady with a resigned and humorous awareness of my decline. Nobbie thinks of herself as a Yankee and expresses adamant indignation over restrictions of the Deep South compared to the freedom of movies, good restaurants, plays, parks and unhumiliated movement she enjoyed in Dayton for many years after she left her native Georgia. I think of myself as a Southerner and express perhaps undue optimism over our increasing freedom and released brotherhood in the South, as forced as it is, and speak with foolish pride of cheesy dime stores and four nice restaurants and some movies where we can go together. Nobbie came back South because

(Continued on page 8)

The Nature of the Problem

by Will D. Campbell

THE TERM "SEGREGATIONIST" means many things. It means the Ku Klux Klan and a large part of the White Citizens' Councils who support the strict separation of racial groups without reference to any other values.

It means the session member who says he would not object to having his children attend Sunday school with members of another race or living in an integrated neighborhood, but will not allow it because he fears it will lead to intermarriage.

It means the rapidly increasing Black Muslim movement among urban Negroes. This movement, whose membership lists are estimated to contain between 100,000 and 250,000 persons, advocates violence similar to that of the Klan. Unlike the "Uncle Toms" among Negroes who favored segregation because they derived some personal benefit from it, the Muslims oppose integration on the grounds that the white man is inferior and unfit for full citizenship in the coming black society. Not integration, but separation and the founding of a black nation on American soil, is their cry. Theirs is the voice of the disillusioned Negro masses.

The term "segregationist" means the Montgomery woman who held her small child in her arms during a mob attack on bus riders, and clung to the hair of a Negro girl in an effort to pull her close enough for the lad to strike her in the face with his little fists.

It means the Governor of Alabama whose repeated vitriolic outbursts inflamed the passions of the mob and by innuendo invited violence. It means state legislators who use every conceivable device to evade the law of the land. It means the gentle dowager, or, as reported by the Attorney General of California, "little old ladies in tennis shoes" who dearly love their maids, their cooks, and their cocker spaniels, but believe that the term "civil rights" is a communist slogan.

"Segregationist" means restricted neighborhoods in Westchester County, New York, or hooded night riders in Mississippi. It is the Tennessee Society for the Maintenance of Segregation or the New England congregation that generously builds a mission for the colored people because "they will be happier with their own people."

The truth is that "segregationist" means most of us in one form or to one degree. It does not mean only the rabid and lunatic fringe that expends all of its energy in race hatred. For the Christian, it must also mean anyone who regards people "from a human point of view," and who classifies and categorizes members within the body of Christ.

Anyone who believes that discrimination and prejudice are peculiar to the southern region of America has only to look at the list of hate groups that have been active over the past

Rev. Mr. Campbell is associate executive director of the National Council of Churches. This article is part of the second chapter of his book, RACE AND THE RENEWAL OF THE CHURCH, to be published in October by the Westminster Press, used here with the permission of Mr. Campbell and the publishers.

decade. Although most of the new organizations that have sprung up since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision are located in the South, older and more established groups with headquarters in other regions have published the major portion of hate literature in this country.

Such organizations as the Christian Nationalist Crusade, headed by Gerald L. K. Smith, of Los Angeles, the American Nationalists of Inglewood, California, and the group that publishes *Common Sense* in Union, New Jersey, have blanketed areas of unrest. They have served as catalysts of violence in community after community, North and South.

Notwithstanding the fact that anti-Semitism has been the chief stock in trade of these organizations, they have more recently adopted the racial crisis as the chief vehicle by which to peddle their wares of suspicion and rancor. This has served more to stir anti-Negro feeling in the North than it has to arouse anti-Semitism in the South. Generally speaking, a dormant form of racial prejudice is more prevalent in the North than is religious bigotry (especially anti-Semitism) in the South.

While the southern resistance groups have far more respectability than their Northern counterparts, both couch their purposes in lofty, culturally approved and generalized terms. For example, the White Citizens' Council of Mississippi has as its slogan: "Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order, and domestic tranquillity in our communities and in our state and to the preservation of our state's rights."

Such high-sounding phrases create an aura of respectability about the movement and permit the central organization to be free of responsibility for the often drastic pronouncements and actions of local units. However, the organizations themselves make no attempt to conceal their belief in white supremacy, biologically, socially, ethically, and politically. They are categorically opposed to desegregation in schools, churches, and public accommodations, and frequently object to Negroes' registering and voting. The political strength of these groups is impressive. At the beginning, most of them disclaimed any political ambitions. This is no longer the case. Such groups now have virtually absolute power in one state in the South and are a significant political factor in several others. It is evident that they are not concerned only with race. In 1955, W. J. Simmons, executive secretary of the Mississippi Citizens' Council, had this to say:

"I think . . . [the White Citizens' Council] is much more than a white supremacist group, and I think it is much more than a protectionist group. I think it is fundamentally the first real stirrings of a conservative revolt in this country, judging by the responses we've gotten from other states . . . . Some of the people who are attracted to this movement may not be concerned about the Negro."

Developments since Simmons' statement was voiced have proved his observation to be an accurate appraisal of the situation. Many politically conservative and reactionary organizations, among them the John Birch Society, have become working allies with the White Citizens' Councils. While the councils are most concerned with the preservation of segregation, they will gladly cooperate with other groups whose diverse aims may be, for example, to abolish the income tax or prevent the fluoridation of water. Put them all together, and in some sections

of the country and on some issues you have a powerful political movement.

What does all this have to do with the renewal of the church? A great deal. First of all because these groups have succeeded in creating the image of a holy crusade. Some of them deliberately and with astute calculation see the churches as a convenient "front" for their activities. For example, Robert B. Patterson, secretary of the Citizens' Councils of America, told a group in New Orleans that they should infiltrate the churches and there take the offensive against "the mixing of the races."

"By organizing within churches," said Patterson, "foes of integration could bring pressure on ministers to support segregation and change the position of state and national church organizations which have endorsed mixing of races." He added with solemnity: "We love our churches just like we love our schools, and we want to preserve them."

But while the ultimate allegiance of spokesmen such as Patterson is to racial hate and while their manipulation of the churches is coldly calculated, by far the greatest number of these people are convinced that God is on their side. In seeking to maintain segregation they are doing nothing less than his will. Indeed, one of the greatest dangers we face is that the racial doctrine of white supremacy which has always been an element of secular culture in America will become a part of the church's body of dogma, an unwritten article of faith.

Perhaps the following story will illustrate how this gloomy prospect can actually be realized. One of my earliest recollections is of sitting one evening in a rural church in a Deep South county and watching the Ku Klux Klan file solemnly into the little frame building. In the ceremony that followed, a large pulpit Bible was presented by the Klansmen to the congregation and was accepted by the revival preacher. On the back cover of the book was stamped in brazen letters: K.K.K.

Several years ago I was preaching in that same pulpit and as I held the back cover of the Bible while reading the Scripture, my forefingers moved across those large, embossed letters. Later in the afternoon, talking with several members of the congregation, I asked them what they thought about having a pulpit Bible in their church that had been given by the Klan and bore its symbol. Although these were people who had lived their entire lives in that community and who had been present at that original Klan ceremony, each one stated that he had quite forgotten the incident and had never known that the letters K.K.K. were raised on the back cover of the Bible on their pulpit.

The greatest test and danger facing the Christian church in America is not racism as such, but that racism may become, consciously or unconsciously, a part of the faith. The Klan no longer exists in that rural community, but it has left its stamp not only on the cover of the Bible but on the minds and hearts of the present generation and those yet unborn. The groups which now have the prestige and power that formerly was the Klan's—the White Citizens' Council and the John Birch Society—will also pass away. But the seedlings they are planting today will grow and thrive for a long, long time. And these seedlings are essentially religious in character. Most of what is written and distributed by groups seeking to subvert the law of church and nation has a basically religious theme. Religious meaning is increasingly be-

ing written into the race literature of the hate groups and no subject arouses more religious support in America today than the subject of race. The segregationists in pew and pulpit who appeal to such authority are not simply resorting to rationalization. The stamp of racism has become a part of their religious heritage, and for them the integrationists are those who are apostate. In the eyes of the segregationist, the man who believes in racial justice denies the faith. The true defender of Christianity is he who would keep the races forever separate in the church and in the society.

As indicated earlier, the task of the churches would be less difficult if the segregationist would say: "I like segregation in my church and neighborhood and school, and I am going to keep it that way no matter what Christ or the Bible or the church say to the contrary." If that were the situation we faced, the churches could simply put their numerous mission boards and departments of evangelism to work converting the heathen. But instead, the segregationist defends white supremacy in God's name. With Bible in his hand, and chapter and verse on his lips, he presents and documents his arguments. In the name of God he denies the love, mercy, justice, and judgment of God, and it is virtually impossible to break through and reach him.

The attempt must be made, however, and sometimes it is effectively accomplished on the level of Scripture. One of the Biblical passages most often quoted by the racists is the Genesis story of creation. (Indeed, a critic once remarked, somewhat unjustly, of a Nashville segregationist minister: "His trouble is that he never got any farther in the Bible than Genesis.") Let us now examine that well known but much misused account of Creation.

"The blue birds and the red birds don't fly together," say the segregationists. It's true. They don't. And the Genesis account tells why:

"And God said, 'Let the earth put forth vegetation, plants yielding seed, and fruit trees bearing fruit . . . *each according to its kind*' . . . And it was so. The earth brought forth vegetation, plants yielding seed *according to their own kinds,* and trees bearing fruit in which is their seed, *each according to its kind* . . . God created the great sea monsters and every living creature that moves . . . *according to their kinds,* and every winged bird *according to its kind.* . . .

"And God said, 'Let the earth bring forth living creatures *according to their kinds:* cattle and creeping things and beasts of the earth *according to their kinds.'* And it was so. And God made the beasts of the earth *according to their kinds* and the cattle *according to their kinds,* and everything that creeps upon the ground *according to its kind.*" (Gen. 1:11-12, 21, 24-25.)

". . . Each according to its kind." This is probably the most important passage of Scripture in any treatment of race. The phrase, or a slight variation of it, appears no fewer than ten times in this account. But suddenly a dramatic change takes place: "Then God said, '*Let us make man in our image after our likeness.*'" (Gen. 1:26).

All the other creatures had been made "each according to its kind," but man was made in the image and likeness of God! Thus man became the highest of God's creatures—not some men, but *man!* But there is still another significant note in this story. God made man in his own image. Certain-

ly that alone makes man of considerable importance. But he also made him out of dirt! Man is at once made after the image of God and created out of that lowly commodity—dirt!

Various doctrines have sprung from these two facets of the Creation story. Some have emphasized the idea of man being a little lower than the angels and in the image of God and have insisted that he is therefore the very heart and center of the universe. Others have insisted that being made from dirt, man is precisely that—dirt, with all the connotation which that humble substance brings to mind. At this point it is not important which is the correct emphasis of interpretation. What is important is that whatever is true of a man, he is God's creature and he is one and inseparable from every other human creature.

The account of Creation, of course, does not really have to do with race. It has to do with grace; with what we could not do for ourselves because we were not. It is something unearned, undeserved, something we could not even ask for, because we were without existence and without power until God performed his creative act. For the segregationist to question creation is to question God's grace, for creation *is* grace—nothing less nor more. "It is he that made us and we are his. (Ps. 100:3.) And whether we are a little lower than the angels or as lowly as dirt, God made us, and neither the color of the angels above us nor the color of the dirt beneath our feet is important.

Interestingly enough, if the color of the dirt of which we are made is important, it really adds credence to the Black Muslim argument for black supremacy. For so-called white man isn't white at all but is about the color of hill clay, and anyone who has ever been a farmer knows hill clay won't grow much of anything except crowder peas and pine trees, while dark soil is always at a premium! But whatever we men are made of, one thing is certain—we are all of the same stuff. All of us are in the same boat and the boat is captained, not by ourselves, but by God. It is the captain above who has the right to rank and place the passengers and God has given no indication that this is done on the basis of race.

The church must be concerned with the segregationist not only because he is within the institution, but especially and above all because he too is a child of God. He too is a brother. The church cannot force the racist out of its fellowship by any arbitrary or high-handed discipline. The church must understand him, but at the same time it must not permit understanding him to mean that its own policy becomes silence or inaction. There is no one in America more troubled, more distressed, than the pastor who truly understands, who looks out over his congregation and his city and understands that his people are, at least in part, victims of the bitter crop of the seeds of time and the inexplicable forces of modernity which they did not plant, whose furrows they did not cultivate, but whose harvest is imposed upon them. At the same time such a pastor will know that he has no choice but to preach the uncompromising and scandalizing imperatives of the gospel. Jesus understood the real condition of the people of Jerusalem, but the knowledge that certain social and political factors played a role in the popular customs and ethos of the city did not keep him from entering Jerusalem and turning it upside down.

The racist is the greatest challenge

the church faces today in both the North and the South. One might say that he is the true adolescent of adult Christianity; the most unlovely and the most in need of love. Certainly the church must not tolerate what he stands for, but it must not abandon him in its atttempt to force him to maturity. Those of us who consider ourselves the children of light with respect to our attitudes and practices in race relations must ask ourselves what happened in our lives to make us so different from the racist. What combination of genes, what freak of historical circumstance and personal association, gave us vision to see the truth? Even if God laid his hands on us, even if some are chosen, to what credit can we claim, what reason have we to boast and what right to condemn? Somehow we cannot hate the racist, for most of us do not know how or when we left his ranks, if we have left them at all.

I have seen and known the resentment of the racist, his hostility, his frustration, his need for someone upon whom to lay blame and to punish. I know he is mistaken, misguided, and willfully disobedient, but somehow I am not able to distinguish between him and myself. My sins may not be his, but they are no less real and no less heinous. Perhaps I have been too close to this man. Perhaps if I had not heard his anguished cry when the rains didn't come in time to save his cotton, if I had not felt the severity of his economic deprivation, if I had not looked upon his agony on Christmas Eve while his six-year-old child, feigning sleep, waited for a Santa who would never come; if I had not been one of him through these gales of tragedy, I would be able to condemn him without hesitation. If I had not shared his plight; if I had not lived with him in an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust, ignorance, misinformation, and nefarious political leadership, surely my heart would break less when I see him fomenting mob violence in front of *his* schoolhouse. Perhaps I would not pity him as much if I were not from his loins. But pity him I do.

But the church must not pity the racist. It must love and redeem him. It must somehow set him free. With the same love that it is commanded to shower upon the innocent victim of his frustration and hostility, the church must love the racist. Moreover, the church is called to love those who use and exploit both the racists and their victims for personal wealth and political gain. The church must stand in love and judgment upon the victim, the victimized, and those, both black and white, who exploit both, for they are all the children of God.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 2)

her husband wanted to live at home. I came back from a border state because I wanted to live in Georgia.

But for all her devotion to Dayton and for all my overestimation of Georgia progress, Nobbie and I go giggling together over "inter-group relationships," and find ourselves dropping companionably into the southern "ain't," the casual "he don't," the country "Lord have mercy" and Nobbie's "he ain't nothin' but a houn' dog" (this of course is from Elvis Presley, but he *is* Tennessee, awful and our own.) And I must say for all Nobbie's glad sojourn in Freedom Land, she sho ain't learned how to roll an R or pick up a vowel. Ours, of course, is the easy idiom of Southerners who know better, from Dayton to Hatties-

burg, Miss., some of whom can read Vergil in Latin for fun, win Supreme court cases, get Pulitzer and Nobel prizes for literature and fathom mysteries of biochemistry. (Nobbie and I couldn't, but we could probably recite "The Song of the Chattahoochee" and a lot of "Hiawatha.")

Nobbie and I glanced at each other in sour rapport and amusement over a disagreeable office to-do (common to all offices, which are like families in their intimacies, intensities and half-understood conflicts) and we decided to lunch together, not anywhere as in Dayton, but at nearby Rich's, one of four places where it's nice. "Nobbie," I loudly proposed, fancying myself amusing, "Let's go out and form an office clique!" When Nobbie laughed the alarmed double-takes of the others quivered off into uneasy trills before her good sense. "Two dedicated women," I cried heedlessly, "can tear an office apart!" Nobbie whooped, and then everybody else laughed, knowing that Nobbie is too good for the guile and I'm too old for the energy for a real office clique. So we went and had a nice lunch replete with relaxed Southern "I ain't about tos" and "shut your mouths." And Nobbie, with a satiric eye, regaled me with outlandish stories about white women in four-inch heels with 50-pound legs and varicose veins standing up for three miles on the bus before they'd sit by a Negro.

Marge, Jan, Nobbie and I went to Newberry's Red Room, a dime store drop-level cafeteria whose salmon croquet is 15 cents more than it should be and had a good time except for grumbling about the check. We bore the wondering glances of other customers, more curious than disapproving, at the still strange spectacle of whites and Negroes socializing over food. Nobbie had flung 20 cents on a crusty apple pan pie, which I dipped my fork into for a taste. As nearby diners watched, in furtive astonishment, Nobbie nudged me and laughed, "They're saying, look at her, eating after a nigger." As indeed they were, in simple wonder.

Sometimes Nobbie and I take our office clique to walk in the lunchtime sunshine to buy stockings or gossip. And some of the passers-by watch us as if they can't stop drinking it in. And maybe they are thirsty for this black-white friendship, this release from unnatural separation of quite compatible people.

Nobbie, I feel, isn't nearly the Dayton Yankee she thinks she is. And I think her husband was smart to bring her back home to us, and especially to me, since we talk the same relaxed talk, laugh at the same things and become angry at the same kind of meanness. I, and others in Georgia, need Nobbie, because she is really ours, the best kind of Southerner.

All this, I guess, is mental health, the toughness and kindness and humor to pull us through our big change.

A Poetical Reminiscence on a Singular Occurrence During "Harry Belafonte's Performance for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta.

While sitting — row on row of black and white —
And listening to calypso
A loud explosion jarred the night.
All reporters dashed toward the do'.

In our seats we thought, "The Klan
We knew it, it was too calm!
Not one picket, not one hooded man,
Not a single integrationist come to ha'm."

Then they returned, one by one.
Near me, a reporter sank into his seat.
"Was it a bomb — was it a gun?"
"Neither — a chair fell over someone's feet."

—Anon.

Police, Progress and Desegregation in Atlanta

by Herbert T. Jenkins
Atlanta Chief of Police

IN 1933 I WAS A ROOKIE policeman, detailed as an aide to the late Mayor James L. Key. One afternoon a distinguished group of Negro citizens called on the mayor and requested him to employ Negro policemen.

The mayor gave them a very understanding reception and advised them that their request was not unreasonable, but that the time was not right. First, he said, the white citizens, as well as the Negro citizens, would have to be educated to that point, and he advised them to go back and start an educational program for the Negro citizens, and he would help them in educating the white citizens; and when the time was right, he said, the City of Atlanta would employ Negro police. Admittedly this came as somewhat of a shock to me, for I had never heard it suggested before.

It was also my first contact with the distinguished Negro leadership that has always existed in Atlanta, and which I later came to know and respect so well.

After the committee had departed, the mayor said to me that he was an old man, and would never live to see Negro police in Atlanta, but I would some day have to work with Negro police, and that I should be prepared to furnish some of the leadership when it came. I recommended Negro police for Atlanta in 1948. Their employment has been most successful. They have the respect of both white and Negro, and are doing a good job.

Prior to 1945 most southern states and cities held what they called a "white democratic primary election," in which all office holders were elected and the Negroes could not vote. The successful candidates had to run in the general election, but they seldom had opposition. That election was where the Negro was allowed to vote—where it did not count.

The United States Supreme Court held these laws to be invalid and, in effect, said that the Negro must be allowed to vote in making the original selection.

This was the first time he had been given a voice in his government, and, in my opinion, this is the only instrument necessary for the Negroes to obtain full citizenship and acceptance in the rural South.

The Freedom Riders, the sit-ins, the pickets and the demonstrators create publicity and some sympathy, but generally they create more ill will than good will, and an almost impossible situation for law enforcement officers to maintain peace and good order in the community.

In 1954 the U. S. Supreme Court handed down its unanimous and much debated school integration decision. This came as quite a shock to most white people in the South.

Leaders at the state capitol immediately denounced the court and proclaimed to the world that the decision

would never be accepted. The Governor and the State Legislature joined with other southern states in massive resistance, adopting state laws to protect segregation and to cut off public funds from any integrated school.

This went on continuously for seven years, while, in the meantime, the city of Atlanta was adopting a policy of progress and moderation towards its Negro citizens.

The Governor once publicly criticized the mayor for his policy of moderation. The mayor replied that the city of Atlanta had adopted its policy from the seal of the State of Georgia, which has etched in it three words—*Wisdom, Justice and Moderation.*

The city's golf courses were the first to yield to the judgment of the United States Federal Court to desegregate. The Governor declared that the golf courses should be plowed up and planted in peas, rather than yield to integration.

Next to desegregate were the buses, the library, and the airport—some without a Federal Court order, and some with it. While all of this was accepted without serious incidents, we all knew that the big question was the schools, and that was where the final showdown would come. We knew through our informers from White Citizens' Council and the Klan organizations over the South that they considered Atlanta the most important place to keep segregated, for whatever Atlanta did, other southern cities would most likely follow, that if Atlanta fell to integration, the South was lost.

In the meantime the Atlanta Police Department was confronted almost daily with serious racial problems, with feeling and tension running very high on both sides. At one time we had Negro students and the Ku Klux Klan picketing the same establishments, at the same time. But, we survived these demonstrations without injury or arrest of a single person because the police were trained and disciplined to enforce the law and maintain the peace, regardless of race, creed or color.

There were grave decisions every day because the federal, state, and local laws were in conflict with each other. We were reminded that Gladstone had defined the law as a signal rule for human action, commending what was right, and forbidding what was wrong. The great weakness of this definition today is that men of good will cannot agree on what is right and what is wrong. For instance, in the last twenty years the United States Supreme Court has handed down decisions in thirty cases that originated from police action, usually cases of searches and seizures, and not a single one of these cases received unanimous action of the court. Most of them were decided by a four to five decision.

Serious racial problems were being reported from Little Rock, Montgomery, New Orleans, and Jacksonville. The Atlanta Police Department sent investigators there to observe and to determine what we must do to prevent disturbances and riots in Atlanta. We reached the conclusion that many of these problems could have been prevented with better coordination between federal, state and local police.

We pointed out in our Roll Call Training that where our opinion of procedure might differ from that of federal or state officers, we must yield to the judgment of the higher authority. We also required every member of our department to read and study reports and books on this subject and to make a book report on them so that we could be sure that they had read them.

We included in this list of required

reading: *Justice for All,* by the Anti-Defamation League and International Association of Chiefs of Police; *Racial Violence and Law Enforcement,* by George McMillan; *How to Recognize and Handle Abnormal People,* by Dr. Robert A. Mathews; and *Justice, the 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights, Report No. 5.*

Ernest Vandiver succeeded Marvin Griffin as the Governor, and appointed a committee to hold public hearings in every congressional district of the state to inform the public of the school issues, and to determine what course the state should follow.

The committee was chaired by John Sibley, and the committee became known as the Sibley Committee. He and the press did a magnificent job of informing the public. They made abundantly clear that the alternatives were to accept the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court to desegregate the public schools or to abandon public schools.

On instructions from the Federal Courts, the Atlanta Board of Education had submitted a plan to desegregate Atlanta public schools, one grade each year, starting at the top. The court accepted the plan and instructed the Board to begin it at the fall term of 1961.

In January, 1961, the Federal Court issued an order placing two Negro students in the University of Georgia at Athens. Hamilton Holmes and Charlene Hunter were enrolled and a riot broke out.

The State Police took the two students into protective custody and rushed them to Atlanta, leaving the small, undermanned Athens Police Department to handle the riot, but they did a masterful job in rounding up the trouble makers and putting them in jail. Within a week, the Georgia Legislature, under the leadership of Governor Vandiver, met and abandoned the massive resistance program and repealed all the state laws that prohibited school desegregation.

This turning point removed the conflict between the state and federal laws, and made it possible for federal, state and local law enforcement officials to work together.

The two Negro students were returned to the University of Georgia, and they have been students there ever since, without trouble—the first Negroes ever to attend an all white school in the state of Georgia.

This set the stage for Atlanta, Georgia, to lead the new South into desegregation of its public schools on August 30, 1961, without disorder.

Mayor Wm. B. Hartsfield, chief designer of Atlanta's moderate and progressive policy for almost a quarter of a century, announced that he would not seek reelection in the September primary, but would retire from public office on January 1.

Ivan Allen, Jr., a distinguished business and civic leader, who never sought public office before; Muggsy Smith, an original advocate of open schools, a veteran state legislator, and a successful candidate in every political race that he had entered; Charlie Brown, a state senator and former county commissioner and twice an unsuccessful candidate for mayor; and Jim Aldredge, a veteran county commissioner, successful in all previous political campaigns, offered for the office.

The four were competent and prosperous business leaders who were expected to conduct a hard-fought political campaign that would appeal to both white and Negro voters.

The fifth candidate was Lester Maddox, operator of the Pickrick Restau-

rant, an unsuccessful candidate against Mayor Hartsfield four years before in the general election. He was best known for his affiliation with GUTS, a small fanatical group who called themselves "Georgians Unwilling to Surrender." He was a staunch segregationist, and no one expected him to even ask for a Negro vote. In fact, he refused to attend any of the political meetings of the Negro Voters League.

For almost a year a group of Negro students, with full support from the Negro community, had conducted demonstrations and boycotts against the variety stores, dime stores, the drug stores and the department stores downtown because the owners refused to desegregate their lunch counters.

The representatives of these two groups reached an agreement whereby the demonstrations and boycotts would be stopped immediately and the lunch counters would be desegregated following the orderly desegregation of schools. This was most helpful in creating an atmosphere of peace and quiet in the spring and summer of the political campaign and prior to the opening of the public schools.

The school department was accepting applications from the Negro students to transfer to all white schools.

They approved the transfer of ten students to four all-white high schools located in all sections of the city, so that no community could claim preference or discrimination.

The police department immediately placed these students, the schools, and, I might add, all known trouble-makers, under surveillance. The school department, in cooperation with the police department, designed the ground rules for opening day and the weeks to follow. It was decided that all school property and the streets adjacent must be off-limits to all persons except teachers and students. Some of the television people raised a howl, but in the end they recognized the necessity for it.

The police department prepared maps of the schools and the streets, showing the off-limits boundaries. Each school was assigned a Superintendent of Police, a lieutenant, six patrolmen and one policewoman, with instructions to be as inconspicuous as possible; to devote their attention to traffic control at the intersections, but to be on the alert for trouble spots and trouble makers. Detectives were assigned to various places in the city for the same reason.

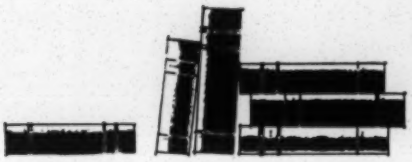
There was a large number of police and equipment held in reserve in case of an emergency. We were delighted that they were never called out.

In August I issued a statement to police and public that the Board of Education would desegregate public schools on August 30, and that any objections to this must be made at the school board offices and not at the schools. I called attention to local and state laws providing protection for public worship and public schools, that "the Atlanta police department has full responsibility and authority to maintain the peace and good order over the entire city, and especially at and around the schools."

Mayor Hartsfield converted the Aldermanic Board chambers into a gigantic press room, with all wire services and teletype machines, a hundred desks, typewriters and telephones. He invited the entire press to come there for all the news. Private telephone lines connected the police department and all four schools with the press room. The phones to these lines were equipped with amplifiers and loud-

(Continued on back cover)

Books



Fifty-eight Lonely Men

Non-fiction by J. W. Peltason, 260 pp. Harcourt, Brace and World, New York: $4.95.

Fifty-eight Lonely Men by Professor Peltason of the University of Illinois is a valuable chronicle of school desegregation in the South from 1954 to 1961. Peltason comments with authority and accuracy on Little Rock, New Orleans, and other crises in the South since 1954 in one of the most helpful overviews of these tumultuous years yet available.

The author emphasizes that the federal judiciary has generally been constructive in implementation of the 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court edicts, that the judges are usually more representative of the urban and suburban South and less of the "red-suspender-populists" than most elected southern officials. He further notes that the federal bench itself exerts a moderating influence on the southern born judge. "His position gives him some protection from local demands; at the same time it exposes him to the claims of a national constituency."

Professor Peltason traces the gradual retreat of die-hard segregationism and the growth of moderate sentiment among community leadership. The battle between moderates and segregationists, he says, tends to follow economic and educational lines and to be a battle of the urban vs. the rural areas. Segregationists find their primary strength in the rural areas. "If Little Rock had not been in Arkansas, Atlanta not in Georgia, Miami not in Florida, New Orleans not in Louisiana, schools could and would have been desegregated within a year or two after the Supreme Court decision."

Peltason blames much of the confusion and tokenism of the last eight years on the ambiguity of the United States Supreme Court and on the broad leeway allowed district and circuit judges. He charges the Court itself with retreat in affirming pupil placement laws. The Court has sanctioned token integration, a far cry from "the full" compliance at the earliest practicable date" and complete desegregation "with all deliberate speed" promised by the Supreme Court's 1955 decision. He concludes, "Judges will do what they are told by the United States Supreme Court . . . but none of them, even those who favor desegregation, are particularly anxious to attack strongly entrenched local institutions. As a result, the ambiguity of the Supreme Court's instructions has been resolved to conform to the dominant political forces in the South."

Dr. Peltason believes with most civil rights leaders that too much responsibility for change has been left to the courts and too little assumed by the executive and legislative branches. Unless judges have backing from other

branches of the federal government and support at the state and local level "they will not, perhaps cannot, desegregate the schools."

The author concludes that a significant beginning has nonetheless been made, and that the nation owes a debt of gratitude to the 58 lonely men of the federal judiciary in the South.

One cannot help being apprehensive, however, to remember that most of these 58 men were appointed to the bench prior to the heat and controversy generated by the 1954 decision. Future appointments to the southern bench must pass the muster of senatorial courtesy. It may be that as vacancies occur and are filled, the federal judiciary in the South will become increasingly responsive to Southern political leadership. The judicial appointments President Kennedy has made in the South during the last year are not reassuring to those who hope for a speedier school desegregation.

PAUL RILLING

Diary of a Sit-In

Non-fiction by Merrill Proudfoot, 204 pp. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. $5.00.

Merrill Proudfoot has written a day by day account of one and one half summer months in Knoxville, Tenn., where, in 1960, a group of white and Negro students, teachers and other adults demonstrated, sat-in and economically withdrew from downtown areas so that in about six weeks 16 lunch counters were desegregated with little violence. Dr. Proudfoot describes in straightforward, almost humble prose, his feelings and strategy, those of a white Presbyterian minister helping to lead the movement. He also recounts the reactions and ideas of the other leaders and those of ministers, waitresses, newspaper editors, observers and others involved in this struggle against discrimination.

Comparing Knoxville and Nashville, the author states, "It is still debatable whether their clamorous approach or our quiet one will prove to have been the better, but whatever the decision one must confess that each city did as it did because of the personality of the town and no theoretical judgments would have dictated a different approach." The account shows awareness of the leaders that a delicate balance must be maintained between strategy and spontaneity. Proudfoot describes his own fear and trembling when he first sat-in at Rich's, meetings of the leaders with store managers, economic boycott, continued demonstrations and sit-ins. A sensible combination of all four "techniques" proved wisest.

"The lunch counter crusade threw the spotlight dramatically on group discrimination and demonstrated that something can be done about it by ordinary people," Dr. Proudfoot feels. Perhaps, in the long run, this is the most valuable result of the Knoxville movement, for as soon as "ordinary" people who have borne witness with closed eyes to discrimination open those eyes and see it and find some part they can play in ridding the community of it, there is hope that the barriers of prejudice will be broken.

For these appraisers of the sit-in movement and non-violent philosophy there is a clear explanation and defense of the actions of the Knoxville group. However, the diary portion contains such honest exploration of moral and practical dilemmas and the solutions that presented themselves to the leaders of the movement that I felt further defense unnecessary.

JANE H. COLES

New South

Jenkins

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speakers, so that everyone could hear all conversations.

Police and school officials were present at all times to answer any questions that the press might ask. If any member of the press wanted to ask the principal of any of the four schools a question, Dr. Letson, the superintendent, used these private lines to talk with the principal while the press could hear both ends of the conversation.

Organizations Assisting Schools in September had prepared a handbook, furnishing the names, telephone numbers and answers to questions that the press might ask.

The local, national and international press were well represented on August 30, 1961. They were most cooperative —in fact, they were magnificent.

At the schools, the students and teachers went about their business with no interference, and the police had little to do. One youth, representing the American Nazi party, appeared at one of the schools, and four local youngsters appeared at another. They refused to move on and were taken into custody, carried to police headquarters, put in a police lineup in the presence of the press, and transferred to court, where their cases were promptly disposed of.

The political campaign was ending and had stayed remarkably clear of school and racial issues. On September 13th, election day, Mr. Allen led the ticket, with Mr. Maddox running second, eliminating the other candidates; but Mr. Allen failed to get a clear majority, and this called for a run-over election between Mr. Allen and Mr. Maddox on September 22.

In this run-over election, Mr. Maddox injected the race issue, and clearly said that there was only one issue, the racial issue, and that it was just as plain as black and white. Mr. Allen received approximately one-half of the white votes and practically all of the Negro votes, giving him two-thirds of the votes cast.

The Allen administration is keeping Atlanta going forward at a very rapid pace. The lunch counters have been desegregated without incident, and Grand Opera and downtown movie theatres desegregated in the spring.

Atlanta is proud to be an important part of this great country of ours, and of the world. We are happy to shoulder our part of the responsibility in dealing with the racial revolution that is now sweeping the entire world.

New South

THE OTHER MISSISSIPPI

MARCH 1963

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

New South

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LAST FALL'S wild disaster at the University of Mississippi and the continuously brutal public and private punishment of Negroes trying to register to vote seem to constitute a crisis from which that unfortunate commonwealth can only emerge soon into the civil rights and human decencies generally proclaimed and practiced in the rest of the United States.

And, in the light of recent pronouncements and random events, it may not be too sanguine to predict that Mississippi's intrepid, persistent and non-violent Negro revolutionaries may find themselves in a new and heartening alignment with aboriginal white allies.

Signs of conscience-stricken white support for law and brotherhood, such as the manifestos and sermons printed in this NEW SOUTH surely must come as grateful relief to uprising and sacrificial Negroes — particularly in view of the slow and seldom protection provided by our federal government.

Church voices heard in this issue—among many others raised in protest long before Oxford and frequently since — in godly denunciation of ghastly and ungodly oppressions of Negroes, seem to me the most literally Christian reproaches and appeals to come from any southern pulpits since the Negro movement for equal rights. For much milder and more evasive precepts, that churchmen should uphold law and order and keep public education, many southern pastors in other states have been deposed from their pulpits; but now in most recalcitrant Mississippi, these congregations seem to be hearing their prophets with less vengeful rage.

Another bright shaft of light in the darkness of crisis is the shocked report of the Mississippi advisory com-

(Continued on page 8)

Day of Repentance

Ten young ministers of the Oxford, Miss., area appealed thus to their community and state in October:

WE, THE MINISTERS of the Oxford-University area, do hereby call upon the people of our community and state to make Sunday, October 7th, 1962, a specific time for repentance for our collective and individual guilt in the formation of the atmosphere which produced the strife at the University of Mississippi and Oxford last Sunday and Monday, resulting in the death of two persons and injury to many others. Further, we do urge that this be a specific time for turning from those paths of violent thought and action to the Christian walk of peace and good will, which turning is the heart of true penitence.

It is our firm belief that obedience to the law and to lawful authority is an essential part of the Christian life. The outgrowth of this conviction in the situation in which we find ourselves can be no less than acceptance of the actions of the federal courts and wholehearted compliance with those as individuals and as a state.

Not only must we ourselves act in accord with these principles, but we must actively exert positive leadership and influence such as that provided on October 2 by certain businessmen of our state.

We issue this call mindful of the promise of our God: "If my people, who are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land." II Chronicles 7:14.

The Whole Gospel

October 8, 1962

A Message from the District Superintendents
To the Ministers of the North Mississippi Methodist Conference
Brethren:

These critical days through which we are passing demand dedication, self-denial and sacrifice in preaching the whole Gospel without any reservations whatsoever, with the fear of God in our hearts, and without prejudice toward any man.

We whole-heartedly endorse the statement made by the ministers of Oxford on October 3 calling for "repentance for our collective and individual guilt in the formation of the atmosphere which produced the strife at the University of Mississippi and Oxford last Sunday and Monday which resulted in the death of two persons and injury to many others."

Furthermore, we endorse the statement of our Conference Board of Christian Social Concerns made prior to the rioting in Oxford.

We affirm the freedom of the pulpit. We have uttermost confidence in our ministers and support them in the preaching of the whole Gospel in the Spirit of Christ.

Signed,

S/H. L. Beasley
S/T. H. Ferrell
S/G. H. Holloman
S/J. E. Long
S/W. L. Robinson
S/K. I. Tucker

A Trail Through the Wilderness

by James B. Nicholson

THESE LAST FEW WEEKS in Oxford have made the will of God quite clear to each of us. There is no question. We must act now to see that His will is carried out. This "nigger" that caused all of this trouble must be hung on the goal post at our next ball game to show all Negroes in this state what will happen to all Negroes that step out of line. We must take these nigger-loving, power mad, Catholic Kennedy boys by the nape of the neck and shake some sense in their heads. We need to take these nine old men of the Supreme Court, who insist on communist decisions, and send them to Russia where their decisions will be respected. We must see that the U. S. marshal who shot that French newspaper man gets the state gas chamber.

This shocks you, doesn't it? . . . The thing that shocks you, however, is not what you just heard, for I am sure you have heard every one of these statements somewhere during these last few weeks. They did not shock you then. No, the thing that shocks you is where you heard this. You never expected to hear a thing like this from your pastor and especially from his pulpit. You see you do not expect me to resound the things you hear from man but you expect me to proclaim that which God puts on my heart. This is precisely what I shall endeavor to do. I know that some of you will disagree with me on this, but I pray that you shall at least hear me patiently and take what I have to say in the spirit of love.

Rev. Mr. Nicholson, pastor of Byram Methodist Church at Jackson, delivered this call away from false gods and to brotherly love to his congregation after the Oxford riot.

I. We must maintain or reestablish our communications with God so that we may clearly hear His voice in this hour of crisis.

This step must begin with repentance. I do not feel that we can clearly establish just who we can place the blame of the Oxford story on. I do feel that our hands are all filled with the blood of these dead and injured. We must stand before Him in repentance for what we are individually and collectively responsible for.

For the past eight years we have known of a well organized movement spreading a doctrine of hate. We knew this, yet we did nothing to offset this movement. We have let this group discredit our national government, the United Nations, the courts, the church, and some of our basic ideals. We sat idly by while this movement gained control of our press and state government. We Methodists let this pressure group force the state legislature and Governor to pass into law a bill designed to set up insurrection in the Methodist Church. We must stand before God in repentance for our neglect in this matter.

We have let prejudice shut out the Gospel and in many cases we have turned to the gods of segregation and white supremacy. We know that these two things have determined our actions and to some extent have controlled our lives. The Lord our God will not allow us to have these lesser gods. We must repent for this idolatry.

We need, more than ever before, to seek the power of God to free us from all that is in our minds and hearts

which keeps us from seeing the will of God for us in this hour of crisis.

II. If we are to solve our own problems we must think through and establish a doctrine of man that will be acceptable to God. I believe that this doctrine must be firmly planted on a foundation of brotherhood through the Fatherhood of God. This doctrine must be all inclusive in relation to man. In other words, what we think of the white man must also be true of the Asian, the Indian and the Negro. This belief will determine our action in this matter and in the other situations we will face in the future. It has now become essential that we establish what we believe about man.

III. If we are to face our own problems in this hour, we must maintain complete freedom of speech. We must be free to say what we think without reprisal or harassment. We must be willing to hear the ideas of others without cutting ourselves apart from them. We must not let smear tactics and gossip prevail against those with whom we disagree. It is only as we share our ideas that we can mold our ideas into a reasonable solution to our problem.

Our press must be kept free to give us a just account of the news and to speak its convictions in editorials. I uphold the right of every newspaper to express its convictions even though I may disagree with them vehemently. We must see that this basic right is never tampered with.

I believe in a free pulpit. The minister must be free to present the gospel as he feels God reveals it to him. It should be clearly understood that any pastor will say things with which his congregation will not agree. If this were not true there would be no way that the pastor could lead them in growth. It must be understood that a pastor always, even if he may be wrong, seeks to reveal the message of God to his people.

IV. If we are to face the problems of race on a realistic level we must reestablish communications with the leaders of white and Negro peoples on the local level. It is only as we understand each other's positions that we can come out with fair and equitable solutions to the race problem. We have completely cut off such relationships. I believe that we ourselves can best solve our own problems and if we do not they will be solved for us by such pressure groups as the NAACP and the White Citizens Councils.

V. I believe that we must restore confidence in Government and in our courts. As I have already said we have allowed these pressure groups to undermine and tear down our confidence in Government. We, in America, know that we do not have a perfect government, but even with all of its imperfections we would not exchange our government for any the world has ever known. We know that we are responsible for its laws and we have come to settle our differences in the courts. We have learned to solve our problems in the courts and thus we respect the decisions of the courts. We must either continue this method of solving our problems or else we must turn to revolution and force. The latter cannot permeate our thoughts, therefore, we must accept all of the decisions of the courts, even if we disagree with them. If we believe laws are unjust we have means of removing them; may God help us to remain in this framework. Defiance of the law must be met with its consequences prescribed by the courts. Shall we keep our way of doing things or shall we turn to the ways of other nations and turn to rebellion?

VI. We must see that our institu-

tions of education are kept open. I do not believe that it is fair to the children of our nation to close our public schools as a solution to our problem. The education of our children is far more important than most of the political issues that rise and fall. It is certainly more important than the doctrine of segregation. If the time ever comes when the choice of whether my children go to school with Negroes or else have no school at all, my children will go to school with Negroes. The education of my children is this important to me. We must never use the possibility of closing our schools as a solution to this problem of segregation.

VII. We must come to the place where we dare to put our beliefs into practice. We have grown up to believe in the American creed in which we say that all men are created equal, that all men are endowed with certain rights and that we are a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." We believe that our national sovereignty must be submissive to the ultimate and divine sovereignty. We believe that our laws are far more than rules written by man, they are in substance the submission of man to the will of God. This you see we all believe, yet there are so many points at which this does not come to be in our practice. The real and basic problem then is not merely a problem between the white man and the Negro . . . it is rather a problem between what we believe on the one hand, and what we practice on the other. This is our real problem . . . a conflict between what we believe to be right against what we practice . . . this is the thing that continues to nag at the very basement of our souls. This is also why we are so sensitive to the situation; we are afraid that our sins in this area, which we have so cleverly concealed in selfishness, may be exposed. We are not willing to repent. Thus we seek the gods of the world to sustain us, yes, the god of segregation and the god of white supremacy. We even resort to the scriptures, unscrupulous preachers, and other sources to sustain our selfish position. We will seek to find ways of discrediting any church or pastor who dares to stir up these sins in our lives, that we have so carefully settled down in their self-satisfied complacency. We must face God in judgment, repent of those sins, let Him cleanse us of all this unrighteousness and create within us hearts capable of love.

VIII. Finally we must let love permeate our lives. Jesus said, "This is my commandment that you love one another as I have loved you." Can we love and hate at the same time? If we are to see man as God sees him, we must see the steadfast love that always reaches out . . . even for the worst of us our Master was willing to die. Paul tells us that "Love does no wrong to a neighbor; therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law." As we reexamine our own actions, can we say that they are an expression of love . . . do they do no wrong to a neighbor?

If we will really look at the matters before us we will find that all is not done in love . . . that it does wrong our neighbor. The other day I saw a sign far different from the signs "colored" or "white," it read, "NO NEGRO ALLOWED ON THIS WALK." This expresses what so many of us feel. But does it express what we believe to be right, or is it an expression of love?

I do not speak to you as one who has shed all of his prejudice for if I did I would not be telling you the truth. I have my fears and my doubts about the future but I do speak to you as one who is willing to open my mind and

heart to the will of God. I must come at least to say, if God loves one I must love him too. I must come to the place where I can say "Where he leads me I will follow!" I sincerely hope that each of us can come to this place also and we can abide in His love and this will be an overflowing love for all that He has created. Jesus speaks to us pleadingly, "This I command you, love one another."

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 2)

mittee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Deep-rooted Mississippians all, committee members made a hair-raising report on police brutality and persecutions of colored people, in which they demanded federal action to protect Negroes from "terror," voiced "alarm at the direction which our society seems to be taking" and condemned state and local officials for frightful abuse of Negroes. This Deep South demand, for "outside interference" from the Justice Department and the Commission which has long delayed an urgent hearing on conditions in Mississippi, at the curious request of Justice, is perhaps as unequivocal a decency as has come out of any southern state in the segregation struggle.

More than two weeks before the Oxford riot, Editor Ira Harkey of the *Pascagoula Chronicle* uttered, in stunningly rational and angry tones, what seems to have been the first Mississippi newspaper editorial condemning Governor Barnett's ridiculous and ruinous resolve to defy federal law. Mr. Harkey has since continued to write furiously, mournfully and cajolingly, by turns, against the "schizophrenia" of official and majority Mississippi, and for sanity, justice and progress. What seems remarkable in this demonstration of lonely reason, good will and great courage is that Mr. Harkey and his *Chronicle* have survived and, it appears, prevailed over the Jackson County Citizens Emergency Unit, a band of valiants who apparently rose up for the purposes of fighting the federals at Oxford and silencing the editor and destroying his paper. The *Chronicle* sustained a broken window from a night-time shot, temporary loss of advertising from business people threatened with economic and physical harm, and considerable bullying and harassment of Mr. Harkey. Due no doubt to Mr. Harkey's persistent editorial insistence on the truth and his impassioned persuasions to good sense and good feeling, and to a widespread dismay at the state's disgrace and danger, he has gathered support, including the public defense of him by President Claude Ramsey of Pascagoula, state president of the AFL-CIO, and less overt agreement and praise from fellow townsmen.

A sign that no society or community, however brutal its prevailing tone, is without its decent dissenters were the spectacular overtures to James Meredith from a handful of university students and faculty. To be sure, some of them were driven from this outlandish campus by vandalism and harassment; but their brave humanity amid hating hysteria, and the lasting friendship of several faculty members for Mr. Meredith, do stand as evidence of manliness of some Mississippians who may, by aligning themselves with the Negro cause of freedom, help redeem their state.

The audacious year-old *Mississippi Free Press* at Jackson, weekly presents four pages of civil rights news and editorials to some 6,000 readers

over the state heretofore innocent of these events and viewpoints, in what Reverend Mr. Gray of Oxford calls Mississippi's "paranoia." *The Free Press* is clearly an unquestionable ally of Negro aspirations, in contrast to most other segregationist dailies and weeklies, which usually under-play or mis-play news of Negro advancement and generally present Mississippi as a state of happy whites and darkies beleaguered by an enemy federal government and the incitements of "outsiders."

Regal Dodson of Greenville, in a January letter to the *Delta Democrat-Times,* casts the light of historical perspective on the Mississippi struggle, reviewing several hundred years of world white supremacy now ending, and calls on Mississippi to share responsibility in meeting "the greatest challenge to the United States in its history" — a sharp break in the prevailing deception of Mississippians by politicians and leaders, and an intelligent expression of rising dissent.

A rather spectacular contribution to the unaccustomed truth in Mississippi was a five-part discussion of the Oxford riot, called "The Oxford Disaster . . . Price of Defiance" by State Representative Karl Wiesenburg in the *Pascagoula Chronicle* last December and reprinted in brochure form. Mr. Wiesenburg recalls the falsehoods and folly which paved the way to the fatal riot, asserts the law of the land and calls for "law and order" instead of "destruction, disgrace, disaster and death," in what Editor Harkey calls "a major contribution to the welfare of Mississippi . . . around which may rally all Mississippians who are appalled at what is happening in their state."

The Phi Beta Kappa Association at the University of Mississippi this winter adopted a resolution avowing that "individual freedom and respect for human dignity are the lifeblood of a university" and asking the state to preserve the school's integrity and "venerate it as a community of free men and women devoted to the preservation, increase and application of knowledge." The Phi Beta Kappas also advocated punishment and dismissal of students whose behavior "discredits the University, and the state and the nation."

In Laurel, Metropolitan diva Leontyne Price sang a benefit performance at her home church, and received two standing ovations from an integrated crowd which overflowed to nearly every part of the church, in the first desegregated gathering in her home town, or maybe anywhere in Mississippi outside a Negro campus, an appreciation which demonstrates the possibility of natural and human associations there. A Jackson tribute to Negro football hero Willie Richardson —mayor's proclamation, gifts and greetings from business and civic leaders and a parade from city hall— was another surge of desegregated pride in Negro accomplishment.

The tragedy of Clyde Kennard, one of the most poignant martyrs of the Negro movement for civil rights, is a story of such bitterness that it is difficult to extract much hope or comfort from Mr. Kennard's release from prison by Governor Barnett because of the 34-year-old Negro's fatal cancer. After Kennard unsuccessfully tried to enter a white state school, he was sentenced to seven years for an alleged theft of chicken feed, put to hard labor and denied treatment and checkups for his cancer. But Governor Barnett's belated benevolence, presumably induced by a petition for clemency started by the *Free Press* and

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Paranoia, Guilt and Atonement

by Duncan M. Gray, Jr.

I'M SURE THAT ALL of us here today — a week after the tragedy — feel depressed, burdened, and sorrowful; as, indeed, we should. But, as Christians, we cannot let our reaction stop at this point. Fundamental to the Christian faith is the deep conviction that even out of worst tragedy, some good can come. What can we *learn* from tragic experience? (And God help us if we do *not* learn; for then we will only have it to go through again and again). But what can we do *now*? This is the real question.

The first thing we can do is to face up to our own *guilt* in the situation. You and I didn't go out there and throw the broken bricks and the bottles. You and I didn't go out there and fire the guns. Yet you and I, along with every other Mississippian, are *responsible* in one degree or another for what happened. For we are responsible for the moral and political climate in our state which made such a tragedy possible. Maybe you and I didn't do much to create this climate, it is certainly evident that we did all too little to dispel or change it. The "things that we have left undone which we *ought* to have done" should bother us every bit as much as the "things which we have done which we ought *not* to have done." The decent, respectable, and responsible people of Mississippi have *failed,* when events like those of last Sunday night can take place within our state.

What has been the climate in our state during the past several years? You know and I know that it has been one of fear and intimidation; one of defiance and irresponsibility. The official line of massive resistance to any form of desegregation and of last-ditch defiance of the federal courts was laid down, and anyone who dared to challenge it found himself in deep trouble. Calm and rational discussion of the matter was virtually prohibited, so that there was no chance for moderate men of both races to sit down in good faith and work out some reasonable and workable solution to the very real problems posed by the decisions of the Courts. Above all, the people of Mississippi were told by their leaders over and over again that the federal courts could be defied forever; that they would never have to obey the law of the land. And most of the people of Mississippi *believed* them. Mississippians have been thus deceived and misled by their leaders for nearly eight years now. Is it any wonder, then, that violence erupts when the issue becomes *real,* rather than academic, within our own state.

The freshman at Ole Miss today was only ten years old when the Supreme Court's decision on segregation was handed down. A senior today was only thirteen. Theirs is the generation exposed to the textbook and library censorship, mandatory essay contests on White Supremacy, and a

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Rev. Mr. Gray's reflections here are part of several sermons delivered to his congregation, St. Peter's Episcopal Church at Oxford, after the September riot at the University of Mississippi.

massive propaganda campaign against the federal courts. Is it any wonder that they feel persecuted and oppressed? Seldom, if ever, have they been reminded that half of the people in Mississippi are Negroes and that they are people, too, with hopes, aspirations, and rights of their own. Think of the freshmen and upperclassmen as well who were out there throwing bricks and bottles the other night. Who could really blame them when the Governor of the state himself was in open rebellion against the law?

Think of the thugs and the toughs from near and far who did the most damage Sunday night and nearly all the damage Monday morning. What could you expect when supposedly responsible legislators were saying, "We will *never* surrender," and "The people of Mississippi know what to do!" What could you expect when so much of the Mississippi Press was voicing the same sentiment? It was an open invitation to every thug and tough for hundreds of miles around to come pouring into Oxford, for they had every reason to believe that the decent, responsible people of Mississippi would back up their action one hundred per cent. There are thugs and toughs everywhere, but they come in such numbers and with such violence only where they think they are wanted.

The major part of the blame must be placed upon our leaders themselves; *and* upon you and me and all the other decent and responsible citizens of Mississippi, who have allowed this impossible climate to prevail. It is for this that we pray God's forgiveness this morning.

But true repentance means more than just remorse. We must now give our all to salvaging the situation; to bringing order out of chaos, peace out of strife. We must accept the fact that the color of a person's skin can no longer be a barrier to his admission to the University of Mississippi. I would hope that, as Christians we would accept this because it is just and right, whether we like it or not. But if we are not yet able to do this, at least we can be realistic enough and patriotic enough to accept this as the law of the land. To think and to act otherwise — to continue to breathe defiance and disobedience — will only bring more suffering and shame, violence and horror that has shocked us so deeply since we last came together as a congregation.

This is what worries me most about the efforts of so many Mississippians to pin the blame for last week's violence on the federal marshals. If we are not mature enough and secure enough to admit and confess our own guilt — if we continue to nurse and nurture our collective paranoia — then we will never get around to doing anything about the real root of our troubles: the moral and political climate in which we live. And we will have to go through again and again the horror of more violence and bloodshed. We will have learned nothing.

But I, for one, look to the future with faith and confidence. I am convinced that most of the decent and responsible people of the Oxford-University community have learned the lesson we *must* learn from last Sunday's madness. And from the statement of those 127 Mississippi businessmen released last Tuesday it is apparent that others have learned also. The fact that many other Mississippians have *not,* and that many of our political leaders are still making every effort to keep them from doing so should only spur us on to better and greater efforts. By God's grace, some real good *can* come out of this tragedy, and it is up

to you and to me to see that it does.

A little less than a century ago, our own southern forebears found themselves in the aftermath of a far greater tragedy. And there were those then who tried to redeem the times. Among them was our own L. Q. C. Lamar. Another, George Washington Cable, made his most memorable speech on the campus of the University of Mississippi. But, above all, there was the noble example of General Robert E. Lee. A devout Episcopalian, Lee was present in the Church shortly after the war, when a Negro Churchman came to the altar to make his Communion. The other people in the church, confused and resentful, stayed in their pews. Then General Lee quietly arose, walked up the aisle, and knelt beside the Negro.

This great man set a standard which has never quite been forgotten by the South. It is to this standard that we must now repair. For, ultimately, it will be through countless small words and small deeds, done in the name of Christ by Christians, that this University, this community, and this state will yet redeem herself for the tragic events of last Sunday and Monday . . .

I think we should ask ourselves, first of all, if we are really sufficiently aware of the *deadly serious* nature of our present predicament. This may seem like a silly question in the light of the anxiety and concern which has burdened us all during the past several days. But one wonders if it is so silly when we see legislators joking, wearing Centennial uniforms to the floor of the house, and students cheering and laughing in a situation where even the Lieutenant-Governor said someone might get killed. I am afraid that there may be many who seem to put this whole affair in the category of waving Confederate flags and singing "Dixie" at a football game; or standing up and proclaiming to the world that we are proud to be Mississippians.

As we all know, our University is on the verge of losing her accreditation along with all the other colleges in the state. But even if this is averted, the dignity and good name of the University have suffered damage it will take years to repair. For many years the University of Mississippi has been known as a venerable institution of sound learning, gentle manners and fond memories, and, more recently as the home of great football teams and beautiful coeds, neither of which hurt her a bit. Today, and perhaps for years to come, when Ole Miss is mentioned, the first image generated in the minds of millions everywhere will be one of lawlessness, racial strife, and reaction. The picture has been painted, and largely by native Mississippians who claim to love her. That picture will be hard to erase.

Of course, there are still those who talk of *closing* the University, as a last resort; and, again, this in the name of love and service to Mississippi. But, surely, we cannot be so blind as this. What greater *disservice* could we render to our beloved state than to close down her colleges and universities—we who need, perhaps more than any other state to *raise* our educational level, not lower it; we who need to keep and train our bright young people *here at home,* not drive them away to other parts of the country?

Even more serious than the threat to the University is the threat to our nation and our system of government posed by our continued defiance of the federal courts and the federal government. No government is perfect. But I sincerely believe, as I'm sure you do, that our system of gov-

ernment in this country comes closer to providing the Christian ideal of freedom and justice than any other system yet devised by the mind of man. So, then, it is as a Christian, as well as an American, that I want to see this system preserved. But we cannot long survive as a country if every state is free to decide which federal laws she will obey and which she will not. We found this out 100 years ago, and most of us thought the issue was settled then.

We know there are good laws and bad laws, good court decisions and bad court decisions; and, fortunately, under our system of government, we are free to protest the ones we don't like and to take every legal means to repeal or reverse them. We do *not* have the right to defy and disobey the law when it is established and in force. In trying to do this, we have brought upon ourselves the threat of anarchy, and, as Christians, we cannot and must not support this alternative to the democracy under which we live.

Finally, and most important of all, I ask you as a Christian people to consider the real moral issue which lies at the base of the whole crisis: are we morally justified in refusing to admit to the University of Mississippi any student who meets all the necessary requirements *except* for the color of his skin? Remember, the question here is not "What would I *like?*" or "What do I *want?*" The question is simply, "What is *just* and *right?*"

Our governor has said that the state's cause on this score is righteous and just; and I am sure he is sincere in his belief, as are many other Mississippians who share it with him. But in the name of reason and of Christian standards of freedom and justice, I ask you to consider the fact that *no university in the world would defend this position rationally, and no Christian church in the world would defend it morally*. And I do not believe that any one of us here today could stand in the presence of Jesus of Nazareth, look Him squarely in the eye, and say, "We will not admit a Negro to the University of Mississippi." For it was our Lord who said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto *me*."

Brethren we need to *pray,* for our University and our community, our state and our nation. Perhaps, above all, we need to pray for ourselves. The seeds of anger and hatred, bitterness and prejudice, are already widely sown, and, as Christians we need to do our utmost to uproot them and cast them out. You and I have a heavy responsibility in the days and weeks to come. Let us pray daily, even hourly, for God's guidance and direction, that we may faithfully fulfill this responsibility to the end that God's will be done.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 9)

signed by many Mississippians, does suggest a more human political climate in which the Governor can profit by permitting Kennard to die in freedom and such comforts as medical care provide.

These expressions from white Mississippians, samples of increasing sanity and generosity, by no means indicate that the overlord population is reaching with outstretched hands to lift dark brothers to freedom and equality; but they do point to the possibility of informed, rational dissent and moral leadership which can work with Negro neighbors for a civilized and democratic state.

That All Men Are Brothers

CONFRONTED WITH the grave crises precipitated by racial discord within our state in recent months, and the genuine dilemma facing persons of Christian conscience, we are compelled to voice publicly our convictions. Indeed, as Christian ministers and as native Mississippians, sharing the anguish of all our people, we have a particular obligation to speak. Thus understanding our mutual involvement in these issues, we bind ourselves together in this expression of our Christian commitment. We speak only for ourselves, though mindful that many others share these affirmations.

Born of the deep conviction of our souls as to what is morally right, we have been driven to seek the foundations of such convictions in the expressed witness of our Church. We, therefore, at the outset of this new year affirm the following:

I. The Church is the instrument of God's purpose. This is His Church. It is ours only as stewards under His Lordship. Effective practice of this stewardship for the minister clearly requires freedom of the pulpit. It demands for every man an atmosphere for responsible belief and free expression.

II. We affirm our faith in the official position of The Methodist Church on race as set forth in paragraph 2026 of the 1960 Methodist Discipline: "Our Lord Jesus Christ teaches that all men are brothers. He permits no discrimination because of race, color, or creed. 'In Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith . . .' (Galatians 3:26)"

The position of The Methodist Church, long held and frequently declared, is an amplification of our Lord's teaching: "We believe that God is Father of all people and races, that Jesus Christ is His Son, that all men are brothers, and that man is of infinite worth as a child of God." (The Social Creed, Paragraph 2020)

III. We affirm our belief that our public school system is the most effective means of providing common education for all our children. We hold that it is an institution essential to the preservation and development of our true democracy. The Methodist Church is officially committed to the system of public school education and we concur. We are unalterably opposed to the closing of public schools on any level or to the diversion of tax funds to the support of private or sectarian schools.

IV. In these conflicting times, the issues of race and Communism are frequently confused. Let there be no mistake. We affirm an unflinching opposition to Communism. We publicly concur in the Methodist Council of Bishops' statement of November 16, 1962, which declares:

This January manifesto of 28 young ministers of the Mississippi Methodist Conference was issued in January and published in *The Mississippi Methodist Advocate*, with an *Advocate* editorial asserting freedom of the pulpit.

"The basic commitment of a Methodist minister is to Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior. This sets him in permanent opposition to Communism. He cannot be a Christian and a Communist. In obedience to his Lord and in support of the prayer, 'Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven,' he champions justice, mercy, freedom, brotherhood, and peace. He defends the underprivileged, oppressed, and forsaken. He challenges the status quo, calling for repentance and change wherever the behavior of men falls short of the standards of Jesus Christ."

We believe that this is our task and calling as Christian ministers.

FINDING AUTHORITY IN THE OFFICIAL POSITION OF OUR CHURCH, AND BELIEVING IT TO BE IN HARMONY WITH SCRIPTURE AND GOOD CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE, WE PUBLICLY DECLARE OURSELVES IN THESE MATTERS AND AGREE TO STAND TOGETHER IN SUPPORT OF THESE PRINCIPLES.

Jerry Furr
Maxie D. Dunnam
Jim L. Waits
O. Gerald Trigg
James B. Nicholson
Buford A. Dickinson
James S. Conner
J. W. Holston
James P. Rush
Edward W. McRae
Joseph C. Way
Wallace E. Roberts
Summer Walters
Bill Lampton
Marvin Moody
Keith Tonkel
John Ed Thomas
Inman Moore, Jr.
Denson Napier
Rod Entrekin
Harold Ryker
N. A. Dickson
Ned Keller
Powell Hall
Elton Brown
Bufkin Oliver
Jack Troutman
Wilton Carter

New South

WEDNESDAY

MARCH						
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15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

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MAR. 1964

Religion –
New South articles
add to file

New South

JULY-AUGUST 1964

Mrs. Tilly's Southern Sisters

Reflections in Black

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

ELIZA HEARD'S preceptive description of the poignant spirit of Mrs. Tilly's Fellowship of the Concerned in this *New South* recalls the old question of why southern white women are so much more just, kind and courageous about Negro civil rights than most southern white men.

Gentlemen with no perceptible tendency toward justice, kindness or courage in this matter reply, of course, that women who want their servants, friends or unknown Negroes to be relieved of the human pains of segregation are sentimental, soft-headed bleeding hearts. Other Southerners figure that most women have more time for do-gooding as leisurely home bodies and as such are less vulnerable to the savage punishment which a conforming society visits on breadwinning jobholders, business owners or professional men dependent on approving clienteles. Still others say that women as a class, a sex or whatever kind of curiosity they take us for, are endowed with more sympathy and tenderness along with church-going habits which impel us to believe in brotherhood, in God and similar religious sentimentalities (an interesting notion scarcely substantiated by the record of Jewish and Christian southern churches, most of which have behaved in the last few years as if Negroes seeking to pass their portals were the fiercest of infidel Saracens come brandishing scimitars to behead all pious and godly folks in their pews).

These theories seem to me a fabric of fine-spun fancies created to cover the disagreeable truth that women of any color in our society are regarded generally as inferior to men and, in this second-rate position, can feel vividly the disrespect and disadvantage of the Negro's second-class status,

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New South

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Who Remembers Willie?

By Eliza Heard

ONCE AGAIN the mails bring an invitation to the Fall meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned. Once again I hasten to answer "yes" and then after my reply is sent off, worry that I am selfish in not giving my place to someone younger and more in need of the particular form of moral courage one brings away from these meetings. Then I decide, I cannot miss it. I need it too badly.

What is the Fellowship of the Concerned that makes me so anxious to go? It is a group of churchwomen brought together once a year by that tiny and indomitable figure, Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta. She works for the Southern Regional Council and through the Methodist Church, the Council of United Churchwomen, all the Protestant churches, the Catholic Church, the Jewish groups, the YWCA, the League of Women Voters, the United States government, the county governments, the state governments and everyone else she comes in contact with. Her idea is to bring together churchwomen of both races to concern themselves with bringing to the southern society an integrated way of life, and while they are at her meeting they live an integrated life.

Except that it is racially mixed, the Fellowship resembles any group of southern women at a Sunday School Class, or attending a Circle meeting. They are marked by that unmistakable look of being "good women." Some of them are very well dressed but few of them are "smart." All of them wear the hair and skin God gave them, quite pretty often, but all their own. Their shoes are comfortable and sturdy and as they gather for breakfast they look like middle aged school girls with their arms full of packets of material, earnestly conferring over their coffee about their panels or workshops.

In the public sessions they rise to speak with enthusiasm and interest. They are fascinated by the programs and the speakers; they are looking for guideposts because they are trying to do something entirely new under the sun, in an entirely new situation. They are trying to translate their religious beliefs into actual practice and bring this living together out of the confines of the meeting and into the light and air of their churches, their towns and cities.

In the first years of the meeting, the simple fact of meeting together, eating together, staying in the same place, was so astonishing that they could hardly think of anything else. They were rather self-conscious and were "awfully nice" to each other, but as time went on they became more at ease and really began to seek for the concrete ways and means to bring the South from a segregated to an unsegregated society.

Negro and white, they are unmistakably "southern." Their soft speech and natural "youalls" are just alike. Their love of pretty hats and "something soft" to break the neckline, their questioning tasting of the food before they eat it, are the same. I saw a Negro and a white woman at breakfast both look and say with the same horri-

Eliza Heard is the nom de plume of a white Southerner in a Deep South city.

fied amazement, "Goodness, they put sugar in the cornbread!" They both have a deep and earnest devotion to their churches, to their towns and cities and to their families. Whatever its ills, the South is their home, they have known no other, they have no idea of moving out, this is where they live and they love it. But they do have difficulties.

It is after the meetings are over and the women gather in various bedrooms in the meeting place and sit around like schoolgirls that the real and intimate problems and experiences are shared. With the white women the chief problem seems to be husbands.

"It is not that John doesn't agree with me, honestly he does, it is just that he says he can't compete if we get known as—well—you know . . ." she looked self-consciously at the Negro women. One of them laughed and said, "O! I know, you mean known as nigger lovers!" The lady blushed and looked relieved that the ugly word had been said and not by her.

"'Well! you just don't know how reactionary and old fashioned (Canton, Shreveport, Montgomery, Greenville) IS!" Another white woman explained. "If anyone gets that label they are simply finished. In our church we had a preacher who was just lovely, in fact I think he gave me courage to come to these meetings. He was really wonderful and said what he thought was right and what he thought was wrong, and he didn't spare anyone. But he didn't stay long. At the next Conference the Official Board asked for his dismissal or, rather, he transferred, and finally he had to go north. No one would have him! When my father died, and he was a Methodist minister, too, they wouldn't even let one of the Negro ministers into the church for his funeral and he was a dear friend of my father's, said he had to sit in the balcony if he came. Imagine that!"

"It is all right if you wear an apron and a cap and sit with the family," a Negro woman spoke up. "No one minds you going anywhere as long as they know you are a servant in the family. But I don't mind not going to church so much, I've got a church of my own that I love, it suits me fine. But I've come to the point where I simply cannot drink 'colored water' any more. It chokes me. I had such a time when my little granddaughter came to see me, that's Selma's daughter from Akron. I took her to town and when she saw the signs over the fountains, she said 'Granma, what is colored water, I want some.' And I said, 'You don't have to drink any colored water and held her up to the white fountain and she cried and wouldn't drink because she said she wanted to taste the colored water, they didn't have colored water in Akron. Now you tell me how to explain colored water to a six year old?"

No one could tell her.

"It is when they hurt your children that it hurts the most," a white woman agreed. "I don't mind so much any more, but when my children get hurt for my opinions, it nearly kills me. I think the thing I remember most and that hurt the worst was once when my youngest was just starting to school and she got invited to her first birthday party and I got her all dressed for it, we tied up the present and then she couldn't remember if it was 3:30 or four o'clock, so I called up the lady whose child was having the party and her husband answered the phone and when I asked him the time, he asked my name and when I told him he said in kind of an ugly voice, 'Oh, Yes, I know you,' then he went off and I

heard him talking to his wife and they were having kind of an argument and then he came back and said, 'I'm sorry but there's been a mistake, there will be no party this afternoon, not for your child.' Now, did you ever, a man over forty taking his feelings out on a six-year-old child?"

The Negro women laughed bitterly.

"What about our children going to school through all those white people spitting at them, how do you think we feel to send them into that?"

"How did you come here if your husband was so opposed?" a woman asked John's wife.

"Well, I didn't say he was so opposed. He's just afraid of losing business, afraid his competitors would make something out of it, that was why he didn't want me to come. But I finally just up and said, 'Now listen, we've been poor before and we may be poor again, but I am not going to be poor spirited, and I just up and CAME and how glad I am!"

"I wish my husband was opposed to my coming just on account of business," said a gentle voice from the floor, coming from a middle aged woman who still looked like a Madonna. "That would be easy, but he's a real segregationist, was born and raised down in the Black Belt near Union Springs and all his people are the same way. When we go down there to visit, I just have to hold on hard and keep praying not to say anything that would break up the family, because I certainly don't want to do that. His family are real nice people except for that. Sam just can't understand how I ever changed, he says after being married to me for forty years he certainly never thought he would find he was married to a Yankee." She laughed a little sadly. "I didn't dare tell him where I was coming and didn't even give my telephone number, just said I was coming to Atlanta to a church meeting."

"Did you say you were from near Union Springs? I come from Bullock County, too," one of the Negro women said.

"Well, actually it is Cheehaw, near Union Springs, do you know Cheehaw?"

"Cheehaw! I was raised at Cheehaw on the Johnston place."

"Why that's my husband's mother's place, you must have known her, so you know what she's like."

"I reckon I do know Miss Sallie! Her daughter, your sister-in-law, and I were raised together, used to play together all day, and spend the night together almost every night. We had our doll houses in the chinaberry trees and used to have tea parties out there all the time, but then when she got to be seven, Miss Sallie said I couldn't come to the birthday party. I just cried and cried over that. Then Miss Sallie said I had to call her 'Miss Mamie' and so after that, we just weren't good friends any more. But she cried too."

A silence fell on the room as the women there thought of all the tender shoots of friendship that had been pulled up and left to die in the arid

Mrs. Tilly

air of Miss Sallie's disapproval.

"Now, listen, we are just gossiping, we ought to put our minds together and see how we can get the Council of United Church Women to integrate," a brisk woman spoke up.

It seemed that in some places it was and in some it wasn't. Sometimes the Negro women were invited to the World Day of Prayer and sometimes they were not.

"It really is confusing," one Negro woman offered. "The year they had the World Day of Prayer on Africa and Ghana, we had been invited, then they had some 'trouble' in town and they said they thought it would be 'unwise for us to come.' Then they had a speaker from Ghana and she was much blacker than any of us. Some of the white ladies came over after the meeting to our meeting. They felt real bad, they said, but there was nothing they could do about it."

"But in my town we did try," a white woman reported. "We had the World Day of Prayer at the Salvation Army Hall and invited the Negro women and only a handful came. We had made such a fight to have them invited and then they didn't come."

"We let you come to our churches," a Negro woman reminded her gently. "We didn't want to go to a bare hall downtown where the Salvation Army held services for derelicts. I would like to see the inside of a beautiful white church, but I never did until I came to these meetings."

The talk goes on and on, and all kinds of hurts and wounds and terrors finally see the light of day. Fear begins to fade when face to face with the "problem," the "problem" turns out to be nothing more abstract than a lovely brown woman who is as sweet as molasses candy or a gentle white woman who is longing to live her religion.

I think the most lasting impression I brought away with me was of the very last meeting when some high-up government agent was talking in professional social work jargon about an aspect of integration. She looked professionally competent, calm, thoroughly mistress of herself and of her subject. She said, that in her particular field "integration is not feasible at this time, although desirable; Negro and white have lived apart so long neither is ready for the close contact this would bring about. But we are working toward the future."

When she came down off the platform, a crowd of women surrounded her and asked her questions and congratulated her." One of the women was a solid, well dressed, Negro woman, a Ph.D. She was looking at the government representative very closely. "Weren't you Ella Carfield from Carrville?" she finally asked.

"Yes, that was my maiden name. That's where I was born."

"Don't you remember me? I was Lilah's daughter, Bessie."

"Bessie, *Bessie!*" The protective mask on the efficient white face crumpled and from behind it came a lonely child and a desperately hurt woman. "Bessie, did you know Willie died?"

"Willie died, oh, *no!*" And the face of the Negro woman also dissolved into grief. They fell sobbing into each other's arms, and we left them there, totally united in their identity of sorrow.

Who was Willie? I never knew. I used to wonder if he was a handsome, dashing, brilliant boy or a little, crippled, sad boy who had died young. Whoever he was he was genuinely loved and grieved for by both of these two women. Out of all the hundreds there they were the only ones who knew Willie.

This happens over and over. As we get older and go back home, "who remembers Mama?" No one but some old Negro woman who still speaks of her with love. Who remembers us when we were children except some old Negro who loved us then and is still willing to forgive us now! Someone who helped raise us, whose children played with us, who slept in the room with us when we were sick, who nursed our parents until they died, who sat up with the dead and went to the funeral.

How absurd to say we are not ready for closer contact. Three hundred years of southern heat, southern rain, southern food, southern customs, southern passions, southern religions, southern grace, southern brutality, southern cruelty, southern poverty, southern living, all of these things we have shared together. And, having lived and died together for three hundred years, certainly we ought to know each other well enough to go to school together, to go to the movies together, to go to church together and eat a sandwich together at some lunch counter. After having nursed at the breast of a Negro woman, eating a sandwich near her descendant is rather less close contact than we had.

And these soft, southern, good women whom Mrs. Tilly gathers together know how silly the whole thing is. They are inspired by her courage and spirit. They are bolstered by the shared experiences of the other women and by the knowledge of the Negro women who have endured far worse for so long a time. They are also strengthened by the Judeo-Christian faith that so many of them truly profess, which has often opened their eyes and made them see that here in the South we are truly all one people in the sight of the Lord.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 2)

and respond to it with such humanity as we have been permitted to develop and express.

I am aware that there is a great school of solemn and head-shaking thought and another fashion of jocose merriment about dominating American women and docile, defeated men and female control of the economy. But while I know some bossy, man-demeaning women and a few milquetoast men, I regard this widespread notion as a lot of nonsense. Some old-time ladies do dominate their gentlemen in the traditionally devious, sedutive and implacable way, using sex blandishments, deceits and hidden contempt to work their otherwise frustrated wills. Some women certainly out-talk, interrupt, deride and sweetly punish husbands, behave as if household allowances conferred by males are lavish favors to female partners in the mutually hardworking marriage contract.

A number of intelligent wives are certainly vindictive in irrelevant ways to husbands who consign them to "woman's work" of dirt-chasing, the monotonous, manual and, to be sure, administrative work of housekeeping, when such wives are more cerebal than good floor-moppers and cooks and not sufficiently able as mistresses of the minutiae and organization which happy housekeeping requires. And certainly, as the economists point out and the ad writers exploit, women do own most of the family homes and a lot of family investments and spend nearly all the family earnings which use up the Gross National Product. This makes the biggety female look pretty dominant, until we realize that the

(Continued on page 15)

black i

By W. W. Long

QUESTION

Where am i
in our
history books

i built the
ark that
saved you
from the sun

and nursed
your babes
with black
milk laughter
everywhere

so where
am i

oh where
am i

TEARS OF DARKNESS

Alone
in my
lonely room
dark raindrops
fall

and bathe
this wretched
hemisphere
with caustic
tenderness

SINNER MAN

A big man
God
with a big stick
Death

taught me how
to pray

BLACK I

A dark cloud
hovers over
my picnic
ground

ERRATUM

To the quote
"families that
pray together
stay together"

please add:
"in darkness"

REQUIEM

And life
a clock
a bleeding heart
does hear

for hope
sometimes
evades the
listening ear

and hate
and fear
the troubled
vessels
swirl

and death looks on

BLACK MAJESTY

A no-named nothing
all unknown
walks this earth
with me alone

White dreamer: is it santa claus
black i: could be

White preacher: holy trinity
black i: hardly

White thinker: destiny
black i: maybe

Black MAJESTY: or is it me
black i: well i'll be
me!

ANSWER

There i am
behind the
plow

laughing

crying

sighing

dying

there am i

SUMMARY

So goes the story of the man who never was

he is not who you think he is nor is he someone else and never was

am i this man who never was—a black man god how could I create man

i do not know nor do i understand how man who never was a man—made man

Mr. Long is staff coordinator for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Miscegenation and the Law

By Allan C. Brownsfeld

THE AMERICAN society has come to grips with many of the racial inequities which have been in force for a century or more. In the public marketplace, on the public highways, and in public institutions, Negroes may no longer be treated in an unequal, or even in a separate but equal manner. Color-blindness may not have become a fact, but for many in society it has become a goal.

Of the major obstacles which remain, the one which is often most disturbing is also the most private, and that is the question of inter-racial marriage. Despite all of the gains in other areas one fact remains true in all of the states of the South, and in many other states as well. The fact is that inter-racial marriages are illegal. In some states they are misdemeanors, in others they are felonies. In all states prohibiting miscegenous marriages such unions are declared to be null and void.

The Supreme Court has never ruled on the constitutionality of such statutes, and until 1949 no statute of this kind had ever been stricken by a state court. Several, in fact, have been upheld within the past decade.

Only recently the Court has stated that it will hear and decide a case based upon a Florida miscegenation statute at its next term. The Court's decision in this case will be observed with close scrutiny by critics both at home and abroad. To uphold them would cause civil rights advocates to declare that our Courts are not sincere in speaking of equality. To strike them down would raise the spectre of inter-racial marriages so unpopular in the South.

To understand the path which may be taken by the Court it is important to understand the history of miscegenation statutes and the attitude taken toward them in past Court tests.

The first legislative prohibition of mixed marriages was passed in 1661 by Maryland, and Virginia followed in 1691 with a statute providing that a white man having a bastard by a Negro or mulatto should pay a fine of 15 pounds or, in default of payment, be sold for five years. It also punished women for marriage to a Negro, a mulatto, or Indian.

Massachusetts enacted its first anti-miscegenation statute in 1705, followed by Delaware (1721), Pennsylvania (1726), and North Carolina (1741). By 1932 thirty states forbade miscegenation and the penalties provided for the violation of these laws varied from imprisonment for a few months to a term of up to ten years and fines ranging up to $20,000. California's anti-miscegenation statute dates from its first legislative session.

Though frequently attacked on constitutional grounds, they have always been upheld as a valid state regulation until recent times. As late as 1963 twenty-four states maintained prohibitions against miscegenous marriages. Before 1963, fourteen states repealed their anti-miscegenation statutes.

Mr. Brownsfeld, formerly a reporter on the *Virginia Gazette* and the *Houston Press*, has joined the faculty of St. Stephens Episcopal School at Alexandria, Va. He is a lawyer with a degree from the Marshall-Wythe School of Law of the college of William and Mary.

Among them, the Iowa statute was abandoned in 1851, the Kansas statute in 1857, the Maine statute in 1883, and the Massachusetts statute in 1840.

The exercise of control over the marriage relation by the states dates back to our earliest days. In 1819 Chief Justice John Marshall pointed out, "All of our marriage and divorce laws . . . are state laws and state statutes; the national power with us not having legislative or judicial cognizance of the matter within these localities." In 1887, the Supreme Court noted that "Marriage as creating the most important relation in life, as having more to do with morals and civilization of a people than any other institution has always been subject to the control of the state legislatures."

Control, however, cannot be an unreasonable control, and in *American Sugar Refining Company* v. *Louisiana* (179 U.S. 89) the Court stated that ". . . . the doctrine of legislative control does not carry with it the right to enact race and class legislation. Such legislation may not be discriminatory, irrational, with no legitimate end, but rather, an unreasonable expression of popular prejudice."

In upholding a statute prohibiting inter-racial marriage it was held in *Scott* v. *Georgia* in 1869 (39 Georgia 321) that the amalgamation of the races was not only unnatural but "is always productive of deplorable results." In that case Charlotte Scott, colored, and Leopold Davis, white, had attempted to become married. Daniels was a Frenchman born in Leon, and the marriage was performed by a Negro preacher in Macon. The decision said that, "Our daily observation shows us that the offspring of these unnatural connections are generally sickly and effeminate, and that they are inferior in physical development and strength, to the fullblooded of either race. It is sometimes urged that such marriages should be encouraged for the purpose of elevating the inferior race. The reply is that such connections never elevate the inferior race to the position of the superior, but they bring down the superior to that of the inferior. They are productive of evil and evil only, without any corresponding good."

In *State* v. *Jackson* (20 Missouri 175)) it was held that mixed unions were incapable of reproduction. Later courts merely followed the precedent, declaring that it is "well established law" that such statutes are a proper exercise of the state's police power.

The first case involving miscegenation to reach the Supreme Court and the only one to be decided on the merits to date was *Pace* v. *Alabama* (106 U.S. 583). This 1882 case was tried under an indictment charging the defendants, Tony Pace, a Negro man, and Mary Cox, a white woman, with cohabitation in violation of the Alabama code.

The Code provided heavier penalties for inter-racial cohabitation than for the same offense between members of the same race. The Court speaking through Mr. Justice Field in ruling the statute constitutional said: ". . . Indeed, the offense . . . cannot be committed without involving persons of both races in the same punishment . . . the punishment of each offending person, whether white or black, is the same."

Although the question decided in this case did not concern itself directly with the question of inter-racial marriages and state regulation of them, the principle involved has been cited by many state and Federal courts in upholding such statutes.

Lower federal courts have upheld anti-miscegenation statutes. In 1944 in *Stevens* v. *United States* (146 F. 2d

120) the marriage of a Negro, William Stevens, to Stella Sands, deceased, who was an enrolled full-blooded Creek Indian, was held to be void in Oklahoma, and the Court held that the statute was non-discriminatory since it affected all parties alike.

In *State* v. *Tully* (41 F. 2d 753) the Court held that comity does not require recognition of out of state marriages of white and Negro residents of Georgia who returned to Georgia to live, where such marriage is against the state's public policy.

Among the state cases directly upholding these statutes as valid are *Kirby* v. *Kirby* (24 Arizona 9) which holds that marriage is purely a subject for state regulation, and *Dodson* v. *State* (61 Arkansas 57) which holds that marriage is purely a subject for state regulation and for the exercise of the state police power. In 1872 in *Green* v. *State,* Aaron Green, a Negro man, and Julia Atkinson, a white woman, were involved in a miscegenation case. The Alabama Supreme Court (58 Alabama 190) stated that God made black and white different and meant them to be separate.

The argument advanced most frequently to justify legislation prohibiting inter-racial marriage is that of non-white mental and physical inferiority. The reasoning of a judge sitting on the Tennessee Supreme Court is typical. In an 1872 case he stated: "We know that the complaints . . . belong to a race but recently emancipated from slavery; that as a race they are far below the white man in intelligence." (57 Tennessee 139)

Another contention to prove that the states have a reasonable relation to some competent legislative purpose in enacting such statutes is that racial inter-marriage would produce such strong and widespread feelings "and racial repulsions and antagonisms" as to threaten the security and tranquility of the state."

Scientific knowledge of the nature of race and the inherent abilities of the races has been completely ignored in recent cases, which sound as if they had been written in Civil War days. The famous *Naim* v. *Naim* case (350 U.S. 391) was in the news during several years in the early fifties and provides an excellent example of such reasoning.

Here an Oriental and a Caucasian were married in North Carolina, and one party later sought an annulment in Virginia which has a statute which prevented marriage between the races. On the basis of the Virginia statute the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia ruled the marriage invalid.

In this case the Court quotes from *Kinney* v. *Commonwealth* (71 Virginia 858), a Reconstruction era case, which held that: "There can be no doubt as to the power of every country to make laws regulating the marriage of its own subjects: to declare who may marry, and what shall be the legal consequences of their marrying."

The decision in the Naim case included the following: ". . . We find there (in the Constitution) no requirements that the state shall not legislate to prevent the obliterations of racial pride, but must permit the corruption of blood even though it weaken or destroy the quality of its citizenship. Both sacred and secular history teach that nations and races have better advanced in human progress when they cultivate their own distinctive characteristics and culture and developed their own peculiar genius."

Thus, in this case which was taken to the Supreme Court in 1955, we see references to "racial pride" and "corruption of blood" reminiscent of earlier decisions. The Supreme Court sent the case back to the Virginia

Supreme Court of Appeals, which again held the Naim marriage void under Virginia law. Before this decision of recent date to hear a case on this subject at its next term it was the last time the Court considered the matter.

While the Supreme Court has remained silent, others have been vocal in striking down such legislation. In *Perez v. Sharp* (32 California 2d 711), decided in 1949, the petitioners sought to compel the county clerks of Los Angeles County to issue them a certificate of registry and a license to marry. Andrea Perez was white, and Sylvester Davis, a Negro. California Civil Code 69 provided that ". . . no license may be issued authorizing the marriage of a white person with a Negro, Mulatto, Mongolian, or member of the Malay race."

The California Supreme Court struck down this section of the Code. It stated: ". . . The right to marry is as fundamental as the right to send one's child to a particular school, or the right to have offspring. A statute which restricts an individual from marrying a member of a race other than his own restricts the scopt of his choice and thereby restricts his right to marry. Distinctions between citizens solely because of their ancestry are by their very nature odious to a free people whose institutions are founded upon the doctrine of equality. The right to marry is the right of individuals, and not of racial groups."

In 1959 Superior Court in Pima, Ariz., found that racial inter-marriage could not adversely affect the public health, safety, morals or welfare, that the progeny therefrom are not inferior in any respect to that of two persons of like blood. In the case of *Oyama* v. *O'Neill* the Court declared that the challenged statute was in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the Federal Constitution.

In recent years the Fourteenth Amendment has been given an ever widening application in decisions of the United States Supreme Court. In *Baker* v. *Carr* (369 U. S. 186), decided this past year, the Court applied the equal protection clause to state reapportionment legislation. In 1954 in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (347 U. S. 483), the public schools which had been governed by the states were ordered desegregated. In *Mapp* v. *Ohio* (367 U. S. 431), illegal search and seizure provisions of the Fourth Amendment were extended to state courts.

It is established law that marriage as affecting the morals and general welfare is subject to state regulation. However, the Court has held that the right to marry is guaranteed by the concept of "liberty" found in the Fourteenth Amendment. (316 U. S. 190).

The argument of those courts which have upheld miscegenation statutes on the ground that they are necessary for the public peace and order would seem even less persuasive when viewed against the 1940 holding of the Supreme Court in *Cantwell* v. *Connecticut* (310 U. S. 296). The Court stated: "In every case the power to regulate must be so exercised as not, in attaining a permissible end, unduly to infringe the protected freedom . . . the danger in these times from the coercive activities of those who in the delusion of racial or religious conceit would incite violence and breaches of the peace in order to deprive others of their equal right to the exercise of their liberties, is emphasized by events familiar to all. . . ."

The case to be decided by the Supreme Court at its next term is that of *McLaughlin* v. *State* (153 So. 2d 1).

In this case a Negro man and a white woman were convicted of having

violated a Florida statute proscribing cohabitation by persons of different races. They appealed, arguing that they had been denied equal protection of the laws because of the statute making their acts a criminal offense solely because they are persons of different races, and providing for more severe penalties for acts done by persons of different races than for the same acts done by persons of the same race.

The Florida Supreme Court affirmed the conviction, citing with approval an earlier decision of the United States Supreme Court, *Pace* v. *Alabama*. This decision, discussed earlier here, held that the equal protection guaranty is satisfied if the same punishment is prescribed for both offenders, the Negro and the white person, involved in the offense.

They were accused of violating the following Florida statute: "Any Negro man and white woman, or any white man and Negro woman, who not married to each other, shall habitually live in and occupy in the night-time the same room shall each be punished by imprisonment not exceeding 12 months or by a fine not exceeding $500."

In a firm and clear-cut opinion the Florida Supreme Court challenged a view that miscegenation statutes were not any longer constitutional. The Court stated: "If new found concepts of social justice have out-dated the law of the land . . . and by consequence some new law is necessary it must be enacted by legislative process or some other court must write it."

What will the Supreme Court do in this case? It need not look very far for adequate legal precedent with which to declare this and similar state miscegenation statutes unconstitutional. The Court has often passed on the question of the validity of a public purpose to separate the races from social contact. In the field of education, segregation has been fully rejected. This has also been the case with regard to discriminatory covenants and such facilities as public beaches and parks.

Southern courts argue, on the other hand, that states' rights in this area is supreme, and may not be questioned by the federal government. Yet every legislative act must fulfill a legislative purpose, and southern courts have stated their purpose to be preservation of racial purity and the furtherance of public tranquility. Both concepts have been repudiated, one by modern science, and the other by prior Supreme Court decisions. The southern argument concerning state jurisdiction is, however, not a baseless one. If we permit the Supreme Court to decide questions formerly in the province of the states will we not be substituting a unitary and national system for our Federal system? Is not total power lodged with the Supreme Court as dangerous to a free society as total power lodged with any other body of men? These must remain questions for another time.

In deciding this case the Court may not see fit to discuss the whole range of miscegenation statutes, but may limit itself to the one directly involved.

In calling for the upholding of state miscegenation statutes the state courts seem to be asking for immunity from the operation of the Constitution. They seem to be asking that the necessity of establishing a reasonable public purpose be waived in the case of marriage. They seem to be saying that racial classifications, even if arbitrary and based upon nothing more than whim or prejudice, be allowed since marriage is, after all, left to the states.

Rather than upholding a system of law it would appear that they are striving for a system of absolute control with no standard by which to judge. Many call this position "conservative,"

but it is nothing of the sort. Conservatives seek to enlarge personal liberty, and such liberty is only circumscribed and limited by miscegenation statutes. On this issue both liberals and conservatives can agree, for governmental intervention in so private a matter as marriage is abhorrent to both.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 9)

house and the income-yielding investment are given to her so that a bankruptcy court can't clean her husband out. She is thus a handy repository of his assets, and certainly, except in cases of great enmity toward her "dominated" spouse, doesn't run off and enjoy these riches at his expense, like the independently wealthy woman she legally is. As to her huge and real power as the family purchaser, she acts here as a family servant or steward, rather than a whimsical wielder of great wealth.

Women certainly enjoy most legal rights of men, and as wives and mothers, superior legal protection. And, as we are frequently reminded, women are not only free to pursue such careers as they fancy but are now legally guaranteed equal pay in the lesser jobs for which they hire out.

Still, though, our much-touted emancipated women are generally suffering from discrimination, prejudice and disrespect ordained by ruling males in nearly all encounters and efforts from marriage to money-making. The prevalent male regard demeans women to a second-class estate as subtle as it is certain and this certainly qualifies us for sympathy and partnership with scorned, misjudged and deprived Negroes.

Along with women's equal pay in assembly lines, newspaper city rooms, law offices, insurance firms and supermarkets there is such a dearth of lady foremen, editors, law partners, vice presidents and store managers that when a woman—by fang and claw, charm and guile or sheer superior ability—achieves such eminence, she is the "exception" and the subject of marveling newspaper and magazine stories.

Women of course are not excluded from public pleasures and conveniences as Negroes have been, but socially and professionally they are treated in many circles with such lordly amusement, and often angry arrogance at inadvertent or impulsive displays of intelligence, as amounts to insult, to which, of course, most women are amiably inured, like good, smiling, well-trained servants who never get out of hand. A young doctor I know fell into argument with his girl over "socialized medicine" and when she argued for this social cooperation with the sort of imagination which seems to me the only hope of civilization—"What if it were your mother, or my mother, who would die without this $15,000 treatment?"—he replied, "That's the trouble with trying to talk to a woman; you always fall back on sentimentality." Gentlemen also delight in clapping all women into their cliches of mean or irrational behavior. If one woman is thoughtfully critical of a friend or of a public figure like Senator Maurine Neuberger, the gentlemen will roar with laughter at this charmingly "catty" behavior. If another lady beats her brains and comes up with a smart business decision or political prediction, she has not been thinking, but exhibiting "feminine intuition." If a female parent protests her promising son's engagement to a pretty fool or an attractive vampire, then she is a "possessive," blood-sucking "mom" type. And, if a wo-

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Strictly Subjective

(Continued from page 15)

man talks clearly or profoundly, she "thinks like a man." And the male colleagues of the woman who does make it through the stereotypes which trip and retard her usually regard this triumphant creature—whether she looks like Jayne Mansfield or the late Gertrude Stein—as a steely Amazon who has sacrificed her sex to her ravening ambition, a judgment they cherish even when making passes at her.

"In the long run," wrote Charles Hartshorne in *New South,* of February, 1963, "it may well be the sex difference which will be the hardest to deal with in the light of the ideal of universal opportunity. Women must, on the average give more of their lives than men to the continuation of the species. This is not due to any power which men have and women demonstrably lack . . . It is the inborn biological *deficiency* of men which has given them their cultural advantage over women . . . This inability is the central fact of sex, which male vanity has tended to cover up under a mass of superstitions and rationalizations . . . it should be possible to get men to understand finally that women are people, with very much the same physical capacities as the rest of us . . . each individual woman is a distinct case, her life is not a mere average, and may be of right extremely far from it."

Or, as Sojourner Truth, illiterate former slave woman, put the same idea to an 1851 Women's Rights Convention, (from IN WHITE AMERICA):

"I think dat 'twixt de black folks of de Souf and de womin at de Norf, all talking 'bout rights, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all dis talking about?

". . . Dat man over dere say de womin needs to be helped into carriages . . . and to hab de best place everywhar. Nobody eber helps me into carriages, or gibs me any best place! Ain't I a woman? . . . I have ploughed and planted and gathered into barns and no man can head me! Ain't I a woman? . . . I have borne 13 children and seen 'em most sold off to slavery. . .

"Den dey talks about dis ting in de head; what is it dey call it" (Intellect) What's dat got to do wid womin's rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yourn holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half-measure full?

". . . he say womin can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wan't a woman! Whar did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothin' to do with him!

"If the fust woman God ever made was strong enough to turn de world upside down all alone, dese women togedder ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now dey is asking to do it, de men better let 'em."

We might amend Sojourner Truth's proposed alliance between black folks of the South and white women of the North, to Negro Southerners and white southern women to get us right side up again, in Dixie anyway.

racial justice now!

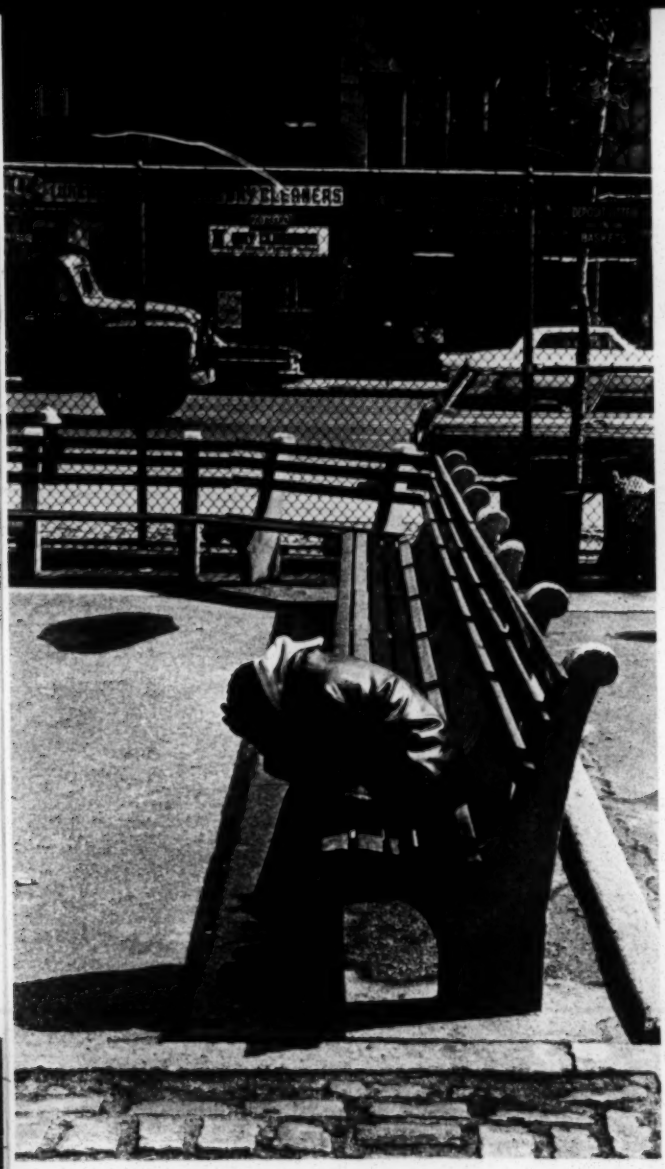
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

racial justice now!

The General Synod

- *believes that the United Church of Christ must free itself of segregation . . .*
- *proposes to mobilize the manpower and means of the Church for racial justice . . .*
- *calls upon the members of the United Church of Christ to pray that justice and good will shall prevail and then to work in order to make the fulfillment of that prayer possible.*

—From pronouncement, July 1963



Today we are in the middle of a major national revolution, which is one of a series of global revolutions. With a growing intensity throughout the South and North, an ever increasing number of citizens—both Negro and white—are demanding a new social, political, and economic order. It is a revolution which directly or indirectly reaches into every area of American life and affects every citizen; not even in a snug suburb nor in remote rural

areas is disengagement possible for anyone. Our United Church of Christ has proclaimed that God calls us to support this revolution for the achievement of human dignity, not only in our hearts—but by our deeds. We need to face what it means and costs to be human.

THE REAL REVOLUTION

The revolution which is sweeping our country today is basically one of the human spirit, not only social, political, or economic. At the heart of all discrimination and prejudice are the sins of pride and self-centeredness. The alienation of man, although physical in outward appearance, is primarily spiritual.

Many Negro churches have provided leadership. They have come to be the rallying centers for direct action. As a result, their meeting places have been bombed, filled with tear gas, and invaded by arresting policemen. White churches have all too often been centers for maintaining the status quo. Some of the "pillars of Christian churches" have been active in opposing desegregation, and countless others have been silent. The question that must be asked is: "How concerned are the white churches in the United Church of Christ?"

A time of testing

In many ways, this is a time of testing for the church—a time of choice between life and death. We are in the shoes of the prodigal son; we have come to ourselves and found we have been in a far country, many miles from our Father's presence. We are in the shoes of the rich man; we have built magnificent barns,

but have discovered that not our possessions but our very souls are at stake. We are in the shoes of the rich young ruler; we have done many things—all but the one thing needful . . . to be the church. As Roger Shinn has stated, "If the church does not solve the problem of race, the issue of race may yet renew the church."

The test questions are basic ones. Does the church really mean what it says:

- "In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, bond nor free . . ."?
- That man is saved and accepted by God not by good works, skin color, merit, or status, but by faith and grace alone (that, therefore, we are to accept others in the same manner)?
- That God's love enfolds all men (and so must ours)?

Our very character and integrity as a church are being judged at this time in terms of our obedience and faithfulness to God in the area of race relationships. Will the church stand with Moses or with Pharaoh? It is in this area of faithfulness that God has called us

- to be the Body of Christ, continuing Jesus' earthly ministry;
- to be a "colony of heaven" set in the middle of an uncommitted population, attuned not to the surrounding environment but to God himself;
- to be a light set on a hill;
- to be new creatures in Christ, the old norms and values having passed away, and the new having come.

As President Herbster said at General Synod: "The issues at stake are not only moral and

ethical, but they have their unmistakable implication for us as followers of Jesus Christ. We shall betray our Lord if we take no action now."

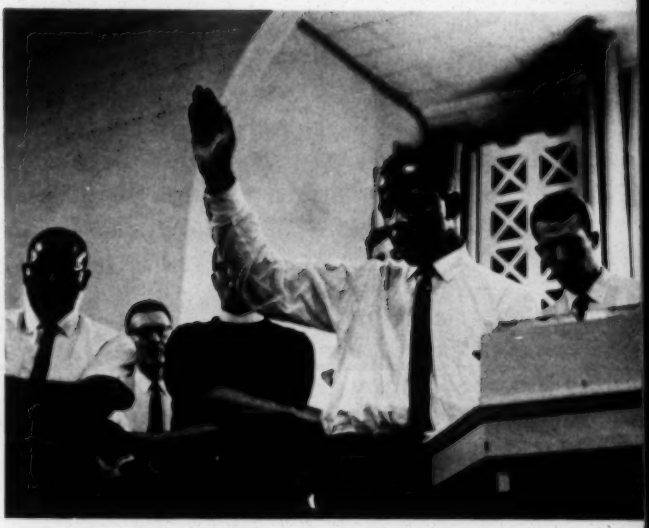
A time of opportunity

This time of crisis is also a time of unequalled opportunity for the church. The year 1963 has seen a growing involvement of the entire church in the struggle for human rights. Developments such as the interfaith National Conference on Religion and Race held in Chicago in January 1963, the formation of the National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race in June, the interfaith demonstration at the Gwynn Oak Amusement Park in Baltimore, the UCC General Synod's emphasis on "Racial Justice Now" at Denver in July, and the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in August have brought white church members increasingly into the battle alongside Negro brothers. Although as Eugene Carson Blake stated at Washington, "Late, late we come."

But now the fullness of time has come upon the life of the church. Moses' cry of "Freedom Now!" and Amos' shout for "Justice Now!" echo and reëcho in our ears. The church has been called into the front lines to do battle.

FOUR QUESTIONS ABOUT THE REVOLUTION

• *What do Negroes want?* Basically, Negroes want what all Americans want, an opportunity to share in the rights and responsibilities of citizens. Negroes are demanding freedom, justice, equal rights, no taxation without representation, and all the other goals



of the American Revolution. The revolt is against denial of these rights and against treatment as a separate species of human beings, a separate class of citizens. The revolt is in furtherance of the American dream of a nation of liberty and justice for all. It is for equal opportunity for jobs, for education, for services available to Americans, for housing, opportunity to achieve, to fail, and in all to choose among the alternatives available to any other American citizen. In short, Negroes want to be FULL members of the human race.

• *Why the hurry?* Negroes want all these things—and want them NOW. They have been waiting more or less patiently for hundreds of years, but today the sands have run down to the bottom of the hour-glass, and there is no more time to turn the glass over. In a sense the fullness of time has arrived; any plea for an extension of time becomes an intolerable as well as an immoral request. The basis for this imperative comes in the very nature of moral reality. There is something about truth, justice, and freedom which demands the NOW! The Supreme Court said in

1954 that the provision of separate but equal schools was unconstitutional. Most Southern school districts have not begun to desegregate and others have planned to desegregate one grade a year for 12 years. Negroes are often accused of pushing too fast but the evils of racial injustice are suffered NOW and the demand must be for RACIAL JUSTICE NOW.

• *What about demonstrations?* For years Negroes have sought redress of grievances through the courts. After six years of federal suits, the number of registered Negro voters in 100 counties in the South has risen only from 5 to 8.3 per cent. In certain counties in Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, the number of Negroes registered is actually less than it was six years ago. Nearly ten years after the school desegregation decision, only 8 per cent of the Negro pupils in the South attend schools with white children. Meeting delaying tactics at every turn of the road, breakdown in negotiations, failure of efforts at reconciliation, and finally coming to a total collapse of faith in the basic integrity of the white community, Negroes have been forced to direct action methods (see statement in the pledge of the Fellowship of the Committed). Demonstrations, sit-ins and the like have made white Americans take notice of the plight of Negro Americans in a way that other techniques have not. Through non-violent resistance with its concomitant mandate to love the oppressor (the appeal of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.), the conscience of members of the white power structure has been stirred. If this conscience is stirred to a real redress of wrongs, non-violence will continue to characterize the revolution.

• *What about "force," such as legal action, boycott, or sanction?* Morality can never be legislated but behavior can. More serious mat-

ters than attitudes, inner feelings, and private prejudices are at stake here. Outward behavior is the area where discrimination is experienced; where there needs to be control by law so that justice, individual rights, and freedom can be enjoyed to the fullest advantage by everyone. Laws against murder do not stop people from feuding and disliking one another but they do limit how far one can go with hatred; so laws establishing just outward behavior are needed in order that the rights and freedoms of all may be enhanced. Attitudes in both cases are only secondary in importance, and hopefully will come to support the laws.

Power over persons is wielded not only through law but also through the use of money—through buying, investing, and exchange for services rendered. In many cases, this power is used to undergird segregation and to deny racial justice — through such means as restrictive employment, firing without cause, refusal of credit and mortgages, the withholding of patronage, and other economic weapons. Negroes have been suffering from lack of economic power for many years. Many Negroes, and whites, have now taken steps to discontinue their financial support of such racial segregation and injustice, and to give their moral and financial support to those who are seeking to act justly in their relationships with others, without regard to race or color. In this action the Negro, to secure his rights, is simply using a technique he learned from the white man who has long used economic power to keep the Negro down.

A CALL TO BE FAITHFUL

The responsibility for dealing with racial injustice in all of its aspects is on the shoulders of every Christian. It is time for all of us who

call ourselves Christians to make our racial practices live up to our calling as new creatures in Jesus Christ. We cannot ask that the struggle be easy, but we can ask that God give us courage to act in response to his call to be faithful.

The following suggestions may be helpful as you attempt to carry out your commitment to racial justice now.

I. Action within the church's life

1. Struggle both individually and in groups to understand the meaning of our interrelatedness and interdependence because of our creation as one family. Inform yourself and have the membership become informed through intensive study of the problem both on the national scene and in your own community. Be sure you include knowledge of the United Church of Christ's stand as set out in official statements of the General Synod. Face what actions this means concretely for you and for the church.

2. Declare an open church covenant: an agreement to receive all followers of Jesus Christ into membership without regard to race, and to announce that all are welcome to attend services in God's house. Since many will not know this, or else will seriously doubt it, there needs to be a public announcement not only in the church bulletin but in the community newspapers. This welcome will have to be further proved in fact by friendliness and acceptance on the part of the congregation. Integration of church membership also means integrating the official board, committees, teaching staff, etc.

3. Ask for an exchange of members between white and Negro churches. This

should preferably be a long-term exchange and should involve full participation in the life of the congregation but this could also include programs, coffee hours, dinners, and other church-related activities. Develop joint programs like vacation schools, junior choirs, or camps for children and youth. Make sure it's a two-way street with real sharing of life and resources.

4. Check on fair employment practices in your church. Declare your church's willingness to accept a pastor regardless of race. Employ the entire church staff without regard to color.

5. If your church undertakes any building program, make sure that the contracts between the church and the builders, contractors, subcontractors, and labor unions include clauses requiring fair employment practices. Inquire about the fair employment practices of financial institutions where church funds are invested and of places where church functions are held.

6. Be sure your church school educational program uses a curriculum representative of the whole human family and includes special projects to acquaint children, youth, and adults with the teachings of the churches and the facts regarding the racial crisis not only in the U.S.A. but around the world. See that youth and adults are aware of experiences of the Negro and other minority groups in American history and in the life of the churches. Include in your teaching program the opportunities for action in which all can share so we may witness to the reconciling power of Jesus Christ.

II. Action within the community

1. Join with other UCC members in your community who are committed to racial justice to form a Fellowship of the Committed—a group which will meet regularly for prayer, study, planning, and action in areas of employment, housing, education, and church desegregation. Specific goals should be set. Cooperation with religious groups or community agencies already at work is essential.
2. If your communuity does not have a Human Relations Council to focus on community-wide study and action in areas of employment, housing and school desegregation, encourage the formation of one.
3. Give moral and financial support to civil rights groups and to denominational and interdenominational programs, and participate with them in direct action and non-violent demonstrations or plan your own direct action program. These should follow through efforts at negotiation and persuasion.
4. Work for the enactment of appropriate civil rights legislation on the federal, state, and local levels in the areas of education, employment, housing, public accommodations, and voting; and protest the evasion of such laws.
5. Support non-discriminatory practices in housing and in other facilities. This includes commitment by individuals that they may be willing to have persons of any racial background as neighbors.
6. Study your local public school system to find out to what extent it is giving full compliance to desegregation with regard to pupils, teachers, and other paid personnel. Encourage other educational in-

stitutions in your community to accept qualified students and faculty members without regard to race or national origin.

7. As a steward of your own financial resources, invest or spend your money with businesses which do not discriminate. Express your displeasure, by letter or economic withdrawal, with those corporations and businesses which operate segregated subsidiaries anywhere in the country.

Remember to act in love, without hate and bitterness, seeking always reconciliation in church, community, and nation as new patterns of justice emerge.

A witness of joy and victory

These are exciting times in which to be alive. The revolutionary character of current events would be enough to guarantee that! But what makes our life even more exciting is God's call to us who are the church to place ourselves in the world at the disposal of Christ's lordship. We are called upon to witness to Christ's victory over the demonic forces of prejudice and evil, and to be a sign in our own lives of that victory. Such witnessing involves risk, but also God's security; cost, but also the joy of discipleship; passion and suffering, but also the victory.

✚ ✚ ✚

If you would like help or additional program ideas in these areas of action write the Council for Christian Social Action. In cooperation with the Committee on Racial Justice Now, which is spearheading this whole thrust throughout the UCC, the Council is now gearing itself for a major program in the area of race relations, in an effort to be faithful in its own ministry to the "Racial Justice Now" mandate which was given our church by the Fourth General Synod. If you have suggestions to share, send them to us. They may be helpful to others and lead to wider action.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE COMMITTED

In response to the summons of Fourth General Synod, calling the members of the United Church of Christ to commit themselves before God and the nation to racial justice now,

I commit myself as a Christian:

TO WORK NOW for inclusive membership in my church;

TO SEEK NOW the enactment of appropriate civil rights legislation in the areas of education, employment, housing, public accommodations and voting—at every level of government—and to protest the evasion of such laws;

TO ENGAGE NOW in persuasion, in negotiation, in reconciliation and in responsible nonviolent demonstrations when such actions are necessary for racial justice;

TO ESTABLISH NOW at least one friendship across racial and cultural lines;

TO FORTIFY MYSELF and deepen my commitment to racial unity and justice now by daily prayer, by study and by sharing my experiences with others.

Committee for Racial Justice Now
United Church of Christ
289 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10010

Please enroll me in the FELLOWSHIP OF THE COMMITTED.

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SUGGESTED BY-LAWS FOR
STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Article I
Name

The name of this organization is _____; a non-profit, eleemosynary organization.

Article II
Purpose

Its purpose is to carry on in the state of _____ an educational program for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the state; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the state; to reduce intergroup tensions and their causes; to promote intergroup understanding; to cooperate with local, state, regional and national agencies in the attainment of these desired objectives.

Article III
Membership

Section 1. Generally, any person who is in accord with the purposes of the _____ may become a member. The Board of Directors, or a committee appointed by it, shall have the right to refuse membership to any person if it is deemed in the best interests of the organization.
Section 2. Annual dues will be set by the Board of Directors.

Article IV
Meetings

Section 1. The Board of Directors shall meet bi-annually in the fall and spring at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Notice of the meeting shall be given not less than 30 days prior to the meeting.
Section 2. The Executive Committee shall meet at least four times annually. Two meetings may coincide with the Board meetings. Notice of the meeting shall be given not less than 30 days prior to the meeting.
Section 3. Quorum. One-third of the members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for Board meetings. One-third of the members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for Executive Committee meetings.
Section 4. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Executive Committee. Special meetings of the Executive Committee may be called by the state Chairman. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of the meeting, the business to be transacted, and it shall be mailed or communicated to each member at least 10 days before such meeting.

Article V
Officers

The officers of the organization shall be a Chairman (President), two Vice-Chairmen (Vice-Presidents), a Treasurer, and a Secretary. The Executive Director(s) may (shall) be an Ex-officio officer. The officers shall be elected at the fall meeting of the Board of Directors.

Article VI
Board of Directors

The Board of Directors of the organization shall be in charge of its affairs. The Board of Directors shall consist of 25-50 members, serving three year terms. One third of the Board may rotate each year. The Board of Directors shall be widely representative of the state's population.

New Board members shall be elected at the fall meeting of the Board of Directors. New Board members may be taken from a list prepared by the nominating committee; new Board members may be nominated from the floor.

The Board of Directors may fill vacancies by mail ballot between fall meetings. Terms of Board members so elected shall expire at the next regular election.

Article VII
Committees

Section 1. Executive Committee. The affairs of the organization between meetings of the Board of Directors shall be in charge of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers of the organization and two Board members elected at the fall meeting.

The Executive Committee may fill vacancies between Board of Directors meetings. Such appointments are subject to approval at the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

Meetings. See Article IV, Section 2 of these By-laws.

Section 2. The Executive Committee shall appoint a Program Committee. It shall be the duty of this committee, in close cooperation with professional staff, to develop program proposals for action by the Executive Committee.

Section 3. The Executive Committee shall appoint a State Finance Committee, whose duty shall be planning and executing fund raising for the support of the organization.

Section 4. Other committees, permanent or temporary, shall be appointed by the State Chairman (President) upon authorization of the Executive Committee. At the discretion of the committee chairmen, non-members may be asked to serve in an ex-officio capacity on any committee except the Executive Committee.

Article VIII
Executive Staff

The Executive Staff of this organization shall consist of an Executive Director and such other professional staff - full time or part time - as is needed to carry out the program, interpret the program to the communities of the state and assume other normal staff functions.

Staff members shall keep all official records and make such reports as are required by the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee.

Employment, up-grading, and discharge of all professional staff shall be the responsibility of the Board of Directors. However, in cases of emergency the Executive Committee may act for the Board.

Article IX
Cooperation

This Council, an independent and autonomous organization, shall cooperate with other intergroup agencies in the South; most especially with the Southern Regional Council, Inc. and the State Councils on Human Relations formerly affiliated with it.

Article X
Amendments

These By-laws may be amended at the fall meeting of the Board of Directors or at any special meeting of the Board called for this purpose. See Article IV, Section 4, these By-laws.

Article XI
Non-political

This is a non-political organization. No part of its activities shall be the carrying on of propaganda, supporting or opposing any candidate for public office, or attempting to influence legislation.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF INCOME RAISED ANEW THIS FISCAL YEAR
October 1, 1955 to March 31, 1956

CONTRIBUTIONS:		
Individuals	$ 1,765.00	
Organizations	1,986.00	
Churches	2,100.00	
Foundations	13,400.00	
Total Contributions		$ 19,251.00
OTHER INCOME:		
SRC Dues (Associates)	$ 231.00	
NEW SOUTH Subscriptions	3,068.50	
Sale of Literature	567.44	
Honoraria	307.68	
Interest Income	890.40	
Total, Other Income		$ 5,065.02
TOTAL INCOME TO MARCH 31, 1956		$ 24,316.02

Total amount to be raised to be eligible for 1956-57 grant from FFR	$ 55,000.00
Less: Amount raised to March 31, 1956	24,316.02
Balance to be raised to September 30, 1956	$ 30,683.98

April 20, 1956

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR
PERIOD OCTOBER 1, 1956 - JANUARY 31, 1957
CENTRAL OFFICE

SYNOPSIS

Funds on hand 10/1/56	$13,664.48	
Transfers	5,939.61	
New Income	21,951.30	
Total on hand during period		$41,555.39
Less: Expenditures During Period		38,176.76
Balance		$ 3,378.63
Less amount earmarked for New South printing		3,000.00
Balance for General Purposes		$ 378.63

RECEIPTS:		
Carry-Over from 1955-56 (Field, Duke, Reynolds Grants)		$ 7,664.48
Unexpended State Balances 1955-56		6,000.00
Fund for the Republic		10,000.00
Contributions from Individuals, Organizations, Churches, etc.		7,361.00
Dues		41.50
New South Subscriptions		1,889.40
Sale of Literature		357.17
Honoraria		302.23
Transfers:		
State Funds	$ 2,500.00	
Commission on Equal Penalties	341.07	
Consultant Service Program	3,098.54	5,939.61
Fund for the Republic (For Morton Elder's travel expense)		2,000.00
Total		$41,555.39

Expenditures for the Period 10/1/56 - 1/24/57 in Comparison with Budget for Period 10/1/56 - 1/31/57

EXPENDITURES:	Proposed 10/1/56-1/31/57 4 months	Actual 10/1/56-1/24/57
Salaries	$23,317.00	$23,278.66
Social Security Tax	467.00	220.34
Travel	2,834.00	2,092.84
Printing New South & Postage	2,133.00	2,249.20
Printing Other	400.00	1,331.66
Rent	560.00	560.00
Telephone and Telegraph	833.00	1,101.97
Postage	400.00	363.62
Books & Subscriptions	100.00	116.73
Accounting Fees & Legal Expenses	167.00	50.00
Ins. & Misc. Expense	100.00	63.51
Office Supplies & Equipment	833.00	524.73
Annual Meeting & Executive Committee Mtgs.	2,000.00	4,223.50
Special Meetings		
Women's Work	2,400.00	2,000.00
	$36,544.00	$38,176.76

Minus Action
Action

THE CHURCH AND RACE: A REPORT ON THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN RACE RELATIONS

I. NEW SOCIAL CONCERN OF AMERICAN RELIGION

During 1963 the church, through its national leaders, has moved in the area of race relations with a swiftness and decisiveness it has not displayed for more than a century. In joining Negro Americans in their struggle for equal rights, the church is not attempting to assume leadership of the movement; it only wishes to serve and to aid. This service and aid has included taking part in the now famous "March on Washington" of August 28, 1963 as well as participation in other nonviolent demonstrations (e.g., 36 clergymen, including the Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church, were among the 283 persons arrested during an attempt to integrate an all-white amusement park just outside Baltimore on July 4, 1963.). In addition, interfaith committees have been formed in at least 40 cities, and small groups of leading clergymen are prepared to go to areas of racial unrest and disturbance.

A number of religious bodies have formed activist groups both within and without the organizational structure of the church for a concerted attack on racial discrimination. Much of the groundwork for the current activism was laid last January at the NationalConference on Religion and Race held in Chicago. Representatives of the major religious faiths agreed that the church had played a too timid role in resolving racial problems and set up a committee to assist organized religion in transforming into action the ideas and plans discussed during the conference. The new program of active participation of the clergy in demonstrations protesting racial segregation heralds a new and impressive determination by church leaders to "do something." How much effect this active intervention is going to have cannot yet be measured. If it spreads to the average church and church member throughout the nation so that there is both community and national support of civil rights programs and legislation, it is bound to have great impact. If it means only participation and support by national offices and denominational boards of the announced objectives by most denominations in eliminating barriers in employment, housing, education, voting, and public facilities, the influence

will not be so effective. This summer and fall may be a decisive period in American history, religious and secular.

So far, enthusiasm for personal involvement in the direct action movement is mainly (though not entirely) confined to national religious bodies and northern churches and clergy. It is recognized that this commitment of the church may cause some internal agony and strife, but many religious leaders believe it may inspire a spiritual rebirth within the church. It may, also, be an aid in reducing violence and bringing about reconciliation in strife-torn communities.

This new awareness of the church's responsibility in race relations was very evident in the Chicago Conference on Race and Religion. There seemed to be a realization that education in the faith of the church must include not only the instruction of members in the beliefs of the church, but what the church expects man to do. Education in principles of religious belief must also teach the application of these principles by the individual.

The "kneel-ins" by the Negro students (often accompanied by white ministerial students), which were the outgrowth and continuation of the Student Protest Movement begun in February 1960, have spotlighted the failure of many local churches to combat racial injustice. The applications of Negro students to church-related colleges have forced a reexamination of conscience by the religious groups which continue to maintain segregated facilities.

Especially in southern communities, religious groups can be helpful in reducing the racial friction which accompanies and follows demonstrations, demands for equal opportunities, and desegregation. A common religion is a bond which acts as a powerful reconciling force however few the numbers are, and cultural change through the influence of persons on persons is a process which does not lend itself to precise measurement, which cannot be accurately described or analyzed.

An increased awareness of the role of religion in race relations--that of bringing to bear the moral and social strength of the church against raciasm--has been evident since the late fall of 1962. The Rev. Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian ethics at Drew University, declared that racism, which is a much more serious internal threat to the United States than communism, is also a religion and a natural foe of Christianity. He emphasized this point with a convinc-

ing theological insight:*

> Racism must be understood for what it is--a religion competing with the Christian faith. The racist affirmation of superiority is not, as is commonly supposed, merely a social theory. Rather, it is an affirmation of faith, a declaration concerning the nature of human being. The racist consciousness affirms the condemnation of one race and the creative destiny of another by Nature. This is a conviction concerning the nature of human being, concerning the givenness of human nature. ...
>
> According to Christian faith man is made in the image of God. Herein lies his dignity. The gift of the image is an act of pure grace. The dignity of man is accordingly bestowed. It is not an acquisition, nor is it a quality which he possesses. The glory of the image of God is only reflectively in man. Man finds his life as man only in so far as he lives by love, the Divine Word. The idea that man is created in the image of God means that he is created in, by, and for love. Man is being-in-relation. He is truly man and is truly free when he responds to God in obedient love.

Commenting editorially on Dr. Kelsey's definition of racism (Racism: The Nation's False Religion, February 6, 1963) the Christian Century warned:

> The tragedy for American Christianity is that whereas communism is recognized as a foe of Christian faith, racism is not. On the contrary, racism has its most virulent forms within the Christian church and among Christian people. In some quarters racism even receives blessings derived from distorted biblical study and twisted theology. This enemy, unrecognized or else dignified by corrupt codes of genteel morality, destroys the Christian faith from within. There is no way to escape, no way to conquer this enemy unless we see that racism is, as Kelsey puts it, "diametrically opposed to the insights of Christian faith."

Since 1954 every major religious body has issued statements on race. The statements have been direct, explicit, and unequivocal on one point: that enforced segregation is morally and spiritually wrong. These resolutions of the national boards and at national conferences (which most local churches have disregarded and many have publicly repudiated) served to affirm the opinions and beliefs of the majority of ministers--and also to salve their consciences. This is not to say that the resolutions had no influence. They have been useful as

* In a message issued for Race Relations Sunday, February 10, 1963, by the National Council of Churches. The Council includes 33 Protestant and orthodox denominations with about 40,000,000 members.

standards around which moderates could rally and as weapons with which the more social conscious could defend themselves.

In communities wrestling with the problems of social change, the statements or manifestos prepared and signed by white ministers have been more cautious and have dealt mainly with appeals to "law and order" and for "communication."

More recent statements by both local ministerial groups and ministers have stressed "freedom of the pulpit"; increasing numbers of courageous clergymen have dared to say publicly that the acknowledgment of the fatherhood of God must include the brotherhood of man.

Even in 1958 a few local ministerial groups issued statements which included the basic Judeo-Christian ethic*. Two examples are the statements of the Gainesville-Hall County (Ga.) Ministerial Association: "As Christians we must reflect the mind of Christ, not the attitudes and practices of the community...we are brothers by creation, by need and by redemption"; and that of the 300 Dallas ministers: "racial problems are moral and spiritual as well as political matters ...the only solution to this or any other problem of human relations lies in the application of the concept of Christian love in which we seek for others that which we desire for ourselves." But only in Mississippi, beginning soon after the Oxford riots last Fall, have statements by local groups of ministers said anything about the wrongfulness, sinfulness, or immorality of segregation while both public sentiment and the legal and political structure of the state have been aligned against desegregation.

What are the reasons for the church's past failure in race relations? Will D. Campbell, who served for seven years as director of the Southern office of the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, in his book, Race and the Renewal of the Church, cited the following: the preoccupation with law and order, the emphasis on humanistic arguments for desegregation, the often uncritical reliance on sociological approaches, and the organizational

* "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." Matthew 22:37-40.

structure of American Protestantism. But he believes there is still time for the church, if indeed it is still the church*, to find its life and be renewed. This is how Campbell answers arguments for a slower and more careful pace:

> The early church did not exist in utopia. Neither did it have the notion we seem to have today that if it could somehow change the society in which it existed into a sea of tolerance and brotherly love then it could truly be the church. It is dishonest and cowardly to assume that if we can make culture into what the church wishes it to be but isn't, the church can then be what it ought to be. The church will not regain its health when it is able to influence society to desegregate the many aspects of its life. Originally it was <u>because</u> of the brokenness, the misery of society, that the church could have any identification, any existence at all. We may be living in such a time.

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* For the purpose of this report we are defining the church visible as a group of people who have made a covenant with God and have, therefore, accepted certain dogmas, precepts, and ethics according to their denominational polity and practice; and the church spiritual(transcendent: that which is the essence) as the body of Christ, the mystical force which unites all true believers to make them one.

II. THE CHURCH'S VOICE AND VIEWS YESTERDAY

> It is asking too much of the church as an institution to take any forthright stand on any issue, especially if it is controversial. The very nature of an ecclesiastical organization is such that it will never rise to the occasion when decisions are called for. ...The church follows, it does not lead. It can come along after a decision has been made by the community and hallow that decision and make it holy, but it cannot or will not make the decision and lead others to it.*

The majority of the manifestos issued in previous years by local Southern groups of ministers, usually on the eve of desegregation of the public schools after a court order, tend to support this evaluation of the role of the church: it has tended to reflect society rather than mold it.

On November 3, 1957, a statement dealing with the "keep the schools open" crisis in Atlanta and signed by 80 ministers, was released for publication. At this time statements by public officials and states' rights groups were solidly opposed to any desegregation. The six principles set forth in this statement as essential to a solution are summarized below:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.
2. As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.
3. The Public School System must not be destroyed.
4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.
5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.
6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

On November 22, 1958 a second statement, signed by 312 ministers and rabbis representing 16 denominations, reaffirmed the six principles set forth in the first manifesto and added a proposal of three "practical steps."

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* From a report on "The Role of the Church in Desegregation Efforts in Atlanta," by the Rev. Samuel Williams, pastor of the Friendship Baptist Church and professor of philosophy and religion at Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., to the Nashville Conference on The Ethical Demands of Integration, December 27-29, 1962. The conference was co-sponsored by the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen and the Southern Regional Council.

1. We appeal to our churches and synagogues to encourage and promote within their fellowship a free and intelligent discussion of the issues we confront.
2. We appeal to our community and state leaders to give their most creative thought to maintaining a sound public school plan.
3. We request the appointment of a Citizens' Commission to preserve the harmony of our community.

The churches were only asked to promote discussion of the issues. Nowhere was it said that segregation was morally wrong and should, therefore, be ended. Instead, under Principle 2 the statement said:

> ...However, we believe that the Constitution of the United States in its provisions for human rights is in accord with Divine Law, and we must, therefore, learn to live with and under the law.
>
> We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than of force. ...We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

There were two exceptions to the general attitude of the Atlanta churches: the Religious Society of Friends and the Unitarians, both interracial groups. The Friends, in particular, worked with groups of students, parents, and teachers before the Atlanta school desegregation.

Similar statements came from 60 members of the Richmond (Va.) Ministers Association; 31 Protestant ministers and two rabbis in Columbus (Ga.); 173 clergymen--Jewish, Protestant and Roman Catholic --in Houston (Texas); the Baptist Ministers Union of Chattanooga (Tenn.) 76 members of the Norfolk Ministers Association; and 300 clergymen in Dallas (Texas).

But even in 1958, with all the preoccupation about orderly school desegregation, there were some statements by local ministerial groups which did advocate Judeo-Christian principles. One, the <u>Christian Guide to Race Relations</u>, which was adopted April 28, 1958 by the Gainesville-Hall County (Ga.) Ministerial Association, declared that "as Christians we must reflect the mind of Christ, not the attitudes and practices of the community in which we live." Its principles are summarized below:

1. The Bible and science teach that God made of one blood all nations of men.

2. We are brothers by creation, by need, by redemption.
3. Men's rights, liberties, opportunities and privileges are guaranteed to them by their Creator and Redeemer as individial persons, rather than as members of a race or nation.
4. In His Kingdom there are no races, only two humanities: those of Adam, of the flesh, and those born of Christ, of the Spirit...we must live by the laws of His Kingdom.
5. The Christian's love causes him to identify himself with all men. For a tradition to block this self-identifying love is to violate God's compassion.

In Falls Church and Fairfax County (Va.) 48 ministers in the late summer of 1958 signed and circulated a statement which declared, in part: "Enforced segregation not only defies the basic law of the land but, more importantly, contradicts that very Gospel which we are called to preach. ...We state our conviction that enforced segregation in our schools on the basis of race is contrary to the will of God. We are opposed to all attempts to circumvent the law, including the use of church facilities as a substitute for the school system." This statement was issued during the most embarrassing period of church race relations in Virginia. A survey of clergymen (announced July 1958) in Charlottesville (Va.) disclosed that of 17 ministers polled, 11 said they would be opposed to the use of churches for private schools. Five ministers said they were sure their churches would be made available if needed. Various churches of the major denominations--Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal--had cooperated in the plan of using church buildings for private schools for white children only after the public school system had been closed by the segregationists. No provision for the education of Negro children was made.

Even the National Council of Churches did not speak very forcefully on race in 1958. On November 28 the Council urged churches to "express strong support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision concerning school integration." It added: "The churches must begin with themselves. There is a great gulf between what they say on a national level and what they do or encourage or permit in many communities." The message for Race Relations Sunday, issued by the council's Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, was more emphatic and charged that Christians have too long accepted a "system riddled by prejudice and injustice." The message urged local churches to reexamine their attitudes and behavior in the light of the Christian gospel, opening membership in the church without regard to race.

Resolutions on Race: National

In 1958 most denominations passed resolutions dealing with race; a few brief examples are here given:

The first National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice:

> The desegregation of the nation's schools is not merely a legal question but it is also a deep moral issue.

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.:

> All people have been created in the image of God and are to be treated as such...men are essentially one.

The Southern Baptist Convention:

> Urged Baptists to "help and not hinder the progress of justice for all peoples...strengthening fellowship with people of every race" and denounced social usages that "deny basic American freedoms" to any citizen.

The Episcopal Bishops:

> Called on Christian leadership to heal the nation's "urgent and frightening" racial divisions and to "obey the laws of this land and do all in their power to substitute reason for emotion in the solution of America's fierce racial tensions. They called on religious and civic leaders to reject "easy standards of local expediency" in matters of racial discrimination and urged them to provide a "creative and positive leadership so that all races may enjoy "without discrimination and without separation all opportunities" of church and civil life. Among these it included education, housing, employment, and public accommodations.
>
> A resolution passed by the House of Deputies shortly before the Bishop's resolution condemned "civil disobedience" and called upon all church members to "face seriously their obligation to conform to Federal and Supreme Court orders in regard to giving all students equal access to our public schools." It urged churchgoers to "cleanse themselves of all spirit of racial discrimination," and said that discrimination by reason of color or race between men had its root in "human sin."

The Roman Catholic Bishops:

> Appealed to "responsible and sober-minded Americans of all religious faiths, in all areas of our land," to "seize the mantle of leadership from the agitator and the racist." They took a firm moral stand against compulsory racial segregation and noted that "discrimination based on the accidental fact of race or color cannot be reconciled with the truth that God has created all men with equal rights and equal dignity."

The Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church:

> We earnestly urge all our people to accept the ruling of the courts in good faith...we commend our people who, while not

> always sharing the same attitude on integration, are determined to demonstrate in their own lives the qualities of understanding, tolerance and brotherhood."

Although the above statements stressed obedience to law, there was no recognition of the possibility of a compromise on moral grounds. All the eminent churchmen agreed that the stigma of inequality within the "family of the children of God" is morally intolerable. However, the statements carefully refrained from calling for an end to segregation in the church. As the religious leaders of the nation were issuing their pronouncements and resolutions for the enlightenment and guidance of their members, resistence to desegregation was increasing within the church all over the South. By 1959 many prosegregation groups had been formed to put pressure on the local minister and church. The Methodist Laymen's Union was organized in Birmingham, Ala. on March 19, 1959; the Association of Catholic Laymen of New Orleans had been organized in 1957; a Dallas Pastors' Segregation Committee was organized in May, 1958; "Concerned Churchmen," a prosegregation group of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina, was organized in August of 1958; and the Presbyterian Laymen for Sound Doctrine and Responsible Leadership was organized in Jackson, Miss., in October 1959 with chapters in Memphis, Tenn., and Sumter, S. C.

During this trying period, some individual ministers were taking courageous stands in their churches, and all over the South clergymen were taking leading roles in interracial groups working for integration. Many were officers or executives in councils on human relations. The main theme of the human relations groups during this period was also law and order, although many also urged members to live up to their religious convictions.

In his discussion of the preoccupation of the church with "law and order," Will Campbell* declared:

> Before 1954, most liberal churches and churchmen were not insistent upon a doctrinaire position of strict obedience to the law. Today the American churches argue that segregation must be abolished because it is illegal.
>
> ...Advising their people to desegregate because the law said to do so seemed less risky than taking a bold position based on the Christian doctrine of man, the Biblical imperative of justice, and the sovereignty of God.

Campbell noted that in 1960, after the sit-in movement, the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the

* Race and Renewal of the Church

National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and several other groups discarded the "let us obey the law" position and began advocating civil disobedience. He continued:

> ...we must say quite frankly that it appears that the churches have often used it /the appeal to law/ to evade their deeper responsibility. It has been the easy way. But the church has not always appealed to law for the righteousness of its action.*

This slow awakening of church conscience contrasts sharply with the lethargy of most southern church-goers. There have been, of course, a few isolated instances of great courage, of forthright statements and actions by some adherents to all the faiths. But their very scarcity points up all the more forcefully how inneffective the faith of the church has been in its application to everyday living.

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* In South Carolina 180 years ago, Presbyterians had to build their little churches with an open fireplace. When the Angelican sheriff came along the worshippers could say that they were merely visiting a private dwelling.

III. THE CHURCH'S VOICE AND VIEWS TODAY

What the church is saying in 1962-1963 about racism indicates a great change in attitude, a coming to grips with the racial problem. The growing spirit of brotherhood in all religious bodies, though uneven and even fragile, leads to a hope that the full weight of religious cooperation and influence may yet prove to be a decisive factor in changing the hearts and minds of people and accomplishing goals of interracial cooperation.

Alabama: Law-and-Order, and Brotherhood.

Although the 1962-1963 statements by Alabama ministerial groups seem to echo the 1958 refrain of "law and order," they do include slightly stronger pronouncements on freedom of speech, the responsibility of elected public officials, and the fatherhood of God. In Alabama the official state attitude is defiance of federal desegregation decrees. There has been little evidence of widespread public opposition to state policy. There is more and stronger organized opposition to change in Alabama than in any other state except Mississippi

On October 9, 1962, the Huntsville Ministers' Association adopted a statement stating that "every human being is created in the image of God and is entitled to respect as a fellow human being with all basic rights, privileges and responsibilities; warning that "defiance is neither the answer nor the solution, nor are inflammatory and rebellious statements of the type...that will save us from violence, discord, and confusion; and urging all citizens to "abide in the meantime with a peaceful acceptance of the decisions of the same courts with regard to desegregation cases which we know inevitably will be made in Alabama." A similar statement was adopted on November 1, 1962, by 30 members of the Montgomery Baptist Pastors' Conference. They called on state officials to "maintain order" and urged Alabama leaders to "refrain from inflammatory statements and activities...designed to incite riots and mob action..."

Two month later, on January 17, 1963, eleven Alabama religious leaders jointly offered for public and, obviously, gubernatorial consideration, an opinion on the race situation. It clearly proclaimed opposition to earlier denunciatory statements in Alabama about courts, federal orders, and the defiant inaugural address by Governor George Wallace pledging that he would maintain segregation.

The conservative Birmingham News commented favorably on the statement in an editorial on January 20, 1963:

> Whether the individual citizen agrees with the clerics' statement or not, it is the News' opinion that they say rightly that freedom of speech must be "preserved and exercised."
>
> There is a vast near-silence as to opinion not that reflected in the inaugural address.
>
> Is there no such opinion--other than that of a handfull?
>
> The ministers have added to the above the phrase, "...without fear of recrimination or harassment." Clergymen place a condition which should not be expected.
>
> There is ample freedom to speak. But he who speaks must anticipate, if he is saying the unpopular, recrimination, even harassment, That is the root cause of near-silence--few dare risk expressing a contrary point of view.
>
> Men of the cloth have spoken. Will anyone else? Silence indicates even to our own people that so vast is support for projected official policy that opposition is not to be expected.
>
> Some may plan to speak out--later. But as to this there is only uncertainty as deep as silence itself.

During the week-end of May 18-19, 1963, the Woman's Society of Christian Service and the Wesleyan Service Guild of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church, representing some 24,000 churchwomen in North Alabama, issued a plea to keep Alabama schools open in the face of possible desegregation. They called for observance of law and order and urged the churchwomen to strive to create a climate of understanding and good will in the communities in which they live.

Bishop Nolan B. Harmon, the presiding bishop of the North Alabama Methodist Conference, on June 12, 1963, called attempts by Governor George Wallace to block entry of two Negro students at the University of Alabama "a moral mistake and in the long run a political blunder." Ministerial and lay delegates to the annual conference gave Bishop Harmon a standing ovation after he read a statement he said he felt "compelled to make." The biship added that it is not the business of the church to direct the state, "but it is the business of the church to speak when state forces are so directed as to injure the God-given rights of any man." Governor Wallace is a Methodist layman.

Some statements were issued by the clergy which reflect the segregationist point of view. An analysis of these, and of segregationist action in the church, will be found in Section VI, THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT WING. Some examples of such statements follow:

May 13, 1963. The Birmingham Baptist Association's Executive Committee and the Birmingham Baptist Pastor's Conference called for "self-examination and prayer" by Birmingham area residents toward resolving the crisis facing the city. They "deplored illegal demonstrations and the use of children in them"; abhorred "acts of violence, bombings, and acts coolly calculated to provoke violence"; requested non-residents of Birmingham to leave to local men of good will the working out of differences"; and commended "the law enforcement officers of city, county and state, for their forebearance and self-control in carrying out their official duties."

June 2, 1963. Episcopal Bishop (George Miseley) Murray, Coajutor of Alabama, stated to The Living Church that the cause of the Birmingham demonstrations was a power struggle for leadership among the city's Negro community. He added that the "police and sheriff's forces have been exemplary in their conduct during these demonstrations and have been gentle but firm in the enforcement of the law. Only in the very last few days, under extreme provocation, in the face of wild demonstrations by thousands of marchers who refuse to turn back when lawfully ordered to do so, have the police needed to use fire hoses... and police dogs--on leashes--for their own protection."

June 6, 1963, Montgomery. Although it adopted a resolution asserting there is "no Scriptural warrant" for segregation, the Alabama-West Florida Methodist Conference elected three lay segregationists to represent them at the 1964 quadrennial Methodist General Conference. Among the delegates was Governor George Wallace of Alabama, an ardent segregationist.

Mississippi: Freedom of the Pulpit. In Mississippi the attitudes and policies of public officials and the expressed opinions of the general public regarding desegregation have been even more adamant and defiant than in Alabama, and the frequency and degree of violence have been greater.

Considering the situation there, Mississippi clergymen have been commendably courageous in issuing forthright statements, singly and in groups, ever since the Oxford riots last fall. For nearly 2,000 years the wisdom of the Scripture has expounded this fundamental insight; that faith is the intangible by which man can surmount the adversity of this world by the power of his spirit. Perhaps it was because of the

turbulent political and social atmosphere that the Mississippi clergy realized, as did Sir Winston Churchill, "It is only in adversity that discover we are nothing but spirits."

Each of the statements issued stresses "freedom of the pulpit," the acknowledged Protestant ethic that the minister when speaking from the pulpit is charged by God to speak the truth as he sees it, and as one through whom God may speak to his people. There is a danger that "freedom of the pulpit"--like "law and order" in 1958--may be for some ministers a substitute issue for the deeper issue of race. But for those who issued the above-mentioned statements it seems to be a parallel concern and a defense of their right to speak as they believe.

One of the few moderate newspapers in Mississippi, the Delta Democrat-Times in Greenville, stated in an editorial on January 6,1963:

> Throughout the dark days which have plagued Mississippi for so long, a group of men to whom many have turned for guidance have been --as a group -- sadly silent. The reasons for this silence by ministers of God have been legion, but the effect has been devastatingly specific. The field has been left to the professional haters and the misguided who would distort the brotherhood of man into the brotherhood of some men.
>
> The bloodshed and rioting which erupted at Oxford made many ministers painfully aware of their failure. Here and there individual clergymen, ever mindful of what has happened to other ministers who raised their lone voices of protest in the past, acknowledged their failures and the failure of the church to take the lead in solving our overwhelming race relations problem and called for new directions and new vigor from the pulpit.
>
> Perhaps it was because of their example, but they are no longer so lonely. Last week a group of 28 young Methodist ministers, Mississippi-born all, collectively called for an end to race hatred and closer attention to the gospel of Christ. They also took a firm stand against closing of the public schools for any reason.
>
> At the end of the week they had been joined by others in their church. Dr. J. P. Stafford, lay leader of the Methodist Mississippi Conference, called their statement "very worthwhile." In a meeting in Okalano, 23 more Methodist ministers "enthusiastically" supported the stand. Their position was all the more significant since they represented the North Mississippi Methodist Conference....
>
> The church did not survive because its early members feared being labelled non-conformists or suffering mental and physical harm. It is time for the church--and its members--to cast back to the strength which was the early Christians. There is a task to be done in Mississippi, and the young Methodist clergymen have shown the way.

The "Born of Conviction" statement, issued the first week in January, 1963, made the following points:

1. The church is the instrument of God's purpose. This is His church, and ours only as stewards under His Lordship. Effective practice of the stewardship for the ministry clearly requires freedom of the pulpit....

2. We affirm our faith in the official position of the Methodist Church on race: "Our Lord Jesus Christ teaches that all men are brothers. He permits no discrimination because of race, color, or creed. ...We believe that God is Father of all peoples and races, that Jesus Christ is His Son, that all men are brothers, and that man is of infinite worth as a child of God."

3. We affirm our belief that our public school system is the most effective means of providing common education for all our children...essential to the preservation and development of our true democracy. ...

The following Sunday, January 6, Dr. W. B. Selah, pastor of the largest Methodist church in Jackson, endorsed the statement and added one of his own:

> ...For 17 years I have preached the law of Christian love from the pulpit of Galloway Methodist Church. This law means that we must seek for all men, black and white, the same justice, the same rights, and the same opportunities that we seek for ourselves. Nothing less than this is Christian love. To discriminate against a man because of his color or his creed is contrary to the will of God. Forced segregation is wrong. We should voluntarily desegregate all public facilities. We should treat all men not on the basis of color but on the basis of conduct.
>
> In the light of Christian principle there can be no color bar in a Christian church. ...As Christians we cannot say to anyone, "you cannot come into the House of God." No conference, no preacher, no official board can put up a color bar in the church. That matter is determined by the nature of Christianity which is an inclusive fellowship of those who seek the Lord. ...When a person seeks membership in the church he is not asked about the color of his skin. He is asked about his faith in God as revealed in Christ. Salvation is not by color but by faith. There can be no color bar in a Christian institution.

August 18, 1963, Oxford, Miss. The Rev. Duncan Gray, Jr. rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, said today that the burden of guilt for racial injustice is "particularly heavy" upon his state. He continued, in his sermon at the Washington Cathedral:

> Racial injustice is not an easy thing for the average white Southerner to face. But he can never face it unless he hears both God's words from the Cross and His words of judgment. On the Cross, God would take His place beside the Southerner, share his predicament, take his sins and consequently, give him strength to endure judgment. ...Let me alone! is often our most fervent prayer. We wish that love, duty,

righteousness and justice were simply our own to do with as we pleased without responsibility to man or to God. ...But the words of God stand over us and our society...they point out what we are and what we were intended to be.

January 4, 1963. Twenty-three of 29 ministers representing the North Mississippi Methodist Conference "enthusiastically voted" to back the "born of conviction" statement; the resolution was presented by District Superintendent W. L. Robinson. Dr. J. P. Stafford, lay leader of the Methodist Mississippi Conference, said, "Let's face it, brotherhood is as much a part of the teachings of Jesus Christ as salvation and faith."

June 15, 1963. The Most Reverend Richard O. Gerrow, Roman Catholic bishop of Mississippi, broke a 39-year silence on current issues to call the assination of Medgar Evers "a shocking and saddening ("than the death of one man" and called for positive steps toward recognizing occurrence more meaningful/the legitimate grievances of the Negro population."

Georgia: Segregation Is Sinful, But....

The Presbyterian Church's Synod of Georgia on May 15-17, 1963, urged all its institutions to abandon racial segregation in a resolution amended (after heated discussion) so as to make it non-compulsory. Institutions include Agnes Scott College and Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Ga.; Presbyterian College and Thornwell Orphanage in Clinton, S. C.; the Rabun Gap-Cacoochee Vocational School, Ga.; and two Presbyterian homes for the aged. Columbia Theological Seminary has been integrated for some years. A recommendation was approved to urge all presbyteries to send senior high fellowship councils to the Georgia-Florida leadership school in St. Petersburg; a Negro presbytery has not previously attended. The Synod asked that the Rock Eagle 4-H Camp at Eatonton be requested to make its facilities available for men's conferences on a non-discriminatory basis.

June 5, 1963. Passed almost unanimously a report on Christian social concern which urged Methodist to endorse the United Nations and requested approval of an earlier statement of principals on racial matters, condemning violence and discord, which it said "emphasized the need for both Negro and white to plan together for the future of our state," and noting that "desegregation [of public facilities] is not the dire calamity that some ... citizens have thought" nor a guarantee of friendship and neighborliness. Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president

of Interdenominational Theological Center and a vice president of the Georgia Council of Churches, was the first Negro to address the South Georgia Methodist Conference in recent times.

April 29, 1963. The Evangelical Ministerial Association of Augusta, Georgia, comprising clergymen from about 60 of 100 Augusta. Protestant churches, adopted a resolution supporting voluntary desegregation of the county schools, after five Negroes had petitioned, on March 14, the Richmond County Board of Education for voluntary desegregation. The resolution stated: "We believe that voluntary desegregation done in a Christian spirit is the most effective solution to this particular problem ...we commend both these groups, the Negroes and the board, for the manner in which they are approaching this matter and we urge that they continue in this spirit of understanding and cooperation in future negotiations.

June 15, 1963. A number of Atlanta (Ga.) religious leaders were asked to comment on the current racial crisis. According to Miss Jo Ann Crasford, Religious Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, the majority of churchmen and ministers interviewed felt the action of churches in any "moral crisis" lies not in the resolutions adopted by its hierarchy, but in the actions performed by its members.

June 20, 1963. The Rev. Louis F. Huckaby, chaplain at Crawford Long Hospital and chairman of the conference's Board of Christian Social Concerns, spoke after the report had been read to the conference:

> "I challenge you to be Christian. Our past stands haven't changed many minds, many lives, or many churches... Desegregation deserved the backing of the church in its pronouncements and leadership...The church should have led the way...We were more interested in maintaining the status quo than magnifying the universality of the gospel of Jesus Christ. We've placed a guard of stewards at the church door lest colored visitors come in." He defined integration as "something spiritual" that begins only when people learn to trust and love each other. The report and Dr. Huckaby's speech were adopted; he received a standing ovation.

July 1, 1963. In a joint statement issued by the Baptist Convention's Public Affairs Committee, the Christian Life Commission, and the administration committee of the Executive Committee, Georgia Baptist pastors and their congregations were urged "to continue to exercise their moral and spiritual influence for understanding and good will between the races." The committees issued the statement after

hearing a report from Dr. Searcy S. Garrison, Convention executive secretary-treasurer, on a recent White House Conference, called by President Kennedy to discuss some aspects of the current race problem.

July 11, 1963, Columbus. Three Negro church organizations -- Mt. Calvary District Sunday School and Baptist Training Congress, a 10,000-member group; the Columbus Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance; and the Adult Liaison Committee--expressed opposition to further demonstrations.

July 28, 1963. The Rev. Don McEvoy, director of the Atlanta chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, preaching at the First Christian Church in Decatur, declared:

> The time has come for churches in Atlanta to declare themselves "unequivocably" open to all. ...[the church] must rid itself of its involvement in this sinful separation of brethren. The time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church belongs to God and not to men, and thus must be open to all of God's children without restriction. ...Ministers have been silent on this issue, for the most part, because social customs have been more binding on us than the commands of Christ. We have been more concerned with avoiding controversy than we have with being Christian. The result has been that we have usually given our pastors a choice between an emasculation of their ministry or martyrdom. ...The white churches have been overly concerned with the possible loss of members and financial support if they gook a forthright stand. Better we should be concerned over the loss of the church's soul. Make no mistake about it. The whole future of the church is at stake in our response to this present crisis. Segregation is sin. To block human fellowship is to block fellowship with the Divine.... Either we face up to the Christian implications of human brotherhood or our whole church parroting of other New Testament doctrines is idle and meaningless chit-chat.

July 3, 1963. The bi-racial Greater Atlanta Methodist Ministers Alliance adopted a resolution praising city officials, the Chamber of Commerce, newspapers, and restaurant owners for "their stand in encouraging the desegregation of parks, swimming pools...and public facilities. The association is composed of about 300 pastors.

Arkansas.--April 15, 1963, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish representatives united in a Greater Little Rock (Ark.) Conference on Religion and Human Relations. More than 100 representatives of 40 churches and church organizations heard leaders of their denominations

call for an end to discrimination in education, economic opportunity, churches and housing. The leaders jointly referred to segregation as a "moral problem" and as "sin." In conclusion, the Rev. David A. Boileau, professor at St. John's (Catholic) Home Missions Seminary, suggested three areas for conference work:

> We must clean up our own house. We all run segregated facilities. We must ask ourselves if segregation or token integration is right and we must destroy segregation in our churches, schools, and societies. Each must examine his own conscience. And we must establish in our community the role of religion as a force in society. If we bring the force of religion to bear on segregation this will wipe it out.

Florida.--June 12, 1963, the Florida Synod of the United Presbyterian Church departed from its announced program to name a committee on race relations. The synod also considered a working pact with the Presbyterian Synod of Jamaica, island nation south of Cuba. Jamaica, with a preponderance of Negro population, sent several members of the Jamaica Synod to the conference for consultation.

Kentucky.--June 16-20, 1963, The Fourth Interracial Consultation on the Southern Church and Race Relations was held at the College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. The group issued a "statement of concern" which concluded: "We...dedicate ourselves to work with all others to continue progress in eliminating racial discrimination in voting, public accommodations, education, employment, and housing."

May 17, 1963. The Rt. Rev. C. Gresham Marmion, Episcopal bishop of Kentucky, admonished the diocesan convention, "We dare not be a religious club, which is the way some of our churches operate. ...In our churches we should not just tolerate, but we should welcome people of all races..."

June 13, 1963. The Kentucky Methodist Conference called on its churches to "explore avenues leading to the invitation of all races to worship together." The following day it adopted a statement that said:

> We deplore the practice of racial segregation as unfair, illegal, and un-Christian. Regarding present social upheaval between the two races, we applaud all non-violent attempts to breakdown segregation barriers which now exist.

August 11, 1963. The Record, official weekly newspaper for the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Louisville, commented in an editorial

that the "overall Knights of Columbus record in the racial area is unbelievably bad." It said that knights and other Catholic organizations in the archdiocese should eliminate any segregation that exists in theory or practice, and should recruit Negro members. It quoted local Knights of Columbus officials as saying there were no Negro members in the Louisville archdiocese; no Negroes had asked for membership.

Louisiana.--February 1, 1963, at an Institute of Religion sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and held in Baton Rouge, La., Rabbi Charles Mainband, then of Hattiesburg, Miss., (now located in Longview, Texas), said that patience and determination were necessary virtues needed to overcome racial bigotry. "People are more inclined to lose their identity in a group on matters of controversy," he continued, "We are inclined to slough off both the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. ...In no area has democracy failed as it has in race relations."

March 5, 1963. Catholic Bishop Robert E. Tracy of Baton Rouge, La., speaking in Donaldsonville to white and Negro Catholics of the civil parishes of Iberville, Ascension, and St. James, declared, "There is no reason some Christians should discriminate against other Christians and segregate them. Talk is cheap, but what is not cheap is to live Christianity." The Bishop was reporting on the Ecumenical Council which he attended in Rome, and replying to a question from the floor.

August 5, 1963. Roman Catholics of north and central Louisiana were called upon by their Bishop, Charles P. Greco, Diocese of Alexandria, "to accept desegregation with understanding and restraint" and to help end "discrimination based merely on race, color, creed or national background." His pastoral letter was read in all churches and chapels of the diocese. (More than 85,000 Catholics, and which includes all civil parishes north of Rapides, Avoyelles and Vernon. There are 83 church parishes and more than 100 missions.)

North Carolina.--January 8, 1963, the Federated Ministerial Association of Almance County adopted the report of its Race Relations Committee which urged the association to: encourage equal job and educational opportunities, make the church itself an example to business and education by eliminating barriers based on race, and suggested joint meetings with Negro community leadership.

May 12 & 26, 1963. At all Episcopal churches in Raleigh (May 12) and in Greensboro (May 26) a letter from Bishop Richard H. Baker and

Coadjustor Thomas Fraser, Jr., expressing alarm and grief over racial unrest in North Carolina cities. The letter was read during morning services and urged church members to exercise the discipline of love and forgiveness and implored all those in authority:

> ...to act quickly in achieving a resolution of this tension which will grant to all men the equality and dignity given to them by God. We ask all people to support the merchants and institutions serving the people of this city when they strive to provide all men this equality and dignity. We ask all people to work, to pray, and to act courageously to end the strife with which we are beset and to help achieve in this city a harmony and brotherhood that God wills for all people.

Raleigh.--June 1963, the following excerpt of a statement issued by the Raleigh Ministerial Association's Human Relations Committee some two to three weeks after the more Christian and forthright statement issued May 13 by the Raleigh Merchants' Bureau and followed two days later by a full page ad with 1,000 signatures of white people supporting integration of public facilities:

> We urge that the City Council of Raleigh, the Mayor's Committee and the responsible leadership of the city continue to seek means of bringing about the immediate desegregation of restaurants, theatres, and hotels in the city. We personally pledge our support of any establishment that desegregates and will encourage other people to do the same.

June 1963. The North Carolina Methodist Conference, after spirited debate, adopted a resolution urging that racial barriers be lowered in community institutions and places of public accommodation. The resolution urged members of local churches to "voluntarily open the doors of their stores, motion picture houses, restaurants, churches, schools, and other facilities to all people of every race."

June 19, 1963. Two hundred and fifty ministers, priests, rabbis and laymen, "appealed to the conscience of North Carolinians" on the "whole issue of race relations" at a meeting of newly formed North Carolina Council on Religion and Race. The five-point statement of policy declared:

1) We believe that to discriminate against any individual because of race or religion is immoral...
2) Above any directive of man-made laws, or the economic expediency of the moment is the eternal moral law of God: each of us is his brother's keeper...
3) Peace between men is a vain dream until there is peace within the conscience of each individual...

4) It is not enough for the victories in human rights to be gained solely through legal and economic maneuvers; the voice of religion and churchmen must be heard...
5) Bigotry, hatred, violence and doctrines of racial superiority have no place in our religions traditions...

South Carolina.--January 19, 1963, 122 Columbia (S. C.) ministers representing 12 denominational groups, issued a statement giving their views on racial problems then facing South Carolina citizens. They confessed their failure to apply more fully the Christian principle of brotherhood in their personal lives and in the churches they served, and declared their conviction that racial problems and their solutions are basically moral and spiritual. They pledged support to public officials and other citizens supporting law and order.

June 13, 1963. Excerpts from a statement made by Bishop Paul Hardin, Jr., of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church:

> ...It is a source of personal concern and grief to me to see my beloved Southland and the Methodist Church torn by the race issue. My anguish is all the more acute when I realize that basically the main issue is not race but simple justice and personal dignity. It is as natural for a colored person to seek his place under the sun as it is for a white man to do so. In Christian calmness and diginity, let us work together in an effort to grant justice and opportunity to all people--not because of economic and political pressure, but because we believe that justice is the common property of all free men.

Tennessee.--Spring, 1963, the Cumberland Presbyterian Synod of West Tennessee adopted a report at its annual synod meeting urging ministers to "preach their true convictions concerning these social problems of our day, especially the recognition and acceptance of all races as children of God."

May 22, 1963. The Nashville (Tenn.) Association of Churches unanimously adopted a resolution praising Mayor Beverly Briley's recent handling of racial disturbances in Nashville, and commending him for naming a Human Relations Committee to work on racial, cultural and religious problems in the community. The group "pledged its prayers and support in helping the committee resolve racial problems."

August 25, 1963. Bishop William L. Adrian of the Tennessee Diocese had his pastoral letter read in all Catholic masses. The letter urges Catholics make the effort to provide equal opportunity in areas of "employment, education, and public accommodations..."

August 26, 1963. Nashville, Tennessee, the head of the Roman

Catholic church in Tennessee urged church members to do away with racial discrimination by meeting with Negroes and talking "openly and calmly about our mutual hopes and problems."

Texas.--June 5, 1963, the Episcopal bishop of the Dallas, (Texas) Diocese Bishop C. Avery Mason, called for support of Bishop Lichtenberger's statement, saying, "It speaks for itself, and we will act accordingly. This, of course, has been our policy." The Dallas diocese has been quietly implementing the church's stand on integration for a number of years. The diocesan convention has long been integrated, also the diocese's Camp Crucis--which is used for summer retreats. In some Dallas neighborhoods, members of both races regularly attend churches. In 1962, the Department of Christian Social Relations conducted a number of inter-racial conversations among clergy and laymen in the area.

June 29, 1963. Editorial in The Baptist Standard, editor, Dr. E. S. James. Mr. James said that the Southern Baptists "were ashamed to acknowledge the truth to ourselves that we, the second largest religious group in the nation, have done so little to secure justice and equality for all men." He added that he was ashamed because President Kennedy had to remind ministers of their moral duties.

Virginia.--June 5, 1963, the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia advocated that church and secular leaders lead in ending racial segregation. The statement said further,

> We believe...the time has come for the state, the South, and the nation to move quickly to settle the racial question...

The Synod set plans to call on its various institutions to report at next year's meeting on the progress they have made on the stand "that enforced segregation of the races...is out of harmony" with the church.

June 13, 1963. The Virginia Methodist Conference issued a recommendation for racial integration of all prep schools and colleges it supports in the state, to be put into effect not later than the 1964-65 academic year. Approved by a majority of three-to-one, a conference spokesman said the new policy was not mandatory but merely a strong recommendation.

Week of July 13, 1963. The Norfolk (Va.) Presbytery announced "a deep and urgent concern over the relation of the races and especially

as this affects and challenges the Christian church." The adopted statement continued:

> Enforced segregation of the races is discrimination which is out of harmony with Christian theology and ethics; and the church, in its relationship to cultural patterns, should lead and not follow.
>
> We call upon the sessions and congregations of Norfolk Presbytery to engage in serious and prayerful study of racial relations and social justice, especially as it bears upon the seating of worshippers and admission of believers as to the membership of our church regardless of race.

August 24, 1963. The Virginia Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren Church condemned the State of Virginia for its "subterfuge in establishing the tuition grant as a device for closing the schools in Prince Edward County." The adopted report continued:

> ...we recommend careful consideration of the educational problems in said county and if possible the giving of financial and moral support to establishing and maintaining of schools to educate the children of both Negro and white. ...we deplore the denial of any citizen of equal access to tax-supported public institutions or facilities; the denial of any citizen the right to equal participation in voting; we commend those who have hired Negroes and individuals and groups who take steps to eliminate racial discrimination in housing, education, employment, and the use of public facilities. We believe human rights must always take priority over property rights.

Statements of National Church Organizations.--May, 1962, the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church called on its members to study the principles and goals stated in "A Charter of Racial Policies," and for the speedy ratification and commitment to work for implementation within jurisdiction, conference, district and local woman's society. The Charter included the following: to eliminate in the church all forms of segregation based on race, to create opportunities for inclusive fellowship and membership in local churches, and to work toward changing community patterns of racial segregation in education, housing, voting, employment and public facilities.

October 1962. At the annual assembly of the International Convention of Christian Churches, a total of $6,353 was presented to the United Nations. Among the numerous resolutions passed were several dealing with race. The delegates expressed "concern to the officials

of the state of Mississippi" and appealed to their "sense of decency and respect for law, order and principles of Christianity and fair play." The resolution deplored the "defiance of the federal court orders by the officials of the state of Mississippi regarding the entrance of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi" and encouraged the Justice Department in its efforts to secure compliance. Other resolutions urged church agencies to work for more speedy integration, and asked the denomination's schools to hasten integration of student bodies, faculties, and staffs.

May 9, 1963. The strongly worded resolution that urged the Southern Baptist Convention, the previous day, to express concern for Negro demonstrators jailed in Birmingham, Alabama turned up for vote so toned down it was almost unrecognizable as the same resolution. In its new form it made no mention of either Negroes or Birmingham, but simply "the problems involved in our social adjustments today." These must be solved in a Christian context, it said, and it pledged to help all "who do not enjoy freedom." The resolution passed without debate despite the loud applause accorded the original motion when it was presented by the Rev. Robert E. Seymour of Chapel Hill, N. C. He had asked that Baptist be petitioned to "pray for us who are in prison out here" and urged to end discrimination in their communities.

May 22, 1963. The United Presbyterian General Assembly approved a church constitution revision requiring local congregation to make "certain membership is not refused because of color, origin or wordly condition." This action is subject to ratification by local Presbyteries in the 3,500,00 membership. The assembly also petitioned President Kennedy to call a White House Conference on civil rights as soon as feasible to hasten the day when "color or national origin" will be irrelevant to rights of citizenship, and suggested that church boards, agencies and local units examine their contracts for goods and services to make sure funds are not used to support racially discriminatory or segregated institutions.

May 26, 1963. The presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., Arthur Lichtenberger, issued a statement calling attention to the recent action of the Diocese of Washington which directed all diocesan-related institutions to eliminate any discriminatory practices within six months. The diocese further requested the Bishop and Executive Council to take steps necessary to disassociate

such diocesan and parish-related institutions from moral of financial support if these practices were not eliminated in the specified time. The bishop's statement included the following points: to demonstrate by specific actions by identification of the church with those who are victims of oppression; to support and strengthen racial protests, financially and personally; to eliminate all discrimination in church and church-related institutions.

June 6, 1963. The 270-member general board of the National Council of Churches adopted a statement calling upon the church "to confess her sin of omission and delay and to move forward to witness to her essential belief that every child of God is a brother to every other." The Council pledged that its leaders would "engage personally in negotiations, demonstrations, and other direct action." It urged all affiliated communions and invited members of all faiths to join in support of civil rights legislation and to witness that the racial crisis is a "national moral issue and not a regional problem." The Council announced the formation of a Commission on Religion and Race to coordinate the action program. (See Action Section)

June 17, 1963. Dr. Fredrik A. Schiotz, president of the American Lutheran Church, sent a memorandum to the pastors making the following suggestions: 1) let your people know where you stand, 2) be sure that your own congregation does not withhold the hand of welcome from a Negro guest or applicant for membership, 3) Encourage your people to write to their senators and congressmen, 4) Encourage lay leaders to participate in community consultations, bringing together white and Negro leaders for conversation and peaceful action. The pastors were reminded of the resolution adopted by the Church Council in February, 1963, which included: "Should a congregation not practice the proclamation of the Gospel of our Lord without limitation to nationality or race and not admit to membership in the Congregation Lutherans who may wish to transfer into the congregation or not admit people to membership classes who may wish to be instructed, the district president shall report this violation of church practice to the Executive Committee of the District and to the Church Council."

June 18, 1963. The Central Conference of American Rabbis pledged "unequivocal support" to Negroes today in their battle for equal rights and opportunities. The 400 members of the Reform group called for an "all-out effort" by the 1,000,000 members of Reform Judaism's 650

congregations to press for strong civil rights legislation by Congress. Warning that "a filibuster to prevent passage" of such legislation would "pose a threat to our survival as a democracy," the Rabbis voiced dismay at the "senseless and often brutal delays" in extending "full civil rights for Negro citizens."

June 22, 1963. A resolution asking the General Conference of The Methodist Church for swift integration of the church at all levels was passed by 375 missionaries, about half on furlough after foreign assignment. Most pledged to work actively for desegregation while here, giving lectures and joining picket lines.

June 24, 1963. At a youth forum of about 150 delegates from 37 states, sponsored by the United Church of Christ, the Rev. Archie Hargraves, field secretary of the division of church extension, urged white people to join the fight against segregation in what he described as a worldwide revolution by "people of color." He warned that unless people face integration as a fundamental moral issue "the Negro people are prepared to say 'the hell with it' and smash the whole rotten fabric to pieces, taking upon themselves, before God, the reconstruction of a better world from the rules of the old one that is a lie and a mockery to God's purposes. ...The acid test is whether we in America can accept the proposition that a Negro may marry whomever he loves and loves him. The Christian church will either prove itself or destroy itself on the basis of its response to this proposition."

July 6, 1963. During this week the Lutheran Church in America appealed to its 6,200 congregations to eradicate all vestiges of racial segregation from their own church activities, and to join the fight for "justice in race relations" in American society by initiating and supporting race reconciliation efforts and backing legislation to assure equal opportunity for all in housing, education, employment, voting, and access to public facilities. The statement emphasized that Christians can no longer temporize with racial barriers because any form of segregation or discrimination "is in violation of God's will."

July 9, 1963. The Lutheran Human Relations Association of America, at its annual institute, issued a statement which calls for alerting pastors to utilize their pulpits to give active support to

the President's civil rights legislative program; and for Christians to demonstrate their protest against unjust discrimination and degrading practices which would limit Negroes from reaching their maximum potential before God.

July 14, 1963. Cardinal Spellman's denunciation of racial discrimination was reiterated today in all the 402 parishes of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York. The Cardinal had made the attack on July 11 at the dedication of Drew Houses in Harlem. Excerpts of his address were read as the sermon in all churches. This is a very rare occurrence.

July 14, 1963. The president of the Lutheran Church in America, the Rev. Dr. Franklin Clark Fry (who is also president of the Lutheran World Federation and chairman of the central committee of the World Council of Churches) called on the 3,200,000 members to help end racial discrimination. He made the request in a pastoral letter to the 6,812 pastors, calling attention to the decision of the church's executive committee last month to take "action leading to justice in race relations." His letter continued, "The time has come to act. The doors must be open to all. Everyone who is eligible, by faith or scholastic attainments or need should be welcomed to full membership or enrollment as a student or admission as a patient or guest on equal basis with the people of the majority race." The church, he said, "is bound to seek souls [and] the obligation of Lutherna Christians [includes] civic affairs as well as purely church matters. ...Under God the time has come to act and to lead others by precept and example."

July 17, 1963. At a called meeting of the executive meeting of the House of Bishops, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A. endorsed the Washington march and passed a resolution urging both laymen and ministers to join it. There were some quiet dissents from Southern Episcopalians, which received scattered applause and hisses.

July 25, 1963. A committee of the fourth World Conference on Faith and Order condemned racial discrimination and urged Christians to fight it "whatever the cost." The conference is sponsored by the World Council of Churches.

July 27, 1963. At an emergency meeting the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice adopted the following

recommendations:

1. Called for all Roman Catholics to support, as a moral imperative, the President's civil rights program, and to build grass roots support of it.
2. Urged Catholics to take part in other demonstrations and picket activities in cases where "sincere negotiations" fail to achieve equal opportunities for Negroes.

There are 57 local Catholic Interracial Councils, coordinated by the NCCIJ.

August 15, 1963. Two major institutions of American Reform Judaism called on lay and rabbinic leaders of the 650 Reform congregations not to deal with construction companies, banks, and other businesses that discriminate against Negroes. The appeal, also directed to more than 1,000,000 Reform worshippers, was made by the Commission on Social Action, joint body of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (comprising 850 spiritual leaders). Stressing the need for concrete action at the grassroots level, the "Call to Racial Justice" included these recommendations:

1. Businessmen should institute and enforce nondiscriminatory employment and promotion policies, make efforts to introduce Negro employees into work forces, and provide training to upgrade jobs for Negro employees.
2. Members of labor, business and professional groups should take positive steps to encourage the introduction of Negroes into skilled trades and professions.
3. All members are to support and participate in efforts for racial integration in their own communities, neighborhoods and public schools.
4. Members should not patronize public places or businesses that discriminate against Negroes as either patrons or employees.
5. Members should not frequent private clubs that refuse membership on racial grounds.
6. Members should invest in financial institutions that make funds and services available on a non-discriminatory basis.
7. Members should give active support to the enactment of local, state, and Federal legislation and to forceful executive action on all levels of government.
8. Congregations should use integrated crews in construction of new houses of worship.

August 23, 1963. Roman Catholic Bishops of the United States in a pastoral letter said "The conscience of the nation is on trial" over racial discrimination, and urged, "we must act to remove obstacles that impede the rights and opportunities of our Negro brethren... We

should do our part to see that voting, jobs, housing, education, and public facilities are freely available to every American." The letter was read at all masses in many Catholic churches and chapels on Sunday, August 25. A National Conference Welfare spokesman said that Bishops were not required to have it read and that some, for various reasons, might ignore it.

August 30, 1963. The 1,100 delegates of the Methodist Conference on Human Relations, representing 10,000,000 Methodists, approved the following points in a statement to be submitted in a petition to the Methodist General Council:

1. Called for federal and state laws "that will open all facilities serving the general public to all persons without regard to race."
2. Urged church units to employ their economic power to aid integration,
3. Advocated that the 135 church-related colleges, including many in the South, and all Methodist hospitals and other institutions be opened to all races and proposed "that the name of the church and funds from its budget shall be withdrawn from any institution pursuing a policy contrary to this recommendation."

The 1963 statements of religious bodies speak for themselves. It now seems evident that the church is ready to attack discriminatory practices and racial injustice both within its own institutions and without. Paraphrasing the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,* the church, which has been "merely a thermometer that recorded the ideas and principles of popular opinion" may indeed become, like the early Christian church, "a thermostat that transformed society."

The question is: how influential will these statements be on the individual church member?

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*Letter from a Birmingham Jail.

IV. ACTIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH IN RACE RELATIONS

Beginning with the July 4, 1963 demonstrations of clergymen at Gwynn Oak Park in Maryland, the first time a group of influential church leaders of the three major faiths had participated together in direct action protests against discrimination, the church began to move from the conference table and pulpit into the firing line of racial tension, applying the tactics of direct action to underscore its often-expressed statements condemning racial discrimination. July and August news items have noted: nuns walking picket lines in Chicago, clergy joining demonstrations in many northern cities, and the new Religion and Race Commissions leading the recruitment of 40,000 churchmen to join the August 28 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The NCC also set up a volunteer operation in New York City which prepared 80,000 lunches (sold for 50¢ from refrigerated trucks in Washington) for the marchers.

While it should be noted that clergymen individually or in small groups had previously participated in sit-ins, Freedom Rides, and prayer pilgrimages, (e.g., Albany 1962) to protest discrimination, the summer of 1963 marked the beginning of a nationally organized and nationally led religious compaign to eradicate racial inequality and intolerance in America.

Catholic, Jewish, and major Protestant faiths are now planning local demonstration campaigns on a nation-wide basis, with religious leaders actively participating.

Toward this end new interracial action groups have been formed in a number of Protestant denominations to plan programs and to coordinate efforts. The more recent ones are: The Commission on Religion and Race formed by the National Council of Churches (June 17), the Commission on Religion and Race named by the Unitarian Universalist Association (June 29); the American Baptist Convention's plan for Baptist Action for Racial Brotherhood (northern-June 24); and the United Church of Christ's Committee (July 6). All these committees have as their announced purpose the spear-heading of a planned allout attack on racial discrimination with more active participation by the clergy. The United Presbyterian Church's Commission on Religion and Race (May 19), will emphasize "creative action" with other faiths and removal of racial bars in Presbyterian congregations, institutions, and agencies. The Protestant Episcopal Church appointed an 18-member

Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations (June 28), to assist the Christian Social Relations Department in program plans for legislation, direct action, and speeding up desegregation within the church.

Religious oriented action groups formed outside the organizational structure of the denomination include the new Presbyterian Interracial Council (June 16); and the older Catholic Interracial Council (after 25 years of local activity; organized nationally, 1960), the Lutheran Human Relations Association of America (1953), the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (1959), the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee Institute of Human Relations, and the congregational Christian's Race Relations Department (1952). In most of the above, membership is restricted to clergy and laymen of the denomination.

Interdenominational groups include the new Committee of Southern Chruchmen, and the oldest group of all, the Fellowship of the Concerned, organized in 1949 in Atlanta, Georgia, to promote the spiritual approach to social issues, the Fellowship has been since its inception interfaith, interdenominational, and interracial. It is still active today.

In the past, the influence of the church in race relations had been somewhat limited. All three of the major religious groups in the United States -- Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant -- had made some progress in improving race relations. But until quite recently the agencies of the church had represented a small percentage of church leaders and laymen. All agreed that too many local congregations were apathetic and skilled workers in race relations too few. There was an expressed fear among some leaders in church affairs that initiative had passed beyond the control of religious men.

The Christian Century, in an editorial of October 10, 1962, "The Agony of the Church," discussed the contradiction between the American dream and American deed and said it resulted in a split national personality. The editorial continued:

> A much more tormenting struggle is now taking place within the soul of the white Christian church. What is merely a dilemma for the nation is an agony for the church. This is so because in the church the principles of human dignity and equality are accepted not merely as humanitarian ideals to strive for but as divine imperatives which God commands his children to obey. Yet it is in the white church that these commands, so far as the Negro is concerned, are most flagrantly disobeyed. ...

The unwillingness of the church to lay upon its conscience the nation's primary domestic problem or to tolerate the ministers who do so is one measure of the church's shame. A deeper measure of infamy is its stubborn refusal to repent of its offense, on account of race, against the unity given it in Jesus Christ. It loves the cruel falsehood of racial exclusiveness more than it loves Christ. In its refusal to repent of the guilt of division within itself on account of race, in its perpetuation of differences caused solely by race, the church rejects the cross borne by its Lord. No wonder it prefers to hear pleasant ineptitudes instead of the gospel of Jesus Christ, sharper than a two-edged sword!...

The racial struggle would put a dilemma for the church even if she had no conscience about the equal rights of the Negro as a child of God. Even for the most rigid racist in her fellowship, the clash between truth and prejudice is at least an annoyance. But the dilemma turns into an agony in the hearts of Christians who have a conscience about the way the white church treats the Negro. They know that God has commanded us to love one another. They know that this command includes the Negro. They know that fulfillment of this command brings the Negro into the white church and vice versa. They know that you cannot love a person innately inferior. They know that they are disobedient, and they know that they stand guilty before God. It will be a tragic day for the Christian church if anything other than repentant obedience to the will of Jesus Christ takes away that agony.

The National Conference on Religion and Race.--What has been hailed by many religious leaders as a milestone in the development of religious involvement in race relations was the first National Conference on Religion and Race. It was held in Chicago last January, attended by some 800 religious leaders and race relations representatives, and convened by three religious bodies--the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the National Council of Churches, and the Synagogue Council of America. This is how Dennis Clark, Executive Severtary of the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, described the aims of the conference in an article for Ave Maria: "It was a driving attempt to match religious courage to religious conscience. It was an effort to pit theism against racism in the mind of the nation." Mr. Clark continued.

It became clear that for the first time in this country there is a religious consensus about race relations that is achieving broad practical gains.

This is the first time this kind of consensus ever really moved in the land. In the early part of the last century there was a consensus among religions about race--a consensus of indifference. ...

> ...The moral and social strength represented at this conference could only be brought to bear in a country as big and diverse as ours. If all the constructive force represented at this meeting really rolls against racism, the old dragon will surely fall.

In the words of Mathew Ahmann,* who served as executive secretary of the conference, "the Conveners hoped and planned for a Conference which would concretely examine the role of religious institutions in race relations, and then move on to propose and inspire renewed action, and interreligious projects to increase the leadership of religion in ending racial discrimination in the United States."

But J. Irwin Miller, president of the National Council of Churches, warned that merely ending racial discrimination was not enough: "We can abolish every system and practice and custom and regulation which now offends...if we do not at the same time work with equal vigor and determination to eliminate the spirit which embraces and supports all of these, then we will find that little has been accomplished and that somehow all the new regulations and programs have become servants of the old spirit."

To this end, the workshops drew up recommendations for churches and synagogues to follow in launching specific projects at the local level. Here are some of the areas in which increased religious action was called for:

1. Total elimination of racial bars in church-related institutions and schools.
2. Diligent work under religious auspices to help Negro families find houses in restricted white neighborhoods.
3. Contract clauses in all religiously sponsored building projects that will demand nondiscrimination of contractors.
4. More backing for minority voter registration.
5. Interreligious task forces in the inner-city and suburban areas to work for housing improvement and freedom of residence.
6. A service corps to aid in rural reconstruction.
7. More religious representation with respect to urban planning decisions.
8. Steady church and synagogue policy to fill the vacuum in civic life by developing community organizations where none exist now.

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*Mr. Ahmann is the Executive Director of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, and is the editor of <u>The New Negro</u> (1961).

9. Widespread home-visiting programs and other work to foster interracial association.

Among the roadblocks to progress noted by conference workers were these: the appalling apathy of local congregations, the need for persons skilled in promoting racial change, and the difficulty of getting religious groups to face up to the moral implications of racism.

An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People.--The Conference (which Dr. Kyle Haselden, editor of the Christian Century and author of The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective, declared "may prove to be epochal") concluded by issuing "An Appeal to the Conscience of the American People." The appeal denounced racism as "our most serious evil," called for "a renewed religious conscience on this basically moral evil," and urged the American people to seek: 1) "a reign of justice," 2) "a reign of love," 3) "a reign of courage," and 4) "a reign of prayer." "We call upon all the American people," the appeal concluded, "to work, to pray and to act courageously in the cause of human equality and dignity while there is still time, to eliminate racism permanently and decisively, to seize the historic opportunity...for healing an ancient rupture in the human family, to do this for the glory of God."

Follow-up Committees Formed.--Provision was made for a follow-up committee and, temporarily, for a continuing secretariat to put the resources of the conference at the disposal of local groups which want to transform words, ideas, and plans into action. But this is not the sole action the delegates had in mind; it is merely the means to such action. More than 40 interfaith local committees have been formed for regional action in target areas.

In his January 27 Report of the Committee on Follow-up, the Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley* - chairman, issued a statement which, in the light of recent developments, has proved to be an overly cautious estimate of the Conference's impaact upon religious groups. Mr. Walmsley stated:

> Why did we hold this meeting? Surely few of us have any illusions that we can transform the churches into the forefront of the civil rights struggle. To congratulate ourselves for doing today what common sense and conscience say should have been done by religious institutions generations ago would be the height of hypocrisy or worse, a radical misreading of the movement of contemporary events, and the ways by which God transacts His will in history. ...

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*Executive Secretary of Christian Citizenship, National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church.

Much has been made in the lectures of the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament. But the prophetic message is not only an exhortation to do justly and love mercy. It is clearly apparent that what God wills in our day is a massive transformation of human relations--internationally, interreligiously, interculturally, interracially. The prophetic message is that if the Israel of God-either the Old or the New--will not respond to his will, God will then choose new agents. Further, he will cast out a stiff-necked and rebellious people, driving them into a captivity in Babylon for their apostasy. The captivity into which we have been thrust is our near total irrevelance as a moral factor in contemporary society. ...

The real hope of the Conference lies in the degrees to which we recognize that fact.

National Religious Action Against Racial Discrimination.--While religious leaders were facing the reality of the appalling gap between church pronouncements and church action regarding race, as revealed at the January Conference on Religion and Race, the civil rights crisis of the summer of 1963 burst into the eyes and ears of the nation, beginning with the Birmingham riots in early April. They were galvanized into action, and the formation of commissions on religion and race began. The programs of these commissions (listed below) typify the two-pronged effort, both within and without the church: within--to eliminate discrimination in the church and its institutions; without--to attack injustice in society by personal involvement in every phase of the struggle, including negotiations, sanctions, demonstrations, and legislative support.

May 16--Some 250 commissioners of the United Presbyterian Church, USA, chartered a new organization called the Presbyterian Interracial Council--an independent group not officially related to or dependent upon the denomination. Its purpose is to press for direct action in areas of discrimination and segregation, and local and regional units will be established. Its first official act was to send to Birmingham a small group of volunteers prepared to demonstrate if local integration leaders desired their participation.

May 20--The United Presbyterian Church USA, (northern) allocated 300,000 to fight racial discrimination among its 8,250,000 members. The more than 800 commissioners (delegates) voted that the fund will be administered by a new United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race composed of the "strongest Negro leadership" in the church and of the chief executives of the denomination's major boards and agencies. The commission will emphasize "creative action" with other faiths, emergency financial aid to churches and ministers penalized by strong stands for integration, recruitment of experts on race relations, and special training programs. The assembly instructed the new commission to report next year on racial restrictions in United Presbyterian congregations, institutions, and agencies to catalogue actions taken to support civil rights.

May 31--The top leadership of the Mormon Church was reported to be seriously considering the abandonment of its historic policy of discrimination against Negroes. This would, in effect, desegregate the three-level Mormon Heaven. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has a lay priesthood to which almost every male adult member belongs. Mormon theology teaches an afterlife with three stages of celestial bliss possible, admittance being governed by one's condition during life and progress in the priesthood. Since Negroes belong only to the first degree of membership, they are limited to the lowest degree of paradise. Women's places in paradise are determined by the achievement of their husbands. The church has also forbidden Negroes the right of marriage in a Mormon temple, and interracial marriage is also forbidden. On June 7, denial that priesthood membership might be opened to Negro Mormons was issued by Hugh B. Brown, second Counselor in the first presidency of the church. He said, "I was not quoted correctly. We are not considering that."

June 8--The Delaware Conference of the Methodist Church approved the transfer of eight of its Negro churches in the New York area to the predominantly white New York Conference. This is one step toward abolishing the all-Negro Central Jurisdiction, the Conference reported.

June 24--A Committee for Social Action was appointed by the Convention of the South, composed of 125,000 Negro church members in 11 Southern States from Virginia to Texas, the segregated Negro conference of the United Church of Christ. The committee will work toward the achievement of social justice and the realignment of all conferences and associations along geographical rather than racial lines."

June 27--The Unitarian Universalist Association set up a 12-member Commission on Religion and Race.

June 28--The Protestant Episcopal Church appointed an 18-member Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations to assist the Christian Social Relations Department in program plans for legislative, support, direct action, and speeding up desegregation within the church.

The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of CHURCHES, with Dr. Robert Spike as the executive director, announced it will concentrate on three areas of action designed to put more force behind the Council's position against racial discrimination. The adopted program follows:

1. Legislation
   a. Mass services across nation during "one great hour of freedom" to focus attention on civil rights legislation (date to be announced).
   b. Mass demonstration in Washington if Congress fails to act on, or if Southern Senators filibuster against, proposed civil rights legislation.
2. Community Action and Demonstration
   a. Local ministers to set up 24-hour-a-day vigils in prisons to prevent "police brutality" against civil rights demonstrators under arrest.
   b. Establishment of interfaith groups in cities to check on desegregation of churches, housing, schools, and employment.

3. Desegregation in the Church
   a. National governing bodies of member denominations to withhold financial aid for construction projects of individual congregations unless contractors guarantee against racial discrimination in hiring.

The Commission will develop a detailed program on how to open suburbs as peacefully as possible to families of minority groups. The two-point program will: 1) organize all church and synagogue groups in suburbs to enter into program of effective action; 2) set up working kit of materials to cover procedure.

July--Seven Catholic Sisters and Catholic Interracial Council members in Chicago joined Negro and white students in picketing Chicago's Illinois Club for Catholic Women in protest of the Club's policy of discrimination. Shortly after, the club issued a statement declaring all qualified women will be welcome without restriction.

July--In one of the first tri-faith stands on civil rights, the National Council of Churches, the Synagogue Council of America, and top Catholic officials drafted and presented to Congress a joint statement backing strong civil rights legislature.

July--The Methodist Episcopal Church will vote in 1964 on a plan to overhaul its organization to eliminate separate "jurisdictions" for its 10,000,000 white and Negro members. Approval of the plan is expected, although not without determined opposition from Southern Methodist.

July 4--The United Church of Christ (2,056,000 members) created a Committee on Race Relations and authorized $1,000.000 to expand and improve the church's work in race relations. Dr. S. Gary Oniki is the executive coordinator. Projects include: higher education; citizenship education for Negroes; payment of bail bonds, legal defense, and economic aid for persons arrested while demonstrating; housing and assistance to Negro tenant farmers; and humanitarian work for needy persons in urban areas. The church also voted to withdraw financial support from its segregated educational institutions, and to make loans for new construction contingent upon nondiscrimination in building work and a commitment to an interracial policy by the congregations.

July 10--Leaders of the American Baptist Convention (northern) drew up a plan of Baptist Action for Racial Brotherhood. It is designed to prick the conscience of the denomination's 1,500,000 members. The Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., is head of the 15-member committee.

August--Threemajor Catholic dioceses (Washington, D. C.; Oklahoma City-Tulsa; Greensburg, Pa.) have banned the issuance of construction contracts to builders who violate fair employment practices. The Roman Catholic Church spends annually $2,000,000,000 on construction, more than any other U. S. institution other than the Federal Government.

Obviously, the church has decided that "the time is now" for action in the area of racial discrimination. Besides supplying manpower for demonstrations, the various religious commissions on religion and race are sending groups of churchmen to racially tense communities to urge

local church leaders to become more active.

In northern communities, the National Council of Churches is leading efforts to overcome discrimination in housing, education and employment, as well as in the churches. Local clergy and laymen are asking residents of communities to sign petitions supporting equal housing opportunities for Negroes; residents are being asked to agree not to move out if Negroes move into their neighborhoods. In Chicago, priests and ministers circulated among a crowd of belligerant, rock-throwing whites in an attempt to calm then when a Negro family moved into a formerly all-white section. Several clergy stayed overnight with the family.

Large white churches are being urged not only to integrate their congregations but to hire Negroes as assistant ministers. Many church-operated hospitals, orphanages, and homes for the aged reject Negroes; some of the major religious denominations have warned that funds will be cut off unless there is desegregation within the year. Church staffs are urged to recruit Negroes for replacements as openings occur. Sunday School materials are being revised and rewritten. Seminaries are planning to have representatives visit Negro colleges to recruit Negro candidates for the ministry. Interracial home visits are being promoted to destroy racial sterotypes. Religion and race committees also plan programs to reduce school dropouts and to train the illiterat. They urge strong church support for civil rights legislation.

Church leaders know that these new and forceful programs for civil rights and human dignity will disturb many and alienate some of the membership. They acknowledge that it can and may result in loss of financial support from some churches and church members and bring about dissention within the local churches. But church leadership believes that the racial upheaval may prove to be of genuine spiritual value to the church, forcing it to cast aside irrelevant issues and preoccupation with "success" as measured by yearly increases in membership and revenue. They hope the church will become again the agent of God to remove the stigma of racial discrimination from the nation.

The power of the church to influence the minds and hearts of the American people was made clear by New York Times correspondent James Reston in his column of August 30. In discussing what might happen as a result of the now famous August 28 "March on Washington," Reston wrote:

... the first significant test...will come in the country this weekend. It is no good waiting for a political reaction in Congress, for if there is no moral reaction out in the country, there will be no effective political reaction here /Washington/. ...Congressmen...want to be re-elected, and all of them know the political power of the church...If the preachers said what they really thought about this racial crisis and even half of those who heard and believed them wrote their honest convictions...to Capitol Hill, the political balance on racial equality might easily be transformed. ...For while the politicians here are not saying much about the march, they are listening. And if such a mammoth demonstration, dramatizing the basic religious concept of equality, does not get an impressive response even from the churches, Congress could easily conclude that the nation was indifferent or worse.

Response of Local Southern Churches and Congregations to National Anti-discrimination Edicts.--How much of this new spirit of religious renewal and sudden and impressive determination by United States church leaders to do something, rather than just say something, about the evil of segregation is evident in the Southern Church? Are local congregations and ministers facing up to what has been defined as the most crucial issue in the life of both church and society: race?

Certainly the majority of Christian churches in the South continue to constitute the single greatest obstacle to even the simple matter of church attendance by Negroes. Some have even made bouncers of their ushers who have closed or physically barred the church door. In a few instances, Negroes have been bodily carried out of the church even as the minister was proclaiming the compassion and love of Christ and asserting that this is for all people. Undoubtedly, this action on the part of the Christian church has caused bewilderment and chagrin to many church members; great embarrassment to foreign missionaries; and guilt, anger, and frustration to those responsible for decisions to bar the doors of the church to Negro Christians. The attempts to restrict church attendance as if the House of God were a private club makes preposterous the position of missionaries and clashes violently with the basic premise of Christianity: that it is for all mankind.

It has apparently been easier for local clergy and ministerial associations to issue manifestos on the desirability of alleivating racial tension by opening to all persons the schools, lunch-counters and restaurants, theatres, and hotels than the doors of their own churches. Businessmen may well have reflected that if the churches had practiced an "open door" policy, community transition from segregation to desegregation would be easier for them.

There have been, of course, some notable and magnificent exceptions. Those local churches, ministers, and ministerial associations which have assumed leadership and responsibility in desegregation efforts in their communities could, in 1962, almost be counted on the fingers of both hands. In 1963 the examples are multiplying and spreading--not, perhaps, as quickly and in as great numbers as could be hoped--but increasingly nontheless. Unfortunately, there also continue to be examples of evasion or repudiation by the local Southern church of national anti-discrimination edicts. A state-by-state breakdown of examples of church action in the South - action both positive and negative - can be found in the appendix to this study.

V. THE NEGRO CHURCH AND THE NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT.

The failure of the organized church in race relations is made painfully apparent by the fact that there still is today a "Negro Church wing," a wing which not only has separate churches and ministers, but also separate conferences, theological schools, and ministerial associations. The steps that have been taken toward integrating the church have been slow and hesitant indeed. At present, more than 11,000,000 Negroes, half the entire Negro population of the United States, remain in segregated churches. Some 10,000,000 belong to the separate all-Negro Protestant conferences of the Baptist and Methodist churches. About 25,000 belong to the all-Negro 11-state convention of the United Church of Christ. About 500,000 belong to predominantly Protestant bodies, although chiefly in all-Negro congregations, and about 500,000 are Roman Catholics. At the national level, in most denominations and in interdenominational bodies, Negroes have considerable representation. But the pattern rarely is reflected on the local scene--North and South.

Thus, it is hardly surprising that the relationship between the Negro churches and the non-violent Negro revolt is virtually that of blood kinsmen. More of the leaders of the revolt come from the ranks of the clergy than from any other source, and the New Testament provides a very large portion of the ideological legitimation for the movement. Yet the life and teachings of Gandhi are probably more important than those of Jesus in the philosophy of non-violent direct action.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., acknowledged "moral leader" of the protest movement, has explained his own reconciliation of these two philosophies (which may seem to some persons in spiritual conflict) in his latest book:*

> ...I was introduced to the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. As I read his works I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of non-violent resistance. The whole Gandhian concept of satyagraha (satya is truth which equals love and graha is force: satyagraha thus means truth-force or love-force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi,... I came to see for the first time that the Christian doctrine of love, operating through Gandhian method of non-violence, is one of the most potent weapons available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom...

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*Strength to Love, "Pilgrimage to Non-violence."

The traditional religious influence of the church in the life of the Negro American has always been strong, and largely because of this influence, the Negro churches have been the headquarters and assembly points for civil rights action groups. Mass meetings and training sessions have been religiously oriented, with much stress on prayer, returning love for hate, and only non-violent resistance to harassment and economic reprisal. The nation is indebted to the Negro church for exerting such a strong and sustained influence upon its members. It is because of their genuine religious fervor, their deep faith in God and in Christ, that the non-violent concept has been so widely accepted and practiced. With few exceptions the movement has remained non-violent and its participants have been able to return patience for persecution, a rigid self-control for harassment, and sometimes even love for hate.

In local situations it has been the Negro ministers who have rallied community support for social reform by preaching about moral as well as civil rights and the necessity to say, in word and deed, to the white community, "we will no longer accept discrimination; the time has come to act."

A year ago the Rev. Andrew J. Young, director of the Citizenship Education Program for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the United Church of Christ, declared:*

> If Negroes have no more to hope for than equality with the white man, then they might as well give up. Negro writers... are saying now, "who wants to integrate a sinking ship?" We tell our people...we are not working for the freedom to sin as the white men have sinned, that life must hold more for us than a gray flannel suit and split-level families taking Megrecal. ...If men are created in His/God's/ image and thrown into a harsh and often brutal arena of history, their lives are shaped in his presence and they are accepted as they are and offered the challenge of loving obedience. ...We become fellow heirs with Christ, breaking down the dividing wall of hostility between man and man and man and God, and sharing literally in the fulfillment of creation. ...
>
> This, I think, is the basis of Christian citizenship training in our society now. The non-violent movements are becoming schools for the new American, because here people learn that

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*The Report of the Fourth Interracial Consultation on the Southern Church and Race Relations, College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky., July 16-20, 1962, "The Church and Citizenship Education of the Negro in the South," pp. 68-80.

life is not basically
good. They know the evil of men and yet they learn also that life involves the necessity of suffering for what is right. They can have no illusions about the way in which the world actually exists. This is not a suffering that is imposed upon them; it is a creative and voluntary suffering. ...We are coming to have more understanding of the nature and purpose of God as a result of living in his world and working to break down some of the barriers of hostility that exist. ...

We see in a sense a new reformation that is coming into being in the Negro church. Sunday morning is perhaps no longer the hour in which the real church meets. The social community of those like-minded, the intimate fellowship, meets on Sunday morning at 11:00 'clock, but the real church that comes together to take upon itself the responsibility of changing the world meets on Monday night. It is an interdenominational fellowship. ...This is the company of the committe that is gathering to hear their missionary orders. ...But these are the people of God in our time, we think.

But while the Negro church has played a major role in the Negro revolt and while that revolt may in turn be bringing about the "new reformation" described by Reverend Young, it should be noted that more than half of the young Negroes in the non-violent action groups consider themselves non-Christians, non-believers in the traditional meaning of religion. Nevertheless, the precepts they cherish and the principles they attempt to practice are tap roots of the Christian faith--brotherhood, humility, hope, and charity. Gayraud S. Wilmore, assistant professor of Social Ethics at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary has given the following description of such non-believers:*

There is, however, an authentic secularism, singularly unpopular in religious America these days. It is critical of the church not so much because of what the church professes as because of its retreat from the struggle for freedom and justice, its fear of the truth whenever the truth does not correspond to its creed, its loss of the sense of the beauty and the terror of natural life. There are secularlist who speak disparagingly of the church because they know very well what the Lordship of Christ means, but find themselves unable to accept the relationship between this Christ and the bland, middle-class Christianity which the church represents to them. Usually unaware , although sometimes quite consciously, they propagate the gospel and demonstrate its relevance in the idiom of the arts, the sciences, in the field of politics and human relations. They often mis-understand and distort the meaning of the faith, but despite themselves, some of these people are caught up in and used by the action of God for reconciliation.

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* The Secular Relevance of the Church, pp. 25-26. Westminister Press. Mr. Wilmore is also general editor of the series, Christian Perspectives on Social Problems.

> One is sometimes struck with the amazing congruence between this secular understanding of the human situation, their passion for human freedom and justice, and that of prophetic Christianity.

Perhaps the Negro protest movement will not only force Americans to live up to their Constitution and Bill of Rights, but also force the church to become truly the church.

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VI. THE BLACK MUSLIMS AND THE RELIGIOUS RADICAL RIGHT WING

Although its goals are obviously social, the Black Muslim movement is a religious movement and its appeal to Negroes stems from the current social unrest and distrust of the dominant white majority. Despite its neurotic extremism, the organization's commitment to high standards of personal and group morality are commendable. Dr. C. Eric Lincoln,* who has studied the Muslim movement in considerable depth, had this to say about the "Muslim Mythology" in a recent New South article:**

> The Black Muslims are bitterly anti-Christian, for Christianity is held to be the white man's most pernicious scheme for enslaving the non-white people of the world, while the white propagators of that religion relax in luxury and ease wherever they have found believing dupes. ...
>
> In Muslim mythology, Black Man--"the Original Man," was created by Allah, the one true God. The white man, however, is a "made thing," a beast, a synthetic man called into being by Yakub, the evil principle which is everywhere in opposition to peace, justice and equality. ...
>
> Since the white man is the son of the devil, the white man himself is a devil by nature and is incapable of doing good. Ultimately, the blue-eyed devils must be destroyed. Such is the will of Allah.

Many observers believe that the Black Muslim movement has been able to make gains in membership, particularly in the ghettos of the large cities in the North, because of the failure of the white moderate and of the "power structure" of the nation to listen to and accommodate the reasonable and just requests of the Negro leaders.

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*Professor of Philosophy, Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., and author of The Black Muslims in America, Beacon Press, 1961.

**"Extremist Attitudes in the Black Muslim Movement," New South, January, 1963.

A lucid and penetrating description of the appeal of Black Muslimism to Negroes was made by James Baldwin in his best - selling book, The Fire Next Time:

> Power was the subject of the speech I heard. We were offered, as Nation of Islam doctrine, historical and divine proof that all white people are cursed and are devils, and are about to be brought down. ...The white man's rule will be ended forever in ten or fifteen years (and it must be conceded that all present signs would seem to bear witness to the accuracy of the prophet's statement). ...Very little time was spent on theology, for one did not need to prove to a Harlem audience that all white men were devils. They were merely glad to have, at least, divine corroboration of their experience, to hear--and it was a tremendous thing to hear--that they had been lied to all these generations, and that their captivity was ending, for God was black. ...And now, suddenly, people who have never before been able to hear this message hear it and believe it, and are changed. Elijah Muhammad has been able to do what generations of welfare workers and committees and resolutions and reports and housing projects and playgrounds have failed to do: to heal and redeem drunkards and junkies, to convert people who have come out of prison and keep them out, to make men chaste and women virtuous, and to invest both the male and the female with a pride and serenity that hang about them like an unfailing light. He has done all these things, which our Christian church has spectacularly failed to do. ...
>
> "I've come," said Elijah, "to give you something which can never be taken away from you." ...This is the message that has spread through streets and tenements and prisons, through the narcotics wards, and past the filth and sadism of mental hospitals to a people from whom everything has been taken away, including, most crucially, their sense of their own worth.** People cannot live without this sense; they will do anything whatever to regain it. ...
>
> God is Black.** All black men belong to Islam; they have been chosen. And Islam shall rule the world. The dream, the sentiment is old; only the color is new. And it is this dream, this sweet possibility, that thousands of oppressed black men and women in this country now carry away with them after the Muslim minister has spoken, through the dark, noisome ghetto streets, into the hovels where so many have perished. The white God has not delivered them; perhaps the black God will.**

If the god of the Black Muslims is black, the god of the white fundamentalist religious groups currently associated with the radical right is lily white. Like the Muslims, however, white religious extremists preach a gospel of hate and fear. And they too have their devils, a host of Satans ranging from Khrushchev to Kennedy, from the

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**Italics are mine.

National Council of Churches to the United Nations. Their literature, a literature that takes on the status of Holy Writ for many southern churchmen and church groups bitterly opposed to desegregation, depicts a nation besieged from without and betrayed from within by a vast "Communist conspiracy."

Among the leaders of the rightist religious groups, Billy James Hargis of the Christian Crusade and Fred C. Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade are perhaps the best known. Others are: Verne Kaub of the American Council of Christian Laymen (who has sometimes been called the Dean of the American Right Wing); Carl McIntyre of Christian Beacon; Harvey Springer of Western Voice; James fifield of the Freedom Clubs and the televised Lighted Window; Bob Shuler of The Methodist Challenge; Edgar C. Bundy of the Church League's News and Views; C. O. Stakksklev of Truth and Liberty; John L. Rice of Sword of the Lord; William D. Herrstrom of Bible News Flashes; W. C. and Sarah Moore of Herald of His Coming; Max A. X. Clark of National Christian Journal; Howard E. Kershner of Christian Economics; Russell and Ann Ackley of Portions in Due Season; F. Henry Sattler of The Malist; Joseph Matt of The Wanderer; Stormy Jordon of the ironical postcards.

Elwyn A. Smith, writing in the November 14, 1962 issue of Christian Century, warned that "Billy James Hargis, for example, contends that he preaches the gospel of Christ, the 'greatest anti-communist power in the world today'--and he delivers a message of love and hatred a alike that make mincemeat of faith and reason alike."

Mr. Smith continued:

> The churches have not yet proved capable of convincing their members, much less the American people, that the Christian gospel is altogether incompatible with preachments of hate. ...The blend of hard political right with religious revivalism is a familiar American formula by which a moralistic minority lays bare the sin which, if eradicated by the children of righteousness, is sure--so goes the claim--to purge the guilt of the nation.
>
> ...One wonders whether people like Billy James Hargis and Fred Schwarz will not compromise fundamentalism so seriously that in large regions of the country it will no longer be recognizable as religion. When this /right-wing revivalism/ fever has passed, fundamentialism's weakened sense of divine love may well have been wholly supplanted by anti-communism's gospel of fear.

United Press International Correspondent, Louis Cassels reported in a story this spring that "right-wing pressures which threatened

to disrupt American churches have waned during the past year. But the radical right is still causing trouble for churches in some communities. And even in areas where its influence has declined sharply, church leaders are wary of a possible resurgence." The following observations are based on a nation-wide survey conducted by the National Council of Churches and reported by Mr. Cassels:

> Of the 96 state and local councils responding to the survey, 52 reported a decrease in such attacks. Fifteen others said they had never experienced any serious trouble. Fifteen councils said things are about the same, and 14 felt there has been some increase in rightist pressure during the past year.
>
> Many of the respondents said that rightist groups are trying as hard as ever to stir up distrust of the clergy and the National Council of Churches, but church members are not listening to the attacks as critically as they once did. (Denver, Colo.; Long Beach, Calif.; Wichita Falls, Tex.; Spokane, Wash.)

Reports indicating "little change" came from Miami, Florida, Atlanta, Georgia, and Oklahoma.

The Christian Crusade has recently fallen on hard times. At the 1963 Annual Convention, August 4, the Rev. Billy James Hargis complained to the 500 delegates from 33 states that income for the first seven months of this year had been only $396,000 as compared to $470,000 for the same period last year. A total of $18,000 was collected at the conference (six persons contributing $1,000 each). Hargis also complained that the crusade was losing members to the fast-growing John Birch Society. The Christian Crusade was a fundamentalist religion movement when Hargis started it in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, 17 years ago. In recent years he has shifted its emphasis to "awakening America" to the internal threat of communism. He indicated that more emphasis may be placed on religion in the future and announced the formation of a youth affiliate crusade, the Torch Bearers, and said there would be chapters on 76 campuses this September. (Two-week seminars this summer trained 116 youths as leaders for "patriotism and Christianity.) The monthly magazine and the programs on radio stations in 55 cities will continue.

The coming election year may well intensify activities of all these groups, particularly in areas where there are right-wing condidates for public office. Baptists Hargis and Robert Welch (founder and head of the John Birch Society) have avowed white supremacists in their

organizations, and there are distinct racist overtones in their attacks on civil rights legislation. As for religion, Welch contends that there are about 7,000 ministers in the United States who are communist sympathizers.

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VII. THE CHURCH MARCHES WHERE?

In analyzing and assessing the role of the church in American life, religious leaders generally agree that its principal failures have been these:

- The church follows rather than leads.--"...the forces of religion must lead rather than follow in this battle to build a society and a world in which the dignity of every human being is jealously guarded..." Dr. Julius Mark, president of the Synagogue Councils of America.*

- Religion is not relevant to life today; no religion in America can Practice its convictions and preach racism.--"Careful and responsible thinkers refer to racism as the core of many of our problems today. What we do about it is the ultimate test of our vaunted democratic way of life, /and we must/ ...remove the last vestiges of injustice, legal inequality, and discrimination from our committees, parishes, schools, and other institutions." Cardinal Albert Meyer, Pontifical Commission for Bibical Studies for the Second Vatican Council.*

- Clergymen lack the courage of their convictions, and are susceptible to pressure from church members.--"By negligence and silence we have all become accessories before the God of mercy to the injustice committed against the Negroes in our nations." Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel, Jewish Theological Seminary.*

/We have a/"clear duty /to/ make clear to all our people the cancerous nature of this evil and its threat to our society if it be not eliminated." J. Irwin Miller, president, National Council of Churches.*

- Church members are apathetic or resistant to social change; religion is more widely professed than respected among us.--/In some parts of the nation/ "the conduct of the Christians is worse than the laws." Dr. Franklin M. Littel, Chicago Theological Seminary.*

"It is not enough merely to publicize a social doctrine. It has to be translated into action." Pope John XXIII, in his encyclical letter, Mater et Magistra."

The Church Follows Rather than Leads.--Why has the church hesitated in becoming involved in the social conflict of our time? The

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*Speaking at the Religion and Race meeting in Chicago, January 1963.

social activist is moving into a whole new phase of life; the church, until recently, has been the tail end of the movement. Only after the Negro students began the sit-in movement (February, 1961) did the church begin to change its emphasis from :law and order" to a real confrontation with the moral and ethical implications of segregation. The kneel-ins brought this issue into the pews and altars of the churches. No longer was it possible to evade facing, and taking a stand on, the responsibility of the church toward segregation.

The church was not always such a laggart, and the men of God most remembered and revered through the ages were those involved in the great moral issues of their time. Jesus was crucified because he would not cease to express his convictions of faith. John Wesley, when preaching the word of God to the miners in England, learned that their poverty had to be taken into consideration and their general condition improved before religion could be meaningful to them.

Will Campbell writes in his book, Race and the Renewal of the Church:

> Christendom came very close to gaining the whole world. It is now, or so say its critics, dangerously close to losing its own soul. In no area more crucial to the future of the church is this more true than in the area of race relations. ...
>
> In Africa and Asia the leadership is found today in the tidal wave of nationalism sweeping those two continents and carrying their peoples toward political and economic independence. In America, the most promising and exciting developments in human relations are taking place, not in the churches, but in government.
>
> The church might have influenced these developments by being true to its own nature. It might have determined their success or failure, but it failed to act. It waited until government took the initiative to rescue human rights. And today when the church acts in the human relations field, it follows government or political authority. It imitates the action of the state or it confirms such action with a pious benediction. Moreover, when it has acted, the church has been too often an echo of the cry for law and order, democracy, the rights of man, human dignity, constitutional process, the public schools.
>
> These things are good, but are they the most basic, most distinctive, concern of the church? ...We have been asking the wrong questions. Instead of demanding, what can the Christian do to improve race relations? we should be asking, what must the Christian be? As the body of Christ, the church first of all must be the redeemed community. Then will it be empowered to redeem the world, and not before.

> The sin of the church is not that it has not reformed society, but that it has not realized self-renewal. Its sin is that it has not repented. Without repentance there cannot be renewal.

In the summer of 1963, as previously noted, the church began taking an active role in the civil rights movement--Jewish rabbis, Catholic priests and nuns, and Protestant ministers (many of them national leaders) began walking picket lines, joining sit-ins demonstrations and marches, even going to jail. But again the church is following; it is supporting the Negro and interracial action groups, the secular liberals, and civil rights legislation.

The church has recently shown more determination to bring moral and economic pressure to bear on its own institutions--schools and colleges, hospitals, church building programs, and rental property--to eliminate any racial discrimination. There is some evidence that these stronger national policies are giving courage to local ministers and churches to take coution first steps toward "open door" policies. However, in areas where this happened, it has usually followed desegregation of public acoommodations after either demonstrations or negotiated settlements.

Religion is Not Relevant to Life Today.--There is a growing demand for a religion that is personal and is applied; that says what it means and means what it says. If the test of the Judeo-Christian religion is to love God and your neighbor, its practical application is exemplified by the Good Samaritan. The sick and the needy, the troubled and mourning are not to be found in the churches on Sunday morning. The people most in need of help seldom come to church; the church must go to them.

Today the racial problem is the most deeply disturbing dilemma of religious faith and conscience. Too many churches are operated like country clubs with programs totally unrelated to the lives of the people. Too many clergymen evade this troublesome issue and repeat cliches and prescriptions for peace of mind. Some use the cautious approach of telling the congregation, "the national board has recommended..." or else speak in vague generalities to avoid stepping on the toes of the conscience of any large contributor to the church budget. Perhaps the white Protestant church in particular needs Negro

ministers or African missionaries to break through their complacency and expose their hypocracy, fear, doubt, and the evasions and rationalizations of the vestries, the boards of deacons, and the building committees. Such a program might make of Christianity something a searching person could honestly accept.

In the slum areas of the inner city, the old patterns of churches and religion no longer work; to the ministers who tried to apply them, they seemed irrelevant. It became clear that unless the minister was concerned with their everyday life the people were not going to listen to him. The kinds of programs that have developed from this new attitude are dynamic and effective. Two examples follow:

> In one East Harlem parish, the store-front church evolved to include a counseling center, narcotics program to help drug addicts, medical clinic, remedial reading clinic, library, and recreation program for teen-agers.
>
> In another city, a minister organized a reform Democratic club for community improvement in a slum area. The club was successful in getting its candidate elected to the state assembly, another as state committeeman, and an appointee to serve in city administration Department of Buildings to represent the rights of the tenants of sub-standard housing.

But such examples are all too few and too seldom found. The splendor of the church is everywhere revealed along Fifth Avenue downtown; the service of the church is scarcely revealed at all tothose in the ghettos of Fifth Avenue uptown.

The inconsistency of the church's mission boards sending money and missionaries to the African countries for generations, and then refusing to admit the mission-educated students to American church-related schools has been castigated by churchmen, journalists, and missionaries. Charging that U. S. missionaries too often "peddle pious piffle" instead of becoming involved in the life of the people to whom they are supposed to minister, the Rev. Harris Mobley, a Mercer alumnus, in a frank address to Mercer University students scored the actions of American missionaries who refuse "to get involved in the wounds of the African." He continued:

> African Christian leadership is "fed up with playing second fiddle to the missionaries. Our paternalism, cultural ignorance and disrespect for things African have all but finished us. ..." What the African people want "is human dignity and self-respect." The mission boards have not been getting "the best people for the jobs. Too often they attract mediocre characters who could not make it at home." Besides being unwilling to work with Africans "at the bottom," they are not able to work with those at the top...

" "Let's insist on a better reason for brotherhood than political expedience or economic feasibility...racial segregation is offensive to human dignity, to the Negro in particular, but most of all to God."

The real question is not "whether Negroes want to worship in our churches but if we want them to come. It is not will it hurt the cooperative program, local giving, even peace in the church, but will it hurt a greatly concerned God if we don't. Not what it will do to the building program, but to the building of the Kingdom of God. Our ultimate danger is not in losing members but in losing the very soul of the church."

Clergymen Lack the Courage of Their Convictions, and Are Susceptible to Pressure from Church Members

The dilemma of the Southern minister who believes that Christians and Christian churches should, as a matter of principle, be in the forefront of the forces working for racial tolerance and that any Christian should be admitted to the church has been well documented. Pressure from congregational leaders, ostracism and obstruction, threats of violence, petitions to remove the minister--these are all familiar patterns. The wonder is that as many clergymen as have been noted in the news have been willing to pay the price of this difficult decision.

Ralph McGill, in a May 19th column of the Atlanta Constitution, discussed the intolerant attitude of laymen which defeats and sometimes destroys a southern minister. The Atlanta columnist wrote:

"I want to tell you about churches and preachers," the letter said. "The churches belong to the members. The minister is just a guest, or, to be plain, a hired man. We, the members, decide to whom we will offer the job of filling our pulpit. When, and if, we want him to go we will vote to tell him so as we voted to ask him to come. All this talk about a minister taking the lead is just stuff. The members will decide what members to accept, and to whom doors will be opened and to whom closed. This is the truth of it, and all this talk about Christian 'duty' is meaningless. The Christian members of churches will decide. The preacher is just a hired man."

The write was a woman. One could imagine her, cold-eyed and angry, but also icily-controlled, as she put down her dogma. She named her particular affiliation. It is that of an evangelical group that generously supports foreign missions, with emphasis on Africa and Latin America. That the writer represents a considerable body of thought is undenied by the almost weekly actions of ushers at some churches and the humiliations of ministers unable to have an open church door.

If the description of the "preacher" as "just a hired man," or hired guest, is a harsh one, let us face the fact that the record is an uncomfortable one in that it too often sustains the statement made. A church in Columbus, Ga., abruptly fired its hired man a few years ago for saying the race problem was a moral one. A pleased church member, a party to the firing, was quoted as saying, "Now we can get a preacher with the right sort

of religion." This will remain as the classic utterance of all time. It exactly fits the letter writer's description of things ...the hired man will be asked out if he doesn't do what the members order. More than a hundred ministers have been booted out of deep-South churches since 1954 and, quite obviously, more are on the way.

The number, however, likely will not be large, though the attitude of being ready and willing to fire the church hired man is more prevalent than is generally comprehended. It is by no means restricted to rural or city fundamentalist churches where God himself is hailed as the first and greatest segregationist. It is a fiercely nurtured state of mind at an undetermined number of rich and comfortable urban churches where, indeed, the "right sort of religion" is the first and great commandment.

The appendix to the "Action" section of this report lists both courageous actions by ministers and retaliation by church members. The probability is that many more ministers have left their churches under varying degrees of pressure without any publicity and with other reasons given for their departure from the community or state. The Rev. Dr. Albert McClellan of Nashville, Tenn., a Southern Baptist executive, says he knows definitely of only three pastors "forced out" of their pulpits recently over the race question. But he said "there could be many more," and that he knew of several others who resigned voluntarily because they felt they couldn't preach forthrightly on the racial problem. In Mississippi, Methodist Bishop Marvin Franklin said "a little more than usual left last year." Since in the South the admission of Negroes to white churches or ministers advocating an "open door" policy is considered news, the reported number of forced departures is extremely low by percentage.

A recent nationwide survey of about 4,000 ministers by Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research showed that a third of them reported being criticized by members for preaching about controversial issues, such as race relations. About a third also are unhappy enough about the situation to want to leave their parishes, though they haven't done so, the study found.

Some denominations, including the United Church ofChrist, the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the Lutheran Church have set up special funds to aid those who lose their pulpits over the issue. Union Theological Seminary sent a special letter to all alumni offering special two-week "study leaves" to those under heavy fire locally.

Church Members Are Apathetic or Resistant to Social Change; Religion Is More Widely Professed than Respected Among Us.

In religious circles this view is widely accepted; why is it true? Has the church for too long shown tacit agreement with the prevailing opinion that religion is just for Sundays in church and has nothing at all to do with the outside activities of church members from Monday through Saturday?

Should it be necessary to question whether the church's concern is limited to personal and private sin (as many southern churchmen do) since personal life is social life (unless one happens to be a recluse or a hermit)?

Clergy and laity alike are taking another look at the church--from within--and there is much discussion going on as to the methods of measuring church "success" or "effectiveness." Regularly attending comfortable, air-conditioned buildings to be mildly inspired by music, stained glass, and not-too-disturbing sermons does not demand real interest in or respect for the church. Neither do "togetherness" church suppers, picnics, and missionary teas.

Obviously, church policy can be bent and molded so as to conform more to personal preferences, to local "way of life." And the Christian faith has ofttimes been watered down so as to make it more palatable, more easily acceptable, more adjusted to human desires, needs, prides, and prejudices.

If members are to be challenged to live creatively "in the gap between the will of God, theologically understood, and the concrete human situation, pragmatically understood,"* the church and the minister must offer more.

The Negro church has offered more, and has been revitalized and transformed. Can the white church change? Would a "transfusion" of the energy and vitality of the Negro church (which most white churches are stubbornly resisting) aid the fragmented church to regain its wholeness?

Has the church failed to put across its conviction that prejudice is immoral? Has it stubbornly refused to crusade against racial discrimination and resolve its own differences over this issue? According to its own spokesmen, it has. What then, of the future? Can the

* by P. Lehmann, as quoted by David W. Barry, Executive Director, New York Mission Society, in a paper, "Guidelines for Evaluation of the Local Urban Church." 1963.

church regain its former position of respect, influence, and moral leadership? A few, at least, of its leaders and severest critics believe that it can.

"The strongest centers of resistance have been invaded and most of them have given ground," said Dr. Harry Richardson, president of the Interdenominational Theological Center in Atlanta, to church leaders from throughout the nation on April 18, 1963. "If the present conditions continue, we can almost expect the disappearance of the race problem as we have known it within 40 years." Dr. Richardson made the following points:

- the church in the South in 40 years will be more worldly minded. It will be concerned with the welfare of human beings;
- the church will be more interested in helping bring into the world a better life for people; it is up against movements that are determined to do that.
- the church must be led by a new kind of minister--men who have no other aim or interest than to serve for God's sake and His sake alone;
- today's ideals of success--a big salary, a big church, popularity, a role as communicator to millions--must pass. The church will have to be led by those who ask nothing other than to lose themselves in service to God and to their brother.

The late Pope John XXIII realized the church must free itself of old and irrelevant restrictions and divisions before it could reach out to a new concept of world brotherhood--a union of all creeds and races. He made a good beginning in the short time he had, and his vision of what the church could become, as enunciated in his magnificent encyclicals, inspired all religious leaders. His message on race (Pacem in Terris) in particular had worldwide influence and significance.

> It is true that nothing is easy, and we do not hide this fact from ourself. But with the help of God and with a sincere tribute of subjection to Him, true progress in brotherhood and peace is possible.

American churchmen today know only too well how difficult it is to attain "true progress in brotherhood" between Americans of different color and different creed. But, guided by Pope John's eloquence and by the example he set not just for Roman Catholics but for men of all faiths, they are also learning that the bonds between men far outnumber the barriers. And they may yet raise the church to new heights of greatness, to new horizons of glory.

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

PUBLISHED BY THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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SPECIAL BULLETIN—AUGUST 1964

A SUMMARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

This summary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was prepared in response to questions about the Act which have come to the Commission from citizens in every section of the country. It is designed to provide a clearer understanding of the major provisions of the new statute.

Some of the questions raised about any new law cannot be fully answered until the policies and programs necessary for carrying out the law have been developed by the appropriate Government agencies. Other questions will be further clarified as the courts deal with cases brought under the law.

This summary was prepared by the staff of the Commission and is available for distribution as a service under the national clearinghouse function assigned the Commission by the new Civil Rights Act.

Title I

VOTING

The purpose of this section is to provide more effective enforcement of the right to vote in Federal elections (for President, Vice President, presidential electors or members of Congress) without regard to race or color. It also speeds up the procedure by which voting rights suits may be decided.

The Act:

a. requires that the same standards be applied to all individuals seeking to register and vote;

b. forbids denial of the right to vote because of some minor mistake or omission;

c. requires that only literacy tests that are written may be used as a qualification for voting; and that the tests and answers be available on request;

d. establishes that in voting rights law suits the court must presume that anyone who completed the sixth grade is literate, unless the State can prove otherwise.

In any voting suit brought by the Government charging that there is a "pattern or practice" of voting discrimination, either the Attorney General or the defendant may ask that a three-judge Federal court be appointed to hear the case. Appeals from the decisions of such a court may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

Title II

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin is specifically forbidden in the following places of public accommodation:

a. hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, movie houses, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums;

b. any other establishment which offers its services to patrons of the covered establishment; for example,

–a barbershop or tavern located in a hotel, or

–a department store in which there is a restaurant: *so long as* the covered facilities either affect interstate commerce in their operations, or are supported in their discriminatory practices by State action.

In addition, discrimination is forbidden in any other place of public accommodation that is required to segregate by State or local laws.

If there are no State or local laws requiring segregation, the Federal law does not cover:

a. barbershops, beauty parlors and other service establishments unless they are located in a hotel and offer these services to hotel guests;

b. retail stores that do not serve food, or places of recreation (except as listed above) which do not serve food;

c. lodging houses, hotels or similar places which take temporary guests if they have fewer than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the owner.

Places that are actually owned and operated as private clubs are exempted from coverage of this title except to the extent that they offer their facilities to patrons of a covered establishment, such as a country club that customarily allows guests of a hotel to use its golf course.

No person may intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone for the purpose of interfering with the rights created by this title.

The provisions of this title may be enforced in two ways:

1. By *individual action* in a civil suit filed by the persons discriminated against, or

2. By *Government action* in a civil suit filed by the Attorney General.

In public accommodations suits filed by individuals:

—the court hearing the suit may appoint a lawyer for the person bringing the complaint and exempt the complainant from the payment of certain costs;

—the court may permit the Attorney General to enter the case;

—if there is a State law or local ordinance that prohibits discrimination, the complaint must first be taken to the State or local authorities, allowing them 30 days to begin a proceeding before suit can be filed in a Federal court;

—once the case is in court, the court can postpone action until the State or local proceeding is completed;

—if there are no State or local anti-discrimination provisions, the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service (see Title X) so that it may seek to secure voluntary compliance within no more than 120 days.

The Attorney General may file a public accommodations suit when he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance. As in Title I voting suits, he may request a three-judge court for this action.

In public accommodations suits brought either by individuals or the Attorney General, the court may issue temporary or permanent injunctions or restraining orders against those found to be violating the law. A person or persons failing to obey such court decrees may be punished by contempt proceedings under the jury trials provision of the law (see Title XI).

Title III

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil suit to compel desegregation of any publicly-owned or operated facility whenever he receives a written complaint of discrimination. He must believe that the complaint merits action and must certify that the individual or individuals making the complaint are themselves unable to take the necessary legal action. State or municipally owned or operated parks, libraries and hospitals are among the facilities covered.

Title IV

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Under this title the U.S. Office of Education is authorized to:

a. conduct a national survey to determine the availability of equal educational opportunity;

b. provide technical assistance, upon request, to help States, political subdivisions or school districts carry out school desegregation plans;

c. arrange training institutes to prepare teachers and other school personnel to deal with desegregation problems;

d. make grants enabling school boards to employ specialists for in-service training programs.

In addition, the Attorney General is authorized to file civil suits seeking to compel desegregation of public schools, including public colleges.

Before filing such a suit the Attorney General must have received a signed complaint from a pupil or parent and must have determined that the complainant, according to standards set forth in the Act, is unable to bring the action. The Attorney General is also required to notify the school board and give it a reasonable period of time to correct the alleged condition before filing suit.

Title V

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The life of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is extended until January 31, 1968. Since 1957 the Commission's functions have included investigating denials of the right to vote, studying legal developments and appraising Federal policies relating to equal protection of the laws, and making recommendations for corrective action to the President and the Congress.

Title V gives the Commission added authority to:

a. serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;

b. investigate allegations of vote fraud.

Commission hearing procedures are amended to further protect the rights of individuals who may be affected by Commission proceedings.

As a national clearinghouse, the Commission will provide civil rights information in such areas as voting, housing, education, employment and the use of public facilities to Federal, State and local government agencies and officials, organizations and businesses, and the general public.

Title VI

FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Under this title every Federal agency which provides financial assistance through grants, loans or contracts is required to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin in these programs.

For example, this title would require the following:

a. hospitals constructed with Federal funds would have to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

b. elementary and secondary schools constructed, maintained and operated with Federal funds would have to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

c. State employment services financed by Federal funds would have to refer qualified job applicants for employment without discrimination;

d. schools for the deaf and the blind operated with Federal funds would have to serve the deaf and blind of any color;

e. colleges and universities receiving funds for their general operation or for the construction of special facilities, such as research centers, would have to admit students without discrimination;

f. construction contractors receiving funds under Federal public works programs would have to hire employees without discrimination.

Action by a Federal agency to carry out the requirements of this title may include the terminating of programs where discrimination is taking place or refusal to grant assistance to such a program.

Each agency is required to publish rules or regulations to carry out the purposes of the title. These rules and regulations are subject to the approval of the President.

Compliance actions are subject to the following conditions:

a. notice must be given of alleged failure to comply and an opportunity for a hearing must be provided;

b. in the event assistance is to be cut off, a written report must be submitted to Congress 30 days before the cut-off date;

c. compliance action may be appealed to the courts.

Social security and veteran's benefits, and other Federal benefits distributed directly to individuals are not affected by this law.

Federal assistance in the form of insurance or guaranty—for example, FHA insured loans—are not covered by this title (however, the President's Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in Federally aided housing remains in effect).

Title VII

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

This title establishes a Federal right to equal opportunity in employment. It creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to assist in implementing this right.

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies are required to treat all persons without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. This treatment must be given in all phases of employment, including hiring, promotion, firing, apprenticeship and other training programs, and job assignments.

When this title goes into full effect employers will be subject to its provisions if they have 25 or more regular employees in an industry that affects interstate commerce. Generally speaking, labor unions will be subject to the Act if they either operate a hiring hall for covered employers, or if they have 25 or more members who are employed by a covered employer. Employment agencies are also included if they regularly undertake to supply employees for a covered employer.

(Enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirements for employers and unions is postponed for one year. Employers and unions with 100 or more workers will be covered beginning July 2, 1965 and coverage will be extended each year until July 2, 1968 when employers and unions with 25 workers will be covered.)

Not covered by this title are (1) public employers, (2) bona fide private clubs, (3) educational institutions with regard to employees working in educational activities and all employment in religious educational institutions, (4) employers on or near an Indian reservation with regard to preferential treatment of Indians; and (5) religious corporations, institutions, etc., with regard to employees working in connection with religious activities.

When someone believes he has been discriminated against because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any phase of job placement or employment, he may bring his complaint within 90 days to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or to the Attorney General.

The Commission will handle his complaint directly, unless the State where the alleged discrimination occurred has fair employment laws. If so, the person complaining must allow the State officials no more than 120 days to resolve the matter. If there is no satisfactory conclusion within this time or if the State rejects the complaint before the time is up, the complainant may then go to the Commission, which is authorized to settle valid complaints by conciliation and persuasion. Nothing said during the conciliation proceedings may be made public or used as evidence without the consent of the parties.

If the Commission fails to secure compliance within a period of no more than 60 days, the individual may take his case to a Federal court. This court may appoint an attorney and may exempt the complainant from payment of certain costs. The court, in its discretion, may allow the Attorney General to enter the case.

A worker who thinks he has been discriminated against may take his complaint directly to the Attorney General, who may bring the case before a three-judge court if he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance to this title.

If the court in either action finds discrimination, it will order the employer, employment agency or union to take corrective action, which may include hiring or reinstating employees with or without back pay.

Title VIII

VOTING STATISTICS

The Secretary of Commerce is required to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and voted in such geographic areas as the Commission on Civil Rights recommends.

A similar survey must also be conducted on a nationwide basis in connection with the 1970 Census. No person questioned during such surveys may be compelled to disclose his race, color, religion or national origin and everyone must be advised of his right to refuse to give this information.

Title IX

INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

The Attorney General is authorized to intervene in any Federal court action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin. If a Federal court refuses to accept a civil rights case and sends it back to a State court, this action may be reviewed on appeal.

Title X

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A Community Relations Service is established in the Department of Commerce to provide assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems where discriminatory practices impair constitutional rights or affect interstate commerce. The Service is authorized to cooperate with both public and private agencies, either on its own initiative or upon request from local officials or interested persons in situations where disputes threaten peaceful relations among the citizens of a community.

In addition, the Service is authorized to seek a voluntary settlement of public accommodation complaints which may be referred to it by a Federal Court. The Act directs that all activities of the Service in providing conciliation assistance shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity.

Title XI

MISCELLANEOUS

This title gives a right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising out of all sections of this Act except Title I, which retains the more limited jury trial provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

Appropriations are authorized to carry out the Act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the Act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law. This title also preserves the rights of the States to legislate in the same areas covered by this Act, so long as such legislation is not inconsistent with the purposes of the Act.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

John A. Hannah, Chairman
Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman Designate
Frankie M. Freeman, Member Designate
Erwin N. Griswold
Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
Robert S. Rankin

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;
- Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and
- Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

GSA WASH DC 65-1579

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425
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MEMO TO GSM Feb. 11, 1953

Mr. Robert McDonald, 8 E. 4th St., Montgomery, Alabama, is available as personnel--presumably paid personnel--for the Alabama Division. He is studying law. Brother to somebody fairly high up in the Montgomery Advertiser. He raised the matter at the Alabama Division meeting February 10, 1953.

Veterans Administration Hospital
Tuskegee, Alabama
February 8, 1954

RECEIVED
FEB 9
Southern Regional Council

Dr. W. A. Smart
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Smart:

I had the good fortune yesterday morning to tune in your sermon at the First Methodist Church, Montgomery, Alabama, on my car radio. As you developed your theme, I followed you word for word, and wondered whether you would make the application of the way Jesus handled racial tensions and discriminations in his day to the current racial problems in the United States, especially in the South. As an individual Negro, I wish to thank you for your forthright application of christianity to a troubled subject that so many ministers evade.

I was especially thankful for your sermon as I had just tuned off listening to another which had the same opportunity, but left the subject merely dangling in vague theoretics even when it was hinted.

You may know of the Southern Regional Council, an organization of outstanding colored and white citizens, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, who are giving thoughtful attention to all areas of segregation, but presently emphasizing the changes that are expected in school segregation. On February 4, 1954 I attended a meeting of the Alabama Division of this Council, which met at the Alabama State College for Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, under the chairmanship of the Rev. Mr. Whitsit, a white minister from the Talladega-Anniston area. Some ten or twelve ministers, colored and white of various denominations, were in attendance.

It was on this fresh background that I heard your challenging sermon.

Very truly yours,

PRINCE P. BARKER, M.D.
Chief, Neuropsychiatric Services

cc: Pastor
First Methodist Church
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Feb. 10, 1954

Dr. Mitchell
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

On Feb. 8th the following ladies came to my house for coffee and to get acquainted with Dr. Parrish, Jean Schulte, Catherine Gordon, Wyn Pyle, Jo Ann Robinson, Mary Alice Faber, Mayme Jones, and Mrs. A. W. West Sr..

We had a pleasant and profitable morning of discussion and will meet on Feb. 23rd. with Miss Gordon to plan our activities.

Sincerely,

Pearl E. Maurer

Pearl E. Maurer
713 C
Gunter AFB, Ala.

April 26, 1954

To: Katherine Stoney

A letter from Reverend T. R. Thrasher, secretary of the Alabama Division, dated April 23rd, states that the Executive Committee of the Alabama Division of SRC, meeting in April '54, elected Mr. H. C. Trenholm to the SRC as a representative of the Alabama Division.

MEMO: 20 Sept 54

To: GSM

From: FBR

Re: Alabama trip

1. CH Parish and I went to Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama and met a wide variety of people. In Birmingham we met and talked with the following: Mr. Paul Jones, Exec Secy of Interracial Committee (Jefferson Co. Co-ord. Council); Miss Ruby Hurley, SE Regional director NAACP; Mr. Emory Jackson, Editor, B'ham World; Mrs. Florence Adams, Exec Secy of Red Feather Agencies (Wheelhorse Extraordinaire) and Dr. JM Hinton, S.C. State Pres NAACP.

a) Dr Hinton feels there is discrimination involved in the change of plans from two co-state directors to one white director. A letter from you personally would help this situation, explaining why the change etc etc.

2) The Montgomery meeting was fruitful; attending it were: Rev Whitsett, Rev. Mc Cleod, Mr. Henley, Mr. Shores, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Brooks, Dr. Pierce, and Fr. Thrasher.

a) Rev Robt Hughes was chosen as State Exec Secy at the meeting.
b) Montgomery was chosen as the site of the state office.
c) The Alabama Division of the SRC was chosen as the name.
d) Hughes was asked to find office space and clear it with com.
e) Hughes will come to Atlanta Monday Sept 27 & Tues 28th.

3) CH Parish is a skilled diplomat in the handling of Prima Donas, ordinary folk, and ministers. His contributions helped the meeting considerably.

4. All in all this was a worthwhile trip and a good introduction to field work for me. We found several needs:

a) Criteria for affiliation of local groups (I'm working on it)
b) Spelled-out relationship of central office to state org's.
c) $8 per diem hardly meets expenses.

Editorial from the "BIRMINGHAM NEWS"
October 13, 1954

A School Plan of Good Will and Cooperation

RESPECT FOR BOTH LAW AND MUTUAL CONVICTIONS IS ESSENTIAL IN MEETING SUPREME COURT DECISION

The grave problems raised by the Supreme Court's decision outlawing compulsory school segregation are pressing hard upon the minds and consciences of the people of the South. But specific application of the decision will not be entirely clear until decrees are issued, and consequently in most areas a period of reflection and preparation fortunately now is available. Able students of the law pertinently point out that legal doctrine to be effective must be translated into actual legal practice. We are now seeking methods of legal practice in conformity with the newly pronounced legal doctrine. It is an inexpressibly complex and momentous task.

This interval of preparation does not mean that procrastination can be afforded. The situation even now is urgent though in most communities the climax is not yet at hand.

These grave problems will not be solved by bitter conflict among our people. They cannot be escaped by evasion.

* * * * * * * *

This newspaper, having expressed its deep regret that this decision has come at this time, nevertheless believes that constructive and creative efforts must be made to meet it. After long and earnest reflection, "The News" has come to the conclusion -- which perhaps should have been obvious at once -- that a constructive approach requires recognition of two fundamental principles:

1. Respect for the law and its interpretation by the Supreme Court.
2. Respect for sincere, widespread community convictions.

If either of these principles is ignored or grossly subordinated, there can be no creative dealing with the situation. Instead there would be bitterness and conflict and a peril whose limits could not be defined.

* * * * * * * *

The Supreme Court is our final interpreter of the law. Our system of government -- of justice and freedom -- is based on law and respect for law. Our way of life could not survive on any other basis.

But it is also true that law gains its support and effectiveness from the willing acceptance of the people. Law which deeply violates the conviction of the people of a nation -- or a region -- or a community -- cannot be adequately effective in that nation, region, or community. Any program of action under the Supreme Court decrees, to be constructive and successful, must take account of the deep conviction of the people involved.

* * * * * * * *

WHAT KIND OF PROGRAM?

What kind of a program would be in accord with these two basic principles and avoid the great danger of disruption and conflict which would be involved in other courses of action?

First of all, it is to be recognized, we believe, that compulsory public school segregation is invalidated in principle by the decision. This newspaper recognizes force and reality in the contention that such segregation does involve a kind of discrimination in itself. But it also believes that contentions and conditions underlying the superceded "separate but equal" decision of more than a half century ago and bearing on state rights and the public interest and peace also are still to be recognized as involving considerations of great pertinence and weight. Who can fail to recognize that sentiment among white people in communities of the South generally, and even in some communities in other regions, is strongly against compulsory integration of white and Negro students in the public school.

* * * * * * * *

What kind of a plan of action could constructively meet these realities?

It is the belief of this newspaper that a fundamental requisite of any such plan would require that our people of good will of BOTH RACES UNITE COMMUNITY BY COMMUNITY IN STRIVING TO ACHIEVE AS MUCH COMMON GROUND OF AGREEMENT as possible. They should STRONGLY RESIST being drawn into almost EXCLUSIVE CONCENTRATION ON DIFFERENCES. Different conditions and sentiments will make for varying problems in different communities. No one program will be equally effective everywhere.

There IS much common ground upon which we believe a great majority of ALL our Southern people CAN stand. That is true here in Birmingham and the rest of Alabama.

This great majority in both races do not want to defy law.

They do not want to foment new and terrible bitterness and conflict here at home in a world facing the menace of overwhelming destruction through strife.

The great majority of our white people want to respect law and to avoid compulsory action in defiance of law.

The great majority of our Negro citizens, we believe, do not want to try to force integration of students where it is against a prevailing white sentiment and would involve grave possibilities of trouble.

* * * * * * * *

MUCH SOLID COMMON GROUND

These and other feelings, including longstanding realities of genuine friendship and good will between the two races, provide much solid, common ground upon which to work. Action on that basis, looking to POSITIVE, HOPEFUL results, rather than NEGATIVE OBSTRUCTION AND ANTAGONISM, could, we believe, evoke a powerful COOPERATIVE support among white and colored people.

It could develop the incomparable power of true good will.

It could conceivably lead to marked creative progress instead of mounting stress and hate and peril.

* * * * * * * *

What kind of a definite program of action, then, could be evolved from such a cooperative spirit and attitude?

In seeking specific answer to that crucial question, let the Court's decision be carefully considered. One thing seems to us especially important. The decision clearly invalidates COMPULSORY SEGREGATION. But to this paper it seems evident that it does NOT COMPEL INTEGRATION, especially if there is individual desire or community conviction to the contrary. This distinction points, we believe, to an opportunity for action in conformity with both the Court's ruling against compulsory segregation and community sentiment against compulsory integration. In our anxiety over DIFFERENCES and DANGERS, have we OVERLOOKED a really HOPEFUL OPPORTUNITY?

* * * * * * * *

HELPFUL VOLUNTARY ACTION

Specifically, "The Birmingham News" proposes the most careful examination and consideration of a plan under which it would be possible, we believe, both to give respect, and to conform, to the Court's ruling against compulsory segregation, and to avoid by VOLUNTARY ACTION an integration of students profoundly against intense community sentiment among white people.

In seeking such a program, school districts might be evolved in each of which -- where both white and colored children resided -- there would be a school that now is white and one that now is colored. The problem of such districting should not be insurmountable.

Residential patterns in Birmingham as in many other cities are such as to be helpful in meeting school districting problems under the Court's decision. It will be natural and logical for great numbers of colored school children to want to continue attending the schools they have been attending. But under the idea here suggested for study, there would be a genuine opportunity for colored children to choose and attend schools regardless of race. Anything less than such an opportunity would not, in a public school system, meet the Court's decision.

This paper is unable to believe that a satisfactory solution can be found in abolishing the public school system, although a change in state law in due time giving the Legislature authority in that respect might be a wise precaution affording a means of dealing with an extreme situation of danger or conflict, should such a situation ever develop.

However, under a system which respected the Court's ruling against compulsory segregation, which provided an opportunity for a free choice of schools, and which had the strong, active support of most citizens of good will of both races, we would have an excellent chance, we believe, to minimize problems and perils and to keep our schools in operation by VOLUNTARY MEANS along the lines of student body composition which now prevail.

* * * * * * * *

A BASIS FOR COOPERATION

We repeat: We believe that, with compulsory legal segregation done away with by the Court, with general recognition of that reality and with continued efforts to make progress in providing genuinely equal educational opportunities for both white and colored students, Negro students and parents in Birmingham and the rest of Alabama would not seek to FORCE UNWELCOME INTEGRATION except in isolated instances. Any instances of difficulty and controversy surely could better be met

through the development of a broad measure of good will and cooperation than under conditions emphasizing differences and divisions.

There would be hard problems, challenges and difficulties under such a positive, hopeful and bold program. So would there be under any approach. But this program would have the stalwart foundation of a genuine effort to respect both the law and the deep convictions of community sentiment.

It should have the strength and vitality of a sincere endeavor carried forward in good will.

At the least such an endeavor should, this paper believes, hold more promise than continued efforts to exert compulsions from any quarter.

Such an approach of cooperation and good will to the very serious problems confronting us seems, in spirit, and in reason, to deserve thorough and prayerful exploration and consideration.

December 6, 1954
(Dictated December 2)

Urged on Clarence Mitchell, Washington Representative of the NAACP, 100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., a course of action re Citizens Council in Mississippi and Alabama.

GSM

Copy in Mississippi File

Copy in Alabama File

Ten years ago.

9.5.m - H.7.

NEWSPAPER EXCERPTS

From THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS - 12/17/54

Methodist Group Urges Calmness in Racial Issues

Alabama Methodists were called upon to oppose abolition of the Central Jurisdiction of the church "within the framework of the Methodist Church" by officials of the North Alabama Conference today.

A statement signed by Dr. Dill; Clarence M. Pinson, Birmingham district lay leader; Frank Dominick, associate lay leader; J.Ed O'Toole, associate lay leader; Dr. W.M. Harris Jr., associate lay leader; and Newman M. Yeilding, associate lay leader, said church officials were pledged to retain the present jurisdictional set up.

THEIR STATEMENT follows: "An unofficial meeting of Methodist preachers and laymen was held in one of our Methodist churches Dec. 14, for the purpose of making plans and setting up an organization to defeat any effort to abolish the Central Jurisdiction at the 1956 meeting of the General Conference of the Methodist Church and to inform Methodist people of this danger.

"The impression has been left, from reports of the meeting, that officials of the Methodist Church were reluctant to state their position on the matter of Central Jurisdiction or were either in sympathy with such a plan.

"This statement sets forth our position:

"We in the North Alabama Conference are thoroughly committed to the retention of the Central Jurisdiction, and all the other jurisdictions as they are now. We believe that the vast majority of our people, preachers and laymen alike, are agreed on this.

"It is our conviction that the doing away with the Central Jurisdiction would do irrefutable harm to the Methodist Church in the South.

"The former Methodist Episcopal Church, South, agreed to become a part of the United Methodist Church on the basis of placing all the Negroes in a separate jurisdiction. This part of the plan of union makes possible the Methodist Church. There could be no Methodist Church without it.

"No move has been made in any General Conference since unification to abolish the Central Jurisdiction. We know of no plan to alter or change the structure of our church at the next General Conference. We believe the other sections of the church will keep faith with us in the plan of union.

"We will vigorously oppose any attempt to change the jurisdictional system.

"We know that other matters can be, and at times have been, introduced into this whole question of segregation to the great hurt of the church. We insist in dealing with it on the highest Christian level.

"We do not question the sincerity of any group, and we accord to every man the rights to his opinions and convictions. But we will have no part in any movement that will encourage racial prejudice and hatred, and that will add to the tension that already exists.

"We would deeply regret the introduction of secular politics into the issue. We see this as a real danger. We know that it is a subject that can be seized upon and used by chronic agitators to stir up dissension and strife. We prefer to act as members of the North Alabama Conference and to remain amenable to that conference instead of acting as members of an unofficial group.

"The place for consideration and of decision in all such matters is in the annual Conference. We propose to work within the framework of the church to preserve the jurisdictions as they are now constituted.

"We believe that in our various church conferences we have adequate and proper channels for making our convictions known and for implementing them with positive action.

"The problems growing out of the Supreme Court decision on segregation in our public schools are of grave concern to all of our people at this time. Our people have the right to expect the church to provide constructive leadership. We believe it is the responsibility of the church to relieve tension rather than add to it.

"Any approach we make should come only after prayerful consideration, sober reflection, and above all, in the spirit of Christ."

From the BIRMINGHAM POST-HERALD - 3-5-55

This Morning - column by John Temple Graves

Interviewing me here Thursday about the South, a German woman journalist with a doctor's degree, who had come by way of Washington and New York, seemed pleased with my eager performance until I had to tell her I believed race segregation a police and biological necessity in the South, that labor unions would never in my opinion be as dominant here as elsewhere because times are changing, and that only brainwashing along the way could explain her conviction that Southern wages average no more than about 60 per cent of wages elsewhere.

She turned bored and disgusted then. There was no argument. You could see she just wanted to get away fast, from a barbarian so lost to the future's wave.

It was sad, for she was such a nice person.

* * *

Since the Saturday Evening Post has to please a mass circulation, its printing of that piece about how the South would dearly love integration, convinces Virginia's Alicia Middleton Flynn in a letter to The Charleston News and Courier that the magazine must have found "an increasing demand for that point of view."

The demand didn't have to increase to be big outside the minority South. The sin of the Post was in letting this view be put forward falsely as that of the South itself.

Southerners don't read enough, it seems, to be counted in when magazines with mass circulations cater to their mass.

* * *

Only Ike can prevent return of the Fair Deal, and these are Ike's most dangerous enemies for they attack from the rear.

Granted he doesn't see eye to eye with the South on the race question (who does, outside the South!), and granted he accepts the New Deal as dealt (who in his political sense can do otherwise!), he is nevertheless devoted in basic heart and mind to the magnificent American proposition that liberty and welfare, individualism and welfare, privacy and welfare -- can be had in one package.

This Morning - column by John Temple Graves - 3/1/55

Wondering "what we can do to break the 'Great Taboo" against national presentation of the South's attitude on integration, W.C. NeSmith, of Jacksonville, Fla., suggests letter writing by transplanted Northerners who have moved here and realize the situation.

He encloses a honey he as written Drew Pearson, says he understands how I feel "about being damned for your racial views...but you might be surprised to learn how many of us your column is a beacon light."

In that case, Mr. NeSmith, damn the torpedoes!

* * *

Interestingly in protest to President Eisenhower, G.L. Ivey, of Florence, S.C., blames Gunnar Myrdal (Scandinavian sociologist who "solved" the race problem while visiting here one week-end or so and wrote a book all capital-lettered science about it) for the Supreme Court's decision to forget the Constitution and go legislating against the South.

* * *

"A converted Yankee of 25 years standing," Phil Held, of Wellington, Ala., says the Saturday Post article about how "the South will like integration" had "foolish mathematical fallacies." He will agree that the most foolish was supposition that what works in a graduate school with only one or two highly educated Negroes will work in the mass situation of Southern grade schools.

* * *

O.W. Pulse, of Birmingham, with kind words, says "it takes courage nowadays" to speak out against racial integration. Well, not quite that yet if you make your living in the South and are not in politics and looking ahead.

* * *

But the Great Taboo does begin to appear in Southern quarters in the form of social and

and intellectual frown on people vulgar enough to consider the race problem important.

This Morning - column by John Temple Graves - 2/22/55

How little the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People seems to believe in the Supreme Court's decision against public school segregation! It is making ready to fight all Federal school help bills that don't specify desegregation -- just as if the decision were a dream.

* * *

Foolishly in the Saturday Evening Post last week a Virginian told the world "Southerners will like integration" -- simply because several Negroes admitted to graduate schools at the University of Virginia are getting along all right and everybody is glad.

Unfairly The Post let the story imply that talk against public school integration in the South is limited to a few prejudiced people.

There's nothing new in what the story told. For years Negroes have been doing all right in Southern graduate schools. But this argues nothing for the totally different proposal that masses of the two races be forced on each other in the public schools.

* * *

The race problem is one of masses in the South. Where only a few Negroes are involved, and these exceptionally educated, there's no trouble. But it isn't sporting of The Post to let a dated story of a gifted few be taken as proving something a about an average many.

From THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER - 2/19/55

Editor, The Advertiser:

As a native Macon Countian, I would like to inform your readers that Senator Sam Englehart definitely does not speak the sentiments of the 26,553 Negroes in this county. The 12 families on his plantation may or may not be ready to take an active part in the politics of this state.

To set the record straight, no NAACP group from Macon County has been to see the Governor, as Senator Engelhart stated. It is our firm belief that the Governor and the appointing board will take appropriate action in the case of the Macon County Board of Registrars.

D.L. Beasley, Pres.
Tuskegee Branch, NAACP - Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

From ALABAMA - 3/4/55

The Major Threat

In a speech to the Anniston Kiwanis Club last week, widely-known Attorney Horace C. Wilkinson of Birmingham described the U.S. Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling as "the principal thing that menaces the American way at this time."

The court's decision in the Kansas school case, he declared, "meshes perfectly with the Negro's objective and the objective of the Reds with respect to our country...It paves the way for whites and blacks, as such, to become non-existent in the United States; unless overruled, it will do more to impair the safety and security of this nation than the destruction of every plane we can put in the skies, and the destruction of every industry capable of turning out munitions of war."

Mr. Wilkinson suggested four courses of action, under present circumstances, for those who are determined that the segregation policy shall be continued.

"First," he asserts, "ignore the decision of the Supreme Court. It is not binding on the people of Alabama. We have never had our day in court . . . .

"Second, Alabama teachers can control the situation. White and black alike, our teachers are satisfied with segregated schools. Parent-Teacher Associations and the AEA should see to it that each teacher exercises his or her Godgiven right to notify the superintendent of education that he or she will not teach in a mixed school . . . No law can be passed requiring teachers to teach in a mixed school. That would be involuntary servitude.

"Third, strip federal courts of the power to mongrelize America . . . . If our senators and congressmen will get behind legislation of that kind and stay behind it, the job can be accomplished.

"Fourth, discontinue national political conventions. They simply allow the politicians to confine the voter to a choice between tweedledum and tweedledee. Let Democratic congressmen and senators nominate the Democratic candidate for President. Let Republican congressmen and senators nominate the Republican candidate. This will make senators and congressmen from each state responsible for nominating a member of the party acceptable to their constituents. It will give the people at home more say-so about the nominees."

Ala. Council

GOVERNOR'S BI-RACIAL COMMISSION

TO: Associated Press
United Press
Montgomery Advertiser
Alexander City Outlook

In response to a request from a member of the press, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, through the Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director, releases the following statement:

February 25, 1956

One of the major barriers to constructive progress in the field of race relations in Alabama, as well as the rest of the Deep South, is the lack of an opportunity for a free and frank exchange of ideas in an atmosphere of calmness between white and Negro leaders. At the present time communication is largely restricted to the court room and the press where charges and countercharges inflame public opinion needlessly.

Hence, the Alabama Council on Human Relations has been emphasizing the need for a bi-racial approach to these problems on both the state and local levels, calling for a cross section of the leadership of both races to be assembled for purposes of mediation, study and cooperative action. One fact is obvious. The recommendations of such a body will be acceptable to both whites and Negroes only if truly representative citizens of both groups participate.

The action of Gov. Folsom yesterday in proposing the Commission has established this vital principle of a bi-racial approach. The second step, the appointment of the members of the Commission by the Governor will largely determine its success. The required wisdom is cause for prayer by people everywhere.

The entire statement was put on at least the A.P. wire.

Hughes

Montgomery
2-0450

Home
3-6645

1:15 — 1:11 ▷
11 AM

Vigo
Magnolia 4295

NYC
LAckawanna
4-1000

RECEIVED JUL 21 1956

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

July 19, 1956

MEMORANDUM NO. 10

TO: MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
FROM: ROBERT E. HUGHES, EXEC. DIR.

RE: Important Action Taken by the Executive Committee

The State Executive Committee met at the State Office on July 10, 1956, making several important decisions in the light of the following conditions:

1. Finances - A twofold financial problem faces the organization. First is the absolute necessity to meet the $3,500 income minimum this fiscal year as required by the Fund for the Republic in order to qualify for an extension of the grant next year. Through June we have raised approximately $2300 leaving a balance of $1200 for July, Aug. and Sept. Secondly, the need for more adequately financing needed operations during the balance of this fiscal year.

   Action taken was in the form of (1) a resolution encouraging the Districts to make a concerted effort to reach their respective goals, (2) the decision to send Pres. Hunter to Chicago and Mr. Hughes to Washington and New York to make personal contact with organizations and individuals soliciting their financial support.

2. State Office Location - Mr. Jerome Moore, owner of the Moore Bldg. in which our offices are located, has informed us that when our lease expires on Sept. 30 he will not be disposed to its renewal and should we find suitable facilities beforehand we would be permitted to vacate sooner. He explained that associates, friends and some tenants had complained of our interracial activities to the point of "embarrassment".

   Observations were made that the center of present and prospective work is actually closer to Birmingham than Montgomery and that the potential value of North Alabama in setting needed constructive precedents for the entire state is much greater than in the Black Belt. Whereas, the only communities where we have been able to stimulate bi-racial activities in this area are Montgomery and Selma, in North Alabama we have chapters in Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, the Tri-Cities, Decatur and Gadsden

with the prospect of work developing in Jasper, Huntsville, Athens, Jacksonville, Anniston, and Sylacauga. The executive director is able to pay only spasmodic visits to these areas.

Therefore, it was unanimously decided that when the State Office is moved that it be moved to Birmingham, and that the explanation for this move should be positive with emphasis upon the new opportunities for service which it affords without reference to the lease.

The State Office will be closed on Friday, July 27th, at which time our furniture will be stored until early September. In so doing we will save a month's rent while Mr. Hughes is in New York and away for a week's vacation. During August essential business will be handled by Mr. J. T. Brooks, A.C.H.R. Treasurer, whose address is Box 271, Montgomery, Ala. Office and home phones are 5-2673 and 4-7578, respectively. Upon securing our new office site in Birmingham each Board Member will be notified immediately.

3. Board Workshop - The Board of Directors Workshop dates have been set for Tuesday and Wednesday, Sept. 25 and 26 at Tuskegee Institute. The Executive Committee will meet with the S.R.C. consultants from 9:30 - 12:00 on the 25th and the full Board will convene at 1:00 P.M. for afternoon and evening sessions followed by a morning session on the 27th and the regular semi-annual Board meeting which will be held from 1:00 - 3:00 completing the Workshop.

Alabama shuts its office for August, which is an error, but never mind. Consequence is EB is to note with care the standby no (Mr. Brooks), so that if (as used to be usual) all Heck busts loose in August we will know whom to call, without digging up hon memo.

GSM

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . BETH FRIEDMAN . . . .

July 20, 1956

FBR:

Dr. Mitchell has read this. You are to call Bob Hughes and suggest to him that Bob Hughes consider discussing the matter fully with Governor Folsom. The only resource available is the Highway Patrol and they would be responsible to the Governor's commands.

Beth

By July 26
called Bob Hughes -
Discussed this with him
FBR

FBR
GSM
JC

dossefile

MEMORANDUM

July 17, 1956

To: Central Staff - SRC

From: Paul Anthony

Subject: The Potential Riot Condition of Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Reverend Bob Hughes, director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations has directed my attention to Tuscaloosa and the situation there in reference to the Citizens Councils. It is Reverend Hughes's opinion that a real possibility exists for violence. Accordingly, he has requested that I brief the SRC on this situation. The following information is submitted, and on the basis of these observations, I believe Reverend Hughes's fears are well-founded.

Tuscaloosa is the center of the West Alabama Citizens' Council. This group consists of some 3,000 members in four or five councils. Chairman is Leonard Wilson, expelled student of the University of Alabama and outspoken critic of the University administration. Wilson and his group are now officially associated with the Citizens' Councils of Alabama, (Engelhardt faction) however, in March or April of this year Wilson was one of a team of organizers for Ace Carter.

Wilson has quieted down considerably. He is a shrewd and deliberate young man who seems to have found his field. A great deal will probably be heard from him in the future and this is a rare opportunity to watch a professional demagogue at the beginning of his career. It would be unfortunate to under-estimate this man's ability or his ambitions.

The Council was formed and collected its membership largely as a result of the Autherine Lucy incident at the University. Accordingly, keeping the University segregated is the major issue of the group. In this regard when Miss Lucy left the school last spring, intensive planning began to meet any future Negro registrations. Therefore, they established the fall date of registration, September 19, 1956, as their target date. From this planning the council now boasts that within 24 hours they can have 100,000 council members in their city from Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi.

There are several indications of potential violence in this situation. The most significant of these follow:

1. Having rallied around maintaining segregation at the University we can expect that any Negro registration in September will be met by some sort of organized council demonstration. Billie Joe Neighbors, a Negro student from Birmingham, has indicated that he may attempt to enter the law school this fall. At last report, some 30 days ago, Neighbors indicated that he would not accept a scholarship at Howard in Washington but would go through with his plans to enter the law school at Alabama. Autherine Lucy has indicated that if no other Negro student attempts to enter the University, she will return.

2. During the spring demonstrations, observers believe that a riot was narrowly avoided on several occasions. Wilson takes credit for diverting a crowd of demonstrators from the downtown flagpole back to the University after several demonstrators had begun demanding a march to the colored quarters. After one of the demonstrations, Miss Lucy was taken to the office of the Negro newspaper where a group of armed Negroes surrounded her and the area. Two carloads of white demonstrators followed and located them there. They left and by finding considerable difficulty in finding a phone to report her location, there was time for Lucy and her associates to leave the city for Birmingham. There is every reason to believe that this spirit of the mob which existed in the spring will be as strong or stronger in the fall and will surely increase in relation to the crowd of "outsiders" which gather.

3. The boast of 100,000 council members within 24 hours call is not an idle one. The figure is probably out of the question but such a call would bring a response. In the spring the councils had less than two weeks in which to plan and mount their attack. Yet, to an extent, it was planned. Ace Carter of Birmingham was observed on campus during this

period as was a representative of the Montgomery group. Stillman Institute made a survey of the area's hotel and motel registrations during the period of the demonstrations and found an abnormally high registration of Mississippians. If the councils have had three to four months for planning they should be more effective.

4. Tuscaloosa is one of the few areas of Alabama where the Ku Klux Klan is organized to any significant degree. Klan leaders have been successful in getting members this summer and a conservative estimate of their strength is 150, including an undetermined infiltration into the Police Department. The councils are active and the symbol of opposition. Yet if the Klan can collect such a hard core it indicates a certain predisposition toward violence. The Editor of the Tuscaloosa News, whose editorial policy has not been radical, or even liberal, has been harassed for his crusade of "law and order."

5. A law school senior who has campaigned for a number of "liberal" measures at the University was the object of three attempts at violence during June. Indications are that these attempts originated outside the University student body, and were mounted because of this student's public stand in favoring University integration.

The situation in Tuscaloosa is a tense one and the near-spontaneous actions of the spring came very close to being of tragic proportion. It may well be that council members who do not condone violence have used this rallying point to the extent that they cannot control their own members if any violence does occur. And unquestionably if the Council does not take the lead, the KKK will make some overture.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

November 30, 1956

TO: All Staff

Notice that the Alabama Council on Human Relations now has its office in Room 1218, Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama, where the telephone number is ALPINE 2-2722. Bob Hughes' home telephone number continues to be TREMONT 1-7962.

GSM

ala - dupe file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FILE COPY
"dupe file"

SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, BUS RULING

[Note to Editors: Within a few days a District Federal Court is expected to transmit a ruling by the U. S. Supreme Court forbidding segregation of passengers on Montgomery buses. As of this date, spokesmen for the Negro boycotters say that Negroes will resume riding the buses - on an unsegregrated basis - as soon as the Court order is effective. City Commissioners, on the other hand, insist that they will use their police powers to continue to enforce segregated seating. Unless there is a change in this situation, Montgomery will be in the headlines again as an area of interracial dispute and tension. If this should be the case the following chronological summary of events may be of assistance to you in backgrounding the story.]

Regulations for city bus seating in Montgomery, Alabama, require separate reserved sections of the buses for white and Negro persons. White persons sit at the front, Negroes at the rear of the buses in designated seats. Negroes often were forced to stand on buses when seats were vacant in the white section of the bus.

On December 1, 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress, was arrested on a Montgomery bus when she took an empty seat in the white section of the bus and later refused to relinquish it to a white passenger.

Following the initial protest, Negro leaders, through the newly organized Montgomery Improvement Association, asked the company for three concessions, at the same time emphasizing that the movement was not an attempt to break down segregation on the buses. Negroes petitioned for (1) more courteous treatment from bus operators (the group claimed that Negroes had suffered innumerable indignities from bus operators and white patrons over a period of many years), (2) seating on a "first come, first serve" basis with Negroes seating from the rear and whites seating from the front (seating now is by "reserved seat" sections), and (3) employment of Negro drivers on predominantly Negro lines as driver vacancies occur.

The bus company officials answered (1) no recent reports of discourtesies had been received, (2) failure to provide reserved sections for the races would

not fulfill legal "separate but equal" requirements of the state (Negroes claim that other Alabama cities operate the transit system on a first come, first serve basis), and (3) the company would not hire Negro drivers within the next ten years or more.

On December 17, the city commissioners appointed a committee to advise them on the bus situation. The committee was composed of eight Negroes and ten whites. Six of the Negroes were chosen by the protest group. The selection of one of the other Negroes was bitterly opposed by the bus protest group. White members of the committee included the president of the bus company and Luther Ingalls, organizer of the Montgomery White Citizens' Council. Negotiations failed when white members of the commission refused to consider abandoning the reserved seat sections and allowing service on a "first come, first serve" basis. Instead, the compromise offered the Negroes was a plan by which the first ten seats on each bus would be reserved for whites only and the ten seats nearest the rear of the buses for Negroes. If the reserved seat sections were filled, then the few remaining seats between the reserved sections could be occupied.

On January 21, when hope for a settlement appeared dim, the city commission announced that, after a conference with Negro ministers, a plan for ending the boycott had been reached. Protest leaders denied taking part in the meeting and it was revealed that only three Negro ministers had conferred with the commission Two of these ministers claimed they were asked to attend the meeting with the understanding they were to discuss the opening of an insurance company. The plan for ending the boycott was to have been the addition of all-Negro buses during the rush hour.

On January 24, Mayor W. A. Gayle issued a statement: "We have pussyfooted around on this boycott long enough and it is time to be frank and honest.... The Negro leaders have proved they are not interested in ending the boycott but rather in prolonging it so that they may stir up racial strife. The Negro leaders have proved that they will say one thing to a white man and another to a Negro about the boycott...[They] have forced the boycott into a campaign between whether the social fabric of our community will continue to exist or will be destroyed by a group of Negro radicals who have split asunder the fine relationships which have existed between Negro and white people for generations.... The white people are firm in their convictions that they do not care whether the Negroes ever ride a city bus again if it means that the social fabric of our community is destroyed so that Negroes will start riding the bus again." He called on white citizens to refrain from carrying their domestic employees to and from work in their cars.

The same day it was announced that the mayor and a city commissioner had become members of White Citizens' Council. The other two commissioners had joined the organization previously.

On January 26, Dr. M. L. King, the boycott leader, was arrested for going thirty-five miles an hour in a twenty-five mile speed zone.

On January 27, Dr. King's home was bombed, causing minor damage.

On January 29, a dynamite cap was exploded in the front yard of Negro E. D. Nixon, a leader in the protest.

On February 1, five Montgomery Negroes filed suit in the U. S. District Court asking that state and local segregation laws pertaining to transportation be declared unconstitutional.

On February 21, more than 100 Negroes were indicted on charges of violating Alabama's boycott laws.

On March 22, Dr. King was convicted on a charge of violating the boycott law. He was fined $500 plus $500 for court costs. The conviction was appealed.

On April 23, the U. S. Supreme Court remanded a Circuit Court ruling concerning bus segregation in S. C. The Montgomery City Lines, Inc., announced it would end segregation on buses in the city, but Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers said he would order the arrest of any passenger or bus driver involved in race mixing.

On June 5, a three-judge federal court declared Alabama and Montgomery laws requiring separate seating of the races unconstitutional. The Montgomery Board of Commissioners and Alabama's attorney general appealed the decision to the U. S. Supreme Court.

On November 13, the U. S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled Alabama and Montgomery bus segregation laws unconstitutional.

* * *

December 7, 1956

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CONFIDENTIAL

17 Dec 56

MEMORANDUM

TO: Central Staff

FROM: Emory Via and Fred Routh

We spent December 10, 11, and 12, in Montgomery, Alabama anticipating that the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in transportation would reach the Federal District Court on Wednesday, December 12. We sought to find out what was being done in the Community by white and Negro leadership to prepare for peaceful acceptance of the anticipated Court order. Generally we found a sense of calmness in both communities. No one expected, except perhaps in isolated incidents, any type of violence. The only physically agressive act which had taken place recently was the throwing of acid on some ten cars - nine of which were owned by Negroes. This was regarded however, by Negro leaders, as the work of teen-age juvenile delinquents. We interviewed numerous people in the community. Here follows a brief summary of what they said:

Dr. Council Trenholm: Things are going quite well. There has been a period of relative calmness in the community. Some who were outspoken on the negative side before are now quiet. No special pressure has been brought on him lately. One item of interest perhaps indicating white sentiment or perhaps white fear is the fact that in previous years, up to 2,500 whites attended the annual Thanksgiving football game at Alabama State College. This year there were slightly less than 500 whites.

Dr. James Pierce: There is a good chance that some sort of agreement regarding the issuing of a statement aimed at maintaining law and order may be reached with the Men of Montgomery (top-drawer leaders in the power structure). Ten Negro leaders met with ten men from this group. (Later the remaining 25 members of the Men of Montgomery turned down, at this time, the idea of issuing such a statement). The Negro community is prepared for a quiet approach to the renewed use of buses. Negroes are being requested by their Ministers when boarding a bus and approaching a vacant seat next to a white, to ask "is this seat taken?", or "may I sit here"? The Institute recently held by the MIA was a success. The U. S. Attorney in the Montgomery area is Hartwell Davis (regarded as an honest guy). The three-judge panel which made the original decision consisted of Judge Frank Johnson, Reves, and Lynne. Johnson is regarded as the best of the three, and the Supreme Court decision should come back to him.

Rev. Tom Thrasher ('Piscy): Recently WSFA - TV's sound truck wrecked a Klan parade merely by following it. The boys didn't want their pictures taken. Thrasher was on TV the day following the Supreme Court decision, saying, "The southern tradition of courteousness should be followed in this situation" -- he received many letters, only one of which disapproved of his statement. WSFA - TV is managed by Hoyt Andre and the chief newscaster is Frank McGee (both regarded as good eggs). Two other good eggs in town are Mr. Kennedy (President of First National Bank), and Carl Reed (local businessman).

The Bus Company's policy now seems aimed at making the drivers behave as Christians and Gentlemen. Bagley, Bus Company Manager, has swung around to a position of compliance. Two new Bus Company attorneys, John Godbold and Truman Hobbs, are both enlightened and favor obedience to the law. At the recent Institute, the reports in the paper of speeches by Homer Jack of Chicago and Culbertson of Greenville, South Carolina were regarded as inflammatory by the white community.

M. L. King, Jr.: Things are quiet. The Institute was a success. The power structure of Montgomery is concerned about this situation. They seem more alert than they have in the past. They told the Negro leaders, "Don't worry about the White Citizen's Councils, or the City Commission". (We suggested that it might be wise for the MIA to approach Herbert Brownell, U. S. Attorney General, on issuing some statement to the effect that the Federal Government would take an active interest in what was done in Montgomery.) This was well received and had not been thought through by MIA. The Negro community is ready with a quiet approach -- a non-violent one, to resume riding buses. The Mayor had said quietly that he would not permit violence. MIA is not aware of friendly people in organized labor.

Montgomery Improvement Assn,
530 S. Union St.

Rev. Robert Graetz (white Lutheran Mimister, Negro Parish): Things are more quiet now. They are moving ahead. There is no expectation of serious trouble. The Negro community is calm. Many feel that too many white Pastors have been quiet. Organized labor could be helpful in the situation. The police force is headed by two good professionals who would not permit mobs to take over. These two are Chief of Police Rubenthal, and Captain Brown. The Mayor has stated quietly that he would not tolerate violence. Grover Hall, Editor of the Montgomery Advertisor, is ambivalent in this situation.

J. T. Brooks (Assistant to Dr. Trenholm): Our situation has been calm. M. L. King has kept it that way. He is a sweet guy with a basic humility. The MIA has consistently advocated a non-violent approach to this problem, and has stressed the need for loving those who disagree with them.

E. C. Pippin (Vice-Pres. State AFL-CIO): Generally, organized labor has been on the positive side of this question. He has been identified as pro-boycott -- so has Campbell (Pres. CWA - Local), but in recent election, Campbell was re-elected without opposition. Pippin is on the Board of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He regards Bob Hughes as an excellent person, knowledgable in this field. The Bus Drivers' Union is not doing too well. When the boycott began there were 135 drivers. Now there are 23 still on the job, but the Union hasn't done much about it. Unfortunately unemployed drivers regarded the Negro Community, not the Company, as responsible for their unemployment. Bill Welch, President of the Bus Drivers Local, is not too progressive. Two good Negro labor leaders are Miss Fannie Allen Neal, and Frank Gregory, associated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at the Reliance Mfg. Company. Bill McDonald (reporter at the Advertisor) is regarded as basically o.k.

Frank de Castro (Professor, Alabama State): The Institute was helpful to local people. He raised the question, "Can a sense of competition with the Catholic Church be used to activate Protestant Ministers on the side of right in this struggle"? (He also evidenced some Anti-Catholic feelings based on his son being wooed by the Catholic Church). He thought that Culbertson's object was somewhat inflammatory. Though his car was in the line sprayed with acid, he was not upset.

Dr. Gordon (Professor, Alabama State): He was interested that Ministers would use the Institute approach in educating the masses. Thought it good. He saw M. L. King as a bridge between the intelligentsia and the masses, and said that part of King's acceptance was due to his advanced degrees.

Grover Hall (Editor Montgomery Advertisor): In response to the question, "Do you know SRC?", he replied, "Yes, well, but not favorably". We took this in our stride and proceeded with the interview. He then stated, "You doctrinaires are all alike. You have been here 3 days, yet you try to tell us what to do; I have been here 41 years, and I swear I don't know." We contrasted this statement with his claim that we were doctrinaires though he had known us less than 5 minutes, and we had expressed no opinion thus far. He then said he was using the term "you" generically. He then followed with a description of: (1) what was wrong with Nothern newspapers for not telling the truth about trouble up there and picking on the South. (2) What was wrong with Northerners and foreighers whom he identified as neo-abolitionist who came to his office, and how they later made page 1 of the Advertisor. (3) How other Southern newspapers were not reporting all the news. "People go to McGill looking for Mecca but don't find it". (4) How most people misunderstand passive resistance -- "It is the whites of Montgomery who are using passive resistance, not the Negro; I said so in my editorial Sunday". (5) The White Citizen's Council is no Klan-like outfit, but it won't last because it can't win legally. Some will resort to more drastic measures and the respectable people will withdraw. (6) The City administration won't stand for violence or rough stuff. (7) Bus integration should come easily, but is tied to school integration, and "this we won't have". (8) The White Citizen's Council movement is largely political, but thus far largely ineffective. (9) He is for a two-party system in the South and in Alabama. He has supported the Republican Presidential Candidate since 1948. (10) He asked why SRC was interested in preserving law and order in this case when we weren't active during the phone strike. (11) He appeared defensive about his position and about the South. There was a sort of "we" vs. the Federal Government attitude. We explained to him we considered the Federal Government to be as much "ours" as any Northerner's, and further that we were Americans first and Southerners second. He made no comment but was obviously somewhat shaken by this position.

tape file

December 28, 1956 gsm has

MEMORANDUM

copy from Tuskegee gives quotes

TO: HCF AND STAFF

FROM: GSM

Will Campbell called. Had two days on his hands. Could go either to Montgomery or Birmingham and "talk to some of these knuckleheaded preachers." Advised him to go to Birmingham.

Said also he would turn up at our late January meeting.

From: The Alexander City Outlook
Friday, March 22, 1957

WE QUOTE:

Mr. J. C.

Wouldn't you know that the K. K. K. would get out its literature at the most inopportune time. This morning, not long after coming into the Chamber office, an industrial prospect walked in, and we began talking about the excellent opportunities and facilities which Alexander City offers his firm. After talking for some length, he stated that all these things seemed to be true, but that the K. K. K. literature which he found left on his windshield wiper this morning left a bad taste in his mouth, and a bad impression about the community. He stated that attitudes of a community were important to his firm and that when they heard about the incident, he was not too sure about their reaction as to their wishing to continue to consider Alexander City as a possible location.

I tried to explain that such material must have come from outside Alexander City. Unfortunately, I am afraid the damage has been done, and that we can forget this particular person's firm as a potential industrial prospect.

Lewis Lawrence, Mgr.,
Chamber of Commerce, Inc.

Ala

Clerics Predict Racial Problem Will Be Solved

TUSCALOOSA — The Ala. Council on Human Relations heard predictions that a solution to the South's racial problem would be realized through "patience and discipline".

Approximately 400 members of the council heard this prediction from two speakers, one white and the other Negro.

They were Dr. Dan C. Whitsett, pastor of the First Methodist Church, Sylacauga, Ala., and the Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, pastor of the Greenwood Baptist Church for Negroes at Tuskegee.

Dr. Duncan Hunter, pastor of the First Methodist Church Alexander City, was re-elected chairman of the council, which met at Stillman College, a Presbyterian school for Negroes.

Dr. C. G. Vomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute, was reelected vice chairman; William Irby, Sylacauga, was named secretary, and J. E. Brooks, Alabama State College Montgomery, was reelected treasurer.

The council originally was called the Alabama Inter-Racial Commission, founded in the early 1920's.

KLANSMEN
ARE MARCHING BACK TO THE
KLAVERNS
TO
DEFEND OUR LEADERS
DOES YOUR PREACHER
PREACH SEGREGATION?
INTEGRATION IS UNSCRIPTUAL
KLANSMEN
WILL DEFEND AND PROTECT
THE
PURITY OF WHITE WOMANHOOD
AGAINST
ALIENS WHO SEEK TO DESTROY
THE WHITE RACE BY
MONGRELIZATION
NO GOVERNMENT IS ANY STRONGER
THAN ITS WOMANHOOD
THE YOUTH OF TODAY WILL BE
YOUR LEADER OF TOMORROW
HELP US FIGHT THE EVILS
OF COMMUNISM
AND PRESERVE OUR
SOUTHERN WAY OF LIFE
WITH SEGREGATION
U. S. KLANS, KNIGHT KU KLUX KLAN

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Board of Directors

December 10, 1957

Rev. Duncan Hunter
President
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Vice President
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Mr. William Irby, Secretary
P.O. Box 1871
Sylacauga, Alabama

Mr. Joseph T. Brooks
Treasurer
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dr. H. C. Trenholm
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Rev. Thomas Thrasher
Church of the Ascension
315 Clanton Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dr. J. E. Peirce
(Consultant)
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Fred D. Gray
(Consultant)
2307 W. Jeff. Davis Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Mrs. Earl P. Andrews
3135 Audubon Road
Montgomery, Alabama

Rev. Robert S. Graetz
1110 Cleveland Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dr. A. D. Gray
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Mr. C. V. Hendley
830 West Holmes Street
Huntsville, Alabama

Mr. Jim Battles
838 Frank-Nelson Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Mr. Carl Griffin
2182 Hillside Circle
Birmingham, Alabama

Dr. J. F. Drake
Alabama A & M College
Normal, Alabama

Mrs. I. B. Rutledge
Lillian, Alabama

Mr. Paul Robinson
Box 198
Decatur, Alabama

Dr. Walter Brown
Wilson Lake Shores
Sheffield, Alabama

Dr. Albert Winn
3520 Fifteenth Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dr. R. D. Crockett
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Rev. Powers McLeod
First Methodist Church
Andalusia, Alabama

Rev. Albert S. Foley
Springhill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dr. A. M. Freeman
(Consultant)
Wilton, Alabama

Mr. S. C. Watkins
503 South Washington Street
Tuscumbia, Alabama

Rev. Arthaniel Harris
1107 22nd Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Rev. Thomas Stevenson
306 Gale Street
Jacksonville, Alabama

Rev. J. C. Perry
306 South 18th Street
Birmingham, Alabama

Rev. C. C. Brown
625 Jeff. Davis Avenue
Selma, Alabama

Rev. J. E. Lowery
306 North Warren Street
Mobile, Alabama

Mr. Samuel Williams
Southern Normal School
Brewton, Alabama

CONFIDENTIAL

EFV's trip to Birmingham, Alabama. April 2 through 4, 1958.

Violence: impending and potential.

EFV attempted on a quick trip to Birmingham to determine if any immediate crisis existed there or if plans were being made for future difficulties evidenced by any current intimidation. Although this was a cursory visit, enough persons with leads into the community were seen so that overt activity should have been revealed if it existed. Briefly, nothing imminent was foreseen by the following persons: Robert Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations; Emory Jackson, Editor of the Birmingham World (Negro weekly); R.E. Farr, District Director, United Steelworkers; Becky Herfurth, Business Agent, ILGWU; Clancy Lake, City Editor, Birmingham News; Mrs. Lawrence Voigt, Birmingham Girl Scouts.

My own observation of downtown Birmingham certainly revealed no tensions. Ordinary daily relations in elevators, with hotel employes, shopping in the stores, on the streets, seem to be casual and friendly.

Two general feelings about Birmingham were expressed by most of those who were interviewed: 1) the history of Birmingham and its social make-up make it necessary to predict violence in September if there is any likelihood that the Federal Courts move so rapidly as to require the beginnings of desegregation at that time; 2) that, currently, those who are most fanatically interested in preventing desegregation are now laying plans for their September actions.

As to this latter point, Asa Carter is the person most frequently mentioned. However, I gather that his name serves to signify a type of which he is not the only known example. There are no new fanatics on the scene to my knowledge and those currently operating seem to be known to Bob Hughes.

Fortunately the Governor's race has not caused any disturbance in racial relations; each of the fourteen candidates has carefully put in a plank to his platform calling for the preservation of segregation. The electorate and the politicians evidently accept that if all fourteen attempted to make race the chief issue the well beaten horse would be completely dead within a week. Of the five leading gubernatorial candidates several are reported to be substantially more liberal and reasonable men than their published statements would indicate. But no-one would say that there is a hidden advocate of desegregation among them.

The Birmingham desegregation suit went to trial on April 3rd. There has been no particular reaction to this step thus far.

Continued . . .

EFV -- Birmingham -- April 1958.

In general Birmingham is reported as being quiet, although an observer like Emory Jackson would say that it is a "suspicious" quiet. I was unable to see some of the persons who I feel could give me valuable information. Bob Hughes does have some reason to believe that the Alabama Council is being watched and perhaps privately investigated. The attempts thus far have been marked by fumble-bumness and he feels that he is probably aware of all the efforts that have been made. I do not believe that it is possible to turn up any evidence of planning or an increase in intimidation without either more specific leads or a very extensive investigation.

I did not look into the police situation in any detail but most of the persons with whom I talked seemed to feel that "Bull" Connor's return to office determines the police views and actions relative to race relations. In fact, no-one pointed to any hopeful signs, forces, or leadership other than that offered by the Alabama Council on Human Relations, which might be counted on to plan for or meet an emergency.

EFV:fcl
April 7, 1958

MEMORANDUM December 18, 1959

To: Harold Fleming
From: Paul Rilling

Re: the Alabama Council on Human Relations

I noted the following things at a recent Board Workshop at the ACHR:

1. The finances of the Alabama Council are in reasonably good shape considering. They have just begun to dig into the money set aside last summer as a reserve fund for the 1960 operation. The board and the director seem to have a clear understanding of their financial status and are taking logical steps to improve their situation.

2. There are now ten local groups connected with the Alabama Council, an increase of five over last summer. For the first time, Alabama is now geographically covered by a network of local and district organizations of the ACHR. Membership remains constant at about 500.

3. Morale of the Council leadership is reasonably good although some of the more "moderate" members of the state board, including Duncan Hunter, have virtually ceased attendance at board meetings or involvement in program activities.

4. A considerable sense of frustration was expressed by a number of board members and by the director. A number of fairly discouraging questions were raised, such as "What are we really accomplishing?", "Are we doing anything worth the conflict and sacrifice sometimes involved?", "Aren't we simply talking to the same people over and over again?", etc.

Bob himself seems to be somewhat tired and discouraged, although he does not show it in his program activities.

5. The group is rather excited about Father Foley's bold new plan for an educational effort. As soon as it is reworked and boiled down, they will push it hard. They will need help or advice from you as to where to try to sell the idea.

Heed Their Rising Voices

"The growing movement of peaceful mass demonstrations by Negroes is something new in the South, something understandable. . . . Let Congress heed their rising voices, for they will be heard."

—New York Times editorial
Saturday, March 19, 1960

As the whole world knows by now, thousands of Southern Negro students are engaged in widespread non-violent demonstrations in positive affirmation of the right to live in human dignity as guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. In their efforts to uphold these guarantees, they are being met by an unprecedented wave of terror by those who would deny and negate that document which the whole world looks upon as setting the pattern for modern freedom. . . .

In Orangeburg, South Carolina, when 400 students peacefully sought to buy doughnuts and coffee at lunch counters in the business district, they were forcibly ejected, tear-gassed, soaked to the skin in freezing weather with fire hoses, arrested on mass and herded into an open barbed-wire stockade to stand for hours in the bitter cold.

In Montgomery, Alabama, after students sang "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" on the State Capitol steps, their leaders were expelled from school, and trouble-

protagonists of democracy. Their courage and amazing restraint have inspired millions and given a new dignity to the cause of freedom.

Small wonder that the Southern violators of the Constitution fear this new, non-violent brand of freedom fighter . . . even as they fear the upswelling right-to-vote movement. Small wonder that they are determined to destroy the one man who, more than any other, symbolizes the new spirit now sweeping the South—the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., world-famous leader of the Montgomery Bus Protest. For it is his doctrine of non-violence which has inspired and guided the students in their widening wave of sit-ins; and it is this same Dr. King who founded and is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—the organization which is overheading the surging right-to-vote movement. Under Dr. King's direction the Leadership Conference produces Student Workshops and Seminars in the philosophy and techniques of non-violent resistance.

of others—look for guidance and support, and thereby to intimidate *all* leaders who may rise in the South. Their strategy is to behead this affirmative movement, and thus to demoralize Negro Americans and weaken their will to struggle. The defense of Martin Luther King, spiritual leader of the student sit-in movement, clearly, therefore, is an integral part of the total struggle for freedom in the South.

Decent-minded Americans cannot help but applaud the creative daring of the students and the quiet heroism of Dr. King. But this is one of those moments in the stormy history of Freedom when men and women of good will must do more than applaud the rising-to-glory of others. The America whose good name hangs in the balance before a watchful world, the America whose heritage of Liberty these Southern upholders of the Constitution are defending, is our America as well as theirs. . . .

We must heed their rising voices—yes—but we must add our own.

We must extend ourselves above and beyond

Heed Their Rising Voices

—*New York Times editorial*

Saturday, March 19, 1960

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In Montgomery, Alabama, after students sang "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" on the State Capitol steps, their leaders were expelled from school, and truckloads of police armed with shotguns and tear-gas ringed the Alabama State College campus. When the entire student body protested to state authorities by refusing to re-register, their dining hall was padlocked in an attempt to starve them into submission.

In Tallahassee, Atlanta, Nashville, Savannah, Greensboro, Memphis, Richmond, Charlotte, [illegible] in other cities in the South, young Americans, [illegible] of [illegible] and police power, have boldly stepped into the [illegible] protagonists of democracy. Their courage and amazing restraint have inspired millions and given a new dignity to the cause of freedom.

Small wonder that the Southern violators of the Constitution fear this new, non-violent brand of freedom fighter . . . even as they fear the upswelling right-to-vote movement. Small wonder that they are determined to destroy the one man who, more than any other, symbolizes the new spirit now sweeping the South—the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., world-famous leader of the Montgomery Bus Protest. For it is his doctrine of non-violence which has inspired and guided the students in their widening wave of sit-ins, and it is this same Dr. King who founded and is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the organization which is overshadowing the surging right-to-vote movement. Under Dr. King's direction the Leadership Conference [illegible] student workshops and Seminars in the philosophy and technique of non-violent resistance.

[illegible] Dr. King's peaceful protests with intimidation and violence. They have bombed his home almost killing his wife and child. They have assaulted his person. They have arrested him seven times—for "loitering" and similar "offenses." And they have charged him with perjury—a felony [illegible] could imprison him for ten years. Obviously their real purpose is to remove him physically as the leader to whom the students look [illegible]

of others—look for guidance and support, and thereby to intimidate *all* leaders who may rise in the South. Their strategy is to behead this affirmative movement, and thus to demoralize Negro Americans and weaken their will to struggle. The defense of Martin Luther King, spiritual leader of the student sit-in movement, clearly, therefore, is an integral part of the total struggle for freedom in the South.

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We must heed their rising voices—yes—but we must add our own.

moral support and render the material help so urgently needed by those who are taking the risks, facing jail, and even death in a glorious re-affirmation of our Constitution and its Bill of Rights.

We urge you to join hands with our fellow Americans in the South by supporting, with your dollars, this Combined Appeal for all three needs—the defense of Martin Luther King—the support of the embattled students—and the struggle for the right-to-vote.

Your Help Is Urgently Needed . . . NOW!!

Stella Adler
Raymond Pace Alexander
Mary Van Arsdale
Mary Bethune
Julia Bolshakova
Dr. Algernon Black
Marc Blitzstein
Philip Bonsal
Max Bishop
Richard Boone
Bishop Gerald Bradley
Dishman Cowell
Dr. Alan Knight Chalmers
Richard Coe
Nat King Cole
Cheryl Crawford
Dorothy Dandridge
Ossie Davis
Sammy Davis, Jr.
Ruby Dee
Dr. Philip Elliott
Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin
Fredric March

Anthony Franciosa
Lorraine Hansberry
Rev. Donald Harrington
Nat Hentoff
Rabbi Israel Herbert
Mary Hinkson
Van Heflin
Langston Hughes
Morris Iushewitz
Michalis Jackson
Mahalia Jackson
Josephine Jacobsen
John Killens
Earlene Kitt
Rabbi Edward Klein
Hope Lange
Julie Harris
Viveca Lindfors
Carl Murphy
Don Murphy
John Murray
A. J. Muste
Frederick O'Neal

L. Joseph Overton
Clarence Pickett
Shad Polier
Sidney Poitier
A. Philip Randolph
John Raitt
Elmer Rice
Jackie Robinson
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Beyard Rustin
Robert Ryan
Maureen Stapleton
Frank Silvera
Hope Stevens
George Tabori
Rev. Gardner C. Taylor
Norman Thomas
Kenneth Tynan
Charles Wills
Shelley Winters
Max Youngstein

We in the south who are struggling daily for dignity and freedom warmly endorse this appeal

Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy (Montgomery, Ala.)
Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth (Birmingham, Ala.)
Rev. Kelley Miller Smith (Nashville, Tenn.)
Rev. W. A. Dennis (Chattanooga, Tenn.)
Rev. C. K. Steele
Rev. Matthew D. McCollum (Orangeburg, S. C.)
Rev. William Holmes Borders (Atlanta, Ga.)
Rev. Douglas Moore (Durham, N. C.)

Rev. Walter L. Hamilton (Norfolk, Va.)
I. S. Levy (Columbia, S. C.)
Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr. (Atlanta, Ga.)
Rev. Henry C. Bunton (Memphis, Tenn.)
Rev. S. S. Seay, Sr. (Montgomery, Ala.)
Rev. A. L. Davis (New Orleans, La.)
Mrs. Katie E. Whickham (New Orleans, La.)
Rev. W. H. Hall (Hattiesburg, Miss.)
Rev. J. E. Lowery (Mobile, Ala.)

Please mail this coupon TODAY!

Committee To Defend Martin Luther King
and
The Struggle For Freedom In The South
312 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.
UNiversity 6-1700

*I am enclosing my contribution of $*_____

March 28, 1960

Harold Fleming

Paul Rilling

Alabama application to the Field Foundation

Talked to Bob Hughes this week and raised the question of the missing application for consideration by the Field Foundation. Bob advised me that the revision process became lost in the welter of emergency and trouble shooting activities growing out of disturbances in Montgomery and elsewhere. In view of this situation and because of some continued differences of opinion, Bob and Father Foley have decided to convene the full program committee and have something ready by the fall meeting of the Field Board. The Alabama Council is writing Field concerning this decision and we are to receive a copy of the letter.

FEAR AND HATRED GRIP BIRMINGHAM

Racial Tension Smoldering After Belated Sitdowns

APR 1 2 1960

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., April 8—From Red Mountain, where a cast-iron Vulcan looks down 500 feet to the sprawling city, Birmingham seems veiled in the poisonous fumes of distant battles.

On a fine April day, however, it is only the haze of acid fog belched from the stacks of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company's Fairfield and Ensley works that lies over the city.

But more than a few citizens, both white and Negro, harbor growing fear that the hour will strike when the smoke of civil strife will mingle with that of the hearths and forges.

It is not accidental that the Negro sit-in movement protesting lunch-counter segregation has only lightly touched Birmingham. But even these light touches have sent corrective tremors through the delicately balanced power structure.

The reaction has been new manifestations of fear, force and terror punctuated by striking acts of courage.

No New Yorker can readily measure the climate of Birmingham today.

Whites and blacks still walk the same streets. But the streets, the water supply and

Continued on Page 28, Column 1

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

FEAR AND HATRED GRIP BIRMINGHAM

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

the sewer system are about the only public facilities they share. Ball parks and taxicabs are segregated. So are libraries. A book featuring black rabbits and white rabbits was banned. A drive is on to forbid "Negro music" on "white" radio stations.

Every channel of communication, every medium of mutual interest, every reasoned approach, every inch of middle ground has been fragmented by the emotional dynamite of racism, reinforced by the whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, the mob, the police and many branches of the state's apparatus.

In Birmingham neither blacks nor whites talk freely. A pastor carefully closes the door before he speaks. A Negro keeps an eye on the sidewalk outside his house. A lawyer talks in the language of conspiracy.

Telephones are tapped, or there is fear of tapping. Mail has been intercepted and opened. Sometimes it does not reach its destination. The eavesdropper, the informer, the spy have become a fact of life.

Volunteer watchmen stand guard twenty-four hours a day over some Negro churches. Jewish synagogues have floodlights for the night and caretakers. Dynamite attempts have been made against the two principal Jewish temples in the last eighteen months. In eleven years there have been twenty-two reported bombings of Negro churches and homes. A number were never reported officially.

Community of Fear

Birmingham's whites and blacks share a community of fear. Some Negroes have nicknamed Birmingham the Johannesburg of America.

"The difference between Johannesburg and Birmingham" said a Negro who came South recently from the Middle West "is that here they have not yet opened fire with the tanks and big guns.

"I have lived in Alabama all my life," said a newspaperman. "Birmingham is going to blow one of these days. And when that happens that's one story I don't want to be around to cover."

"Remember," a business man said, "Birmingham is no place for irresponsible reporting. Be careful of what you say. We are at stake."

"I'm ashamed to have to talk [illegible] record," said an

Tension Is High in Birmingham

Associated Press

Police Commissioner Eugene Connor was elected in 1958 on race hate platform.

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth has been arrested twice; his church and home bombed.

ties. His administration was a stormy one.

He went into eclipse for several years but made a comeback in 1958, running on a platform of race hate.

"Bull is the law in Birmingham, like it or not," a business man said.

Mr. Connor is the author of many widely quoted aphorisms. He once said:

"Damn the law—down here we make our own law."

On another occasion he declared:

"White and Negro are not to segregate together."

"Only legitimate hold-ups will be investigated," he announced after evidence had been uncovered that some Birmingham robberies were inside jobs.

Mr. Shuttlesworth has been a frequent target of Mr. Connor's men. He has three cases on appeal. His church has been bombed twice. In one bombing his home was destroyed. Both he and his wife was injured and a white pastor was badly manhandled by a Birmingham mob when the three of them sought to use the white waiting room of the local bus depot.

A test of the forces symbolized by Mr. Connor and Mr. Shuttlesworth is in the making—a product of the seismic Birmingham reaction to the Negro student sit-ins.

Centers on Student

It centers on young Reeves. He is a slight young man weighing about 137 pounds and standing five feet eight inches. He wears horn-rimmed glasses, suffers from asthma and is noticeably shy and diffident.

He has been charged by the [illegible] with [illegible] in [illegible]. The [illegible] was one of the ten [illegible] students arrested for sit-ins.

The parents of young Reeves have received threats of death.

Alabama College to expel Negro sit-in demonstrators. The petition did not protest segregation. It protested political interference with the academic process.

Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of Birmingham-Southern, has been subjected to extraordinary pressures. But he has not buckled under. He supported the right of his students to send their petition to Governor Patterson on the ground of academic freedom. When he was confronted with threats and demands that young Reeves be expelled he again stood his ground. He declined to prejudge the case.

The Price of Courage

In Birmingham this kind of courage does not come cheaply. Dr. Stanford has been told that the college's position in the Reeves case will cost it a minimum of $1,500,000. This is the amount that the college had hoped to raise in a drive for badly needed building funds this year.

But as one Birmingham citizen said: "You weigh the situation. You take the counsels of caution. You listen to the voices which say don't rock the boat. But finally the time comes when a man has to stand up and be counted."

If fear and terror are common in the streets of Birmingham, the atmosphere in Bessemer, the adjacent steel suburb, is even worse.

On the night the Birmingham police arrested Mr. Shuttlesworth a band of floggers went to work in Bessemer.

The victim was a white woman, Barbara Espy, 19 years old, a former WAC. She was seized by four or five men, dragged into a car, [illegible] confession that she signed a [illegible] "mixing" Negroes. She has [illegible] swore out warrants [illegible] that she was

loads of hooded men roared into the street where the youngster lives with his mother and sister.

Armed with iron pipes, clubs and leather blackjacks into which razor blades were sunk the men attacked the boy and his mother and sister. The mother and sister protected the boy with their bodies. The men broke a leg of the mother, smashed open her scalp and crushed her hands.

Forty-five minutes after the alarm had been given, the police arrived, but the band had fled. The next day two deputies visited the mother in the hospital. She recoiled in horror. They were two of those who had beaten her, she said. No charges were lodged.

"She is afraid to say anything," a man familiar with the case declared.

A year earlier a Negro labor union official was attacked by a mob of forty or fifty men as he was being led out a Bessemer courtroom where he had been convicted of "inciting to riot." Some policemen stood by and watched the attack. This case was reported to the F. B. I., but no action has been taken.

Girl Flogged

A year ago a Negro girl and a white girl, both elementary pupils, quarreled on the way to school. A white man emerged from a near-by house with a bull whip and flogged the Negro girl. The police failed to respond to a call from the Negro school principal.

For weeks Negro children had to go to school an hour early and were held in school an hour late so they would not come into contact with white children.

The list of beatings, intimidations and violence could be continued almost indefinitely.

But not everything goes according to plan.

At the height of the last week's tension the Harvard debating team came to town. It met in an open and publicly announced contest with the debate squad of Miles College, a Birmingham Negro school.

Whites and blacks talked from the same platform. Whites sat with blacks in the audience in violation of one of Birmingham's most cherished ordinances. No policemen appeared. It could not have been more normal or peaceful had the contest been held in Cambridge, Mass.

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"Remember," a business man said. "Birmingham is no place for irresponsible reporting. Be careful of what you say. We are [illegible] Lines are at stake."

"I'm ashamed to have to talk to you off the record," said an educator. "It is not for myself. But these are not ordinary times. The dangers are very real and people up North must realize that."

"Excuse me," an educated Negro woman said. "But I just don't understand the white people around here. They seem to act so crazy. It doesn't make any sense. Don't they know there is a limit to what people will stand?"

"If you sow hate, you reap hate," said a Negro pastor.

The Birmingham of another era, that of the happy-go-lucky, ignorant Negro, the serio-comic dramas of Eighteenth Street (the Harlem of Birmingham), and the setting of Octavius Roy Cohen and his Florian Slappey stories, has vanished. Gone with it is Birmingham's fabulous Judge Abernathy, who let Negro prisoners determine the length of their stay in the Birmingham jail with a roll of the dice.

Quiet in Early Phases

When the Negro student sit-in movement reached Birmingham ten days ago it set in motion a sequence of events almost reflexive in character.

Birmingham had been quiet during the early phases of the student protests. Two months ago a dozen Negro students went to a public park and began a brief "prayer for freedom." It was curtailed when the police arrested the students on a charge of public disorder.

Then on Thursday, April 2, ten Negro students went two by two into five downtown Birmingham stores. They made small purchases and sat at the lunch counters. All were arrested immediately on charges of trespassing. They were held eighteen hours before being able to make bond.

The next seventy-two hours were busy ones for the Birmingham police. They arrested three Negro ministers, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, the Rev. Charles Billups and the Rev. C. Herbert Oliver. Mr. Shuttlesworth was arrested twice on successive days.

The police also arrested Thomas Reeves, a 21-year-old white student at Birmingham-Southern College and part-time preacher, and Jessie Walker, a Negro student from Daniel Payne University.

Each of those arrested was charged with "vagrancy." In addition, Mr. Reeves and Mr. Oliver, who was hauled barefooted and in his bathrobe from his home, were charged with "intimidating a witness."

By Birmingham custom, persons charged with vagrancy are not admitted to bail. They are held incommunicado for three days. In actual practice, such a prisoner is sometimes permitted to make one telephone call. But not always. A person arrested on a vagrancy warrant simply disappears for three days. His friends and family may not know what has happened to him.

A Favorite Technique

This is a favorite technique of Birmingham's Police Commissioner, Eugene Connor. Mr. [illegible] sports

segregate together."

"Only legitimate hold-ups will be investigated," he announced after evidence had been uncovered that some Birmingham robberies were inside jobs.

Mr. Shuttlesworth has been a frequent target of Mr. Connor's men. He has three cases on appeal. His church has been bombed twice. In one bombing his home was destroyed. Both he and his wife was injured and a white pastor was badly manhandled by a Birmingham mob when the three of them sought to use the white waiting room of the local bus depot.

A test of the force, symbolized by Mr. Connor, is now in the making—a product of the seismic Birmingham reaction to the Negro student sit-ins.

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It centers on young Reeves. He is a slight young man weighing about 137 pounds and standing five feet eight inches. He wears horn-rimmed glasses, suffers from asthma and is noticeably shy and diffident.

He has been charged by the police with [illegible] with [illegible] The charges [illegible] was one of the ten Negro students arrested for sit-ins.

The parents of young Reeves have received threats of death. The youth has been restricted to the campus of Birmingham-Southern, technically on administrative probation. Actually, the step is for his physical protection.

A cross was burned on the Birmingham-Southern campus, possibly because of the Reeves case, possibly because ninety-seven Birmingham-Southern students had signed a petition to Gov. John Patterson protesting his action in forcing

be expelled. He stood his ground. He declined to prejudge the case.

The Price of Courage

In Birmingham this kind of courage does not come cheaply. Dr. Stanford has been told that the college's position in the Reeves case will cost it a minimum of $1,500,000. This is the amount that the college had hoped to raise in a drive for badly needed building funds this year.

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If fear and terror are common in the streets of Birmingham, the atmosphere in Bessemer, the adjacent steel suburb, is even worse.

On the night the Birmingham police arrested Mr. Shuttlesworth a band of floggers went to work in Bessemer.

The victim was a white woman, Beatrice Gray, 19 years old, a former [illegible] who was seized by [illegible] men, dragged into a car, beaten, [illegible] signed a confession that she had been [illegible] Negroes.

She has [illegible] warrants charging that she was abducted and beaten by a sheriff's deputy, an alderman and three other persons.

The sheriff repeatedly refused to entertain charges against his deputy. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has been asked to look into the case for possible violations of civil rights.

One of the students who participated in the "prayer for freedom" lived in Bessemer. An evening or two later seven car-

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Connor is a former [illegible] opponent [illegible] known as "Bull" because of the [illegible] of his voice. He served on B'ham P.D. for 16 years in the late 1930's + 40's

from Bob Hughes.
7/29/60

MEMORANDUM ON HARRISON SALLISBURY'S ARTICLE ON BIRMINGHAM

EXTENT OF SEGREGATION PATTERN: Racial restrictions on entry, service or seating are found in all of the expected public and semi-public facilities in Birmingham according to law and/or custom.

This pattern has been carried further than usual in some instances in comparison with the rest of the South: Of some thirty buildings in Birmingham with elevators, a survey we ran three years ago revealed four still had elevators designated for Negroes. At least two and possibly a third still maintain this system, one of them being the downtown Frank Nelson Bldg. where most of the city's attorneys maintain offices. The large Stockham Valves plant main employee's entrance has signs directing whites and Negroes to separate sides of the gate house. All state A. B. C. (Alcoholic Beverage Control) retail stores in the state including Birmingham have separate entrances and counters in contrast to private retail patterns. Instead of segregated seating for performances at the Birmingham Municipal Auditorium which Negroes are permitted to attend, a second session is held for Negroes, often a matinee. The only place where a white and a Negro might normally sit beside one another in Birmingham that I can think of is in a shoe store. A "quickie" survey a year ago revealed that most downtown shoe stores or shoe departments of department stores "steered" Negro patrons to side seats if possible. Some four or five years ago conservative elements by local initiative pushed through a law prohibiting mixed sports or entertainment to get rid of Negroes on baseball teams. Different water fountains, of course, feature "white" and "colored" water but I've never been able to taste any difference.

One exception to the pattern is the integrated Lane Park and its Jimmy Morgan Zoo, the latter established by funds sought in both white and Negro communities. But when the Klan had an outing at the park in robes about two years ago, some colored contributors stopped going not wanting an incident or to permit their children to see such. But the pattern creeps back in at the snack bar and ticket booth for the miniature train where signs direct whites and Negroes to separate windows. Needless to say, there is but one line to stand in in the Jefferson County Court House tax and license payment offices.

The "banning" of the black and white rabbit book actually was confined to the Alabama Public Library Service Division headquarters in Montgomery where "The Rabbits Wedding" was removed from the circulation shelves but could be borrowed by special request by local libraries. Martin King's "Stride Toward Freedom" was on the same agency's recommended reading list until this drew fire from a Black Belt state senator. Both incidents occurred about 1½ years ago and about six months ago the division director, Miss Emily Reed, resigned and moved to Washington, doubtless tired of the pressure. No Birmingham or Montgomery bookstore carried King's book in stock when it was being given top reviews nationally.

The current "Negro music" drive is, I understand, an effort by Roger Thames, Birmingham News entertainment editor, to get all disc jockies to use discretion in their selections getting away from "trashy" and "Negro" music, but not "forbidding" anything.

FRAGMENTATION OF THE MIDDLE GROUND AND CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION: There is a middle ground but it has largely been silenced. Some three years ago the old Community Chest coordinating agency's race relations committee (which was set up about five or six years ago to supplant a prospective Urban League with out side ties) composed of status

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people was abolished after the Citizens Council attacked it and got some union leaders to threaten to stop support of the Chest. The Birmingham Baptist Assn. has a white board for its local Negro religious education assistance program, but a couple of years ago it ceased to meet for many months for fear of attracting attention and criticism. The all white National Conference of Christians and Jews Alabama Regional Executive Committee, composed primarily of Birmingham businessmen, quietly redefined its program some two years ago to deal with religious, not racial prejudice to which policy it has adhered.

As police looked on in 1956 a large taunting group of Ace Carter's militant citizens council members assembled outside of the meeting place of the bi-racial Birmingham Council on Human Relations, sent persons in who jammed the elevator, took flash pictures, and secured literature. Violence was probably averted only by the affable fearless white minister-chairman who led the members out through the middle of the stunned crowd shaking hands right and left. In October 1958 Klansmen and police entered the meeting hall of the same organization forcing them to disband. White persons present were subjected to mid-nite phone calls, threats and smear sheets distributed to neighbors and business associates. This is the only bi-racial group that has continued meeting and working despite intimidation.

Attempts to get community leaders to initiate independent bi-racial movements or even off-the-record talks so critically needed over the past three years have failed except for the Birmingham Brotherhood of Clergy, a small group of white and Negro ministers who meet together for prayer, sharing and discussion. This group recently criticized Bessemer law enforcement and established a "Conscience Fund" issuing a public appeal for funds to pay the medical and home rehabilitation expenses of the Bessemer student's family that was beaten, but the local press ignored their release. The Birmingham Council on Human Relations has had similar experience in the past in attempting to break through the paper curtain.

When churches have been asked to permit bi-racial groups to meet in their facilities overt fears of bombing have been expressed by laymen on two occasions with which I am familiar. No "white" facilities are open to such groups in Birmingham even though they have been widely sought after.

Whereas few participants in such activities have faced the gun, mob or bomb, all such persons and prospective participants alike are well aware of their employment and fear exposing themselves to their use.

TAPPED PHONES: Clicks and extraneous noise on telephones, including my own, makes many suspect tapping. In one case critical information leak strongly indicated tapping when four Montgomery Improvement Assn. leaders were picked up for vagrancy in Rev. Shuttlesworth's home two years ago. The meeting was confidential and preceded by a phone call as the visitors arrived in the city. Often pay phones are used for strategic communication and on long distance calls it is felt that conversation must be guarded.

MAIL INTERFERENCE: My talk with Mr. Sullisbury covered the entire state and the mail interference reference was not necessarily referring to the Birmingham P. O. In 1956 several pieces I mailed from Montgomery to Tuscaloosa were intercepted by a Tuscaloosa mailman and turned over to a Klan official. I know at least one extremely important letter was photostated and circulated around that city. The two were caught and convicted and quietly given five year suspended sentences. Other mail sent to me in Birmingham from the Selma P. O. in February and March, 1960 never arrived.

SPIES, INFORMERS: Two Birmingham city detective have openly attended each weekly meeting of the Rev. Shuttlesworth's Ala. Christian Movement For Human Rights for three years. When six Klansmen were arrested for the castration of a Negro man in 1957, one was identified as the Klavern's "captain of intelligence". Members of the Birmingham Council on Human Relations were shocked to recognize him as a faithful member.

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FIRST NEGRO STUDENT DEMONSTRATION: This "Vigil For Freedom" of Feb. 29th was launched with the idea of "We'll pray as long as they (Southern senators) filabuster". The twelve were questioned, printed, photographed but never formally charged. In the North such is generally not regarded as an arrest, but, I understand, under Alabama law it is if an officer detains or forces one to accompany him against his will.

REV. HERBERT OLIVER'S ARREST: Upon answering a knock at his door on Sunday evening, Apr. 5th, he was confronted by two policemen who told him to come with them. He inquired of the charge and a warrant but was told to come on. When he inquired again one of the officers snatched open the latched screen, grabbed him by the shoulder and pulled him out of the doorway and threw him across the porch into the walkway whereupon he was shoved to the police car. As they were preparing to drive away his wife came out and asked for their warrant and was told, "Mind your own business. He's going to jail." They refused her request to get him some clothes. Clad only in his bathrobe he was booked, refused four requests to use a phone, and informed of charges of "vagrancy" and "attempting to intimidate a witness" six hours later. Requests for visits and bail by family were refused while vagrancy charge lasted.

THOMAS HERVEY: On Apr. 5th arrested for "vagrancy" (at his place of work while performing his work) as he was with his youth at the Methodist Church he serves as youth director. No warrant involved. Was permitted to phone only once, this right after booking. The same "intimidation" charge was placed after he was jailed.

JESSE WALKER: Arrested on same charges at 2:30 a.m. on Apr. 6th. Details unknown.

The Birmingham Junior Bar Assn. has recognized the evil inherent in such practices for both races and has been conducting a survey on them for some time. If report is made Commissioner Connor would probably ignore it, but it does somewhat confirm the practice of vagrancy procedures.

SHUTTLESWORTH VS. CONNOR ET AL: All facts mentioned correct except the bus depot episode. Connor's predecessor, Robert Lindberg, was police commissioner and Shuttlesworth has announced to the press and police that he would test the Terminal (railway) Station "open" seating policy. He and Mrs. Shuttlesworth were escorted through a mob of 100-200 Klansmen who had gathered and at worst were jostled, not injured. Rev. Lamar Weaver, a some-time Baptist preacher and possibly mentally unbalanced, went down "to see his friends off", was ordered out of the station into the mob by police, was shoved and hit by fists but got to his convertible car which suffered damage from paving stones being hurled through the top, etc. He raced for his life out of the parking lot and ran a red light. The only arrest or ticket issued for these events was a reckless driving citation against Weaver. He immediately left town and hasn't returned.

THOMAS REEVES: All facts correct except I know of no death threat to his parents. The student petition protested expulsion from Ala. State College, a Negro school in Montgomery, not "Ala. College" which is a white state school in Montevallo.

ROBERT JONES (Negro Demonstrator From Bessemer): Facts are straight except he lives with his father also who was away at work on the night of the attack. The mother's hands weren't "crushed", only one finger being broken. 45 min. after the attack two patrolmen and two detectives arrived and remained "about 5 min." asking for evidence and ignoring suggestions that prints were doubtless on the T V set and both front and back doors which were broken in. There were no "deputies" involved. According to fairly direct report I received and which I have never been able to confirm definitely, approximately a week after the attack two city detectives visited the mother in the hospital. She asked them if they had brothers and one stated he did but he was out of town whereupon she stated, "You were in the group that beat us." The next day or possibly sooner she was discharged and I understand the family went into hiding.

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ASBURY HOWARD SR. (Negro Labor Leader): In Feb., 1959, was arrested for "inciting to riot" or "breach of the peace" for placing an order with a white painter to reproduce a cartoon published in the Kansas City Call depicting a handcuffed Negro with hands lifted in prayer. A caption urged people to register to vote. At time of arrest sign was not in his possession and only half completed. All Negroes were searched as they entered city hall court room where he was convicted and sentenced to 180 days in jail and a fine of, I thing, $500. Filed appeal and freed on bond. Upon leaving the court room he was beaten by 40-50 white men as police watched. Only person arrested was son who rushed to his aide. Son was convicted of assualt and battery and case on appeal. Father's appeal bond invalidated on a technicality and forced to serve half year at hard labor cleaning city streets while case appealed. Reached either Supreme Court or Court of Appeals which ruled case "moot" as sentence had just ended. Cases given passing publicity.

NEGRO GIRL FLOGGING VICTIM: Facts as stated correct and complete as I have them from an indirect source. Possibly Negro children who came to school hour early were released an hour early. No arrests and no publicity until you broke it. I reported it to Birmingham News and U. P. I. Indirect source of information.

OTHER CASES: Negro woman taken from front yard at night and raped by four white men on lonely highway right after Mack Parker rape case publicity in Miss. Was dumped on side of road, attracted elderly white woman with cries who brought her to city hospital in early morning. Husband quoted as saying, "I live here. I have to work here. I'm not filing a complaint against anybody." No arrests or publicity. Indirect source of information.

About a year ago a Negro woman was jailed and held incommunicado for at least several days after shooting white man in her yard at mid-nite. Negro male witness told by whites to forget about it and he has. No publicity. Indirect source of information.

Two or three years ago, Negro woman who worked in white night spot had home bombed one night. Part of home burned and she was hospitalized with leg and head burns. No arrests or publicity. Indirect source of information.

In about 1957 Negro church bombed on Sunday night filled with people. Dynamite thrown against window pane which did not break. Bomb fell to ground at rear of church blowing up a shed and damaging home next door. No arrests and passing publicity.

Asbury Howard's home was bombed at about same time, if not on same night, as church. No arrests and only passing publicity.

I believe another bombing occurred in this series although I can't be sure without checking back issues of newspapers.

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The Talk Of The Town

Editor
The New Yorker Magazine
New York, N.Y.

Sir:

The talk of the town concerning you, to borrow your phrase, is that you are an incompetent, punk journalist.

This *The Montgomery Advertiser* will now illustrate, having waited since your July 16 edition to see if you would redeem the tedious fiction concerning Montgomery and this newspaper.

You dispatched a bearded jazz music critic up here to Montgomery to write about race relations. This citizen had not even purged himself of the lies to which he was party to in *The New York Times* before he came here to laminate those lies with more lies and what delicate ladies call barnyard or moo.

This gabby, Nat Hentoff, was one of the signers of the ad in *The Times* concerning Montgomery. *The Times* was forced to make formal acknowledgement that the ad contained lies and is now being sued therefor.

Unpurged of his perjury in that connection and untaught by the experience, this Hentoff went to Mr. Cliff Durr here to get the truth about Montgomery. Durr was an implausible if not preposterous source of information, for he is as hipped on race-mixing as the cranks who oppose fluoride in the water.

Durr is intellectually gifted, but he is crudely subjective in his viewpoints. To have pilloried this newspaper and this city on Durr's emotional, unsupported testimony was outrageous. You will be shamed to know that even friends and fellow radicals of Durr take that view.

I will render just two examples of the crude lies in your "A Conversation In Alabama". You quote Durr as saying:

> "You can see some of the complications just by following *The Montgomery Advertiser*," Mr. [Durr] said, lighting his pipe. "The father of the present editor was a wonderful small-town newspaperman. He won a Pulitzer Prize after the first war for fighting the Klan, and for a time his son continued attacking the Klan. But after 1954 the paper's line began to waver. It said the members of the White Citizens Council were different from Klansmen; they were orderly, legal ..."

Advertiser [illegible] wavered day or an issue in its opposition to the Klan. It made it an explosive issue in the last race for governor. The files are fat with attacks on the Klan. Now and always we refer to the Klan as "trash".

At first *The Advertiser* was indeed hostile to the Citizen Councils. But then we saw that they were open and correct in their activities, as well as impotent. As an honest newspaper, there was nothing to do but correct ourselves and tell the truth — which would be a salubrious exercise for *The New Yorker*.

Hentoff then quotes Durr as saying that after the bat-swinging incident "pressure on the paper" became such that, following a spirited outburst by Allen Rankin, Jr., *The Advertiser* went silent.

That's a lie.

The truth is that *The Advertiser* made what was considered a shattering attack on the policies and the conditions which made possible the bat-swinging incident after the Rankin letter. This attack was as destructive and harsh as the editor could fashion.

[illegible] for this and the rest, for the court dockets are now congested with the suits against the mendacious *New York Times*.

We are content to confront you with your mess and the damage to our repute.

If you're worth a damn as a journalist, you will accept this challenge to send a man here and clean the Augean stable which was your July 16 reporting on Montgomery and *The Montgomery Advertiser*.

8/7/60 —EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER.

A Reply And A Challenge

8/10/60

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Judging from your editorial of Aug. 7, "The Talk of the Town," your three weeks wait for *The New Yorker* to come, unexhorted, to the mourner's bench and repent of its journalistic sins must have been quite a strain. "Punk" journalists just don't act that way and some one should have told you. My own reaction of annoyance to *The New Yorker* article was spontaneous and far less wearing on the emotions.

Your statement that I am "intellectually gifted" is over-generous, but flattery is always pleasant and I appreciate it. I suspect, however, that less flattery was intended by your reference to me as "emotional," "implausible," "preposterous" and even "hipped." These words, however, if I may be permitted to borrow an expression from you, are "so crudely subjective" that I would not know how to take specific objection to them, even if I were inclined to do so. Moreover, I have no inclination to defend either Mr. Hentoff or Mr. Hentoff's beard or his "Mr. Winter" or, for that matter, his or *The New Yorker's* journalistic behavior.

When, however, you not only attempt to characterize my views on the race problem without ever having asked me what they are, but put "Mr. Winter's" pipe in my mouth and change his name to "Mr. Durr" and then call him a liar, are you not putting your own journalistic standards into question?

Shortly after *The New Yorker* story came out, I issued a statement to *The Advertiser* in which I said that I would assume no responsibility for anything said by a fictional character named "Mr. Winter." But if *The New Yorker* was interested in anything *I* had to say, I would be glad to say it at *New Yorker* rates.

If *The Advertiser* is really interested in anything I may have to say, whether on the race issue, *The Advertiser*, national politics, or any other matter of public interest, I shall be happy to talk freely and frankly to you or any competent reporter you may send to see me.

The Advertiser, being a local enterprise, I will even forego charging *New Yorker* rates. The only condition I impose is that I be permitted to see a copy of the interview before it is published—not for the purpose of changing any conclusions or characterizations the interviewer may think in order but just to make sure that the quotations are mine and that the quotation marks are all in their proper places.

To borrow another of your phrases, "If you are worth a damn as a journalist, you will accept this challenge and send a man here" to see me. My office is not so far away as New York. It is only a few short blocks away.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I do agree with "Mr. Winter" that your father was a great newspaper editor.

—CLIFFORD J. DURR.

Montgomery.

Montgomery Advertiser 8/10/60

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ALABAMA JOURNAL
PICK OF THE STATE NEWS
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1960 ONE—B

N.Y. Times Libel Suit

Jailed Minister Seeking Freedom; Jury Back Today

BESSEMER, Ala. (AP)—Attorneys for the Rev. Robert E. Hughes still were seeking freedom today for the Methodist minister who has been in jail here since last Friday.

Hughes was jailed in connection with his appearance before a grand jury investigating accounts of racial troubles in the Birmingham area as published in The New York Times last spring.

Hughes was ordered to appear before the grand with records of the Alabama Council on Human Rights of which he is exectuive director.

The organization's expressed intent is to improve race relations.

Hughes contended, through his attorneys, that the records had no bearing on the investigation.

JAILED FOR CONTEMPT

He was jailed for contempt by Circuit Jurdge Gardner F. Goodwyn.

Goodwyn sent the minister to jail "until you purge yourself."

Under Alabama law, the minister could have been released under bond had the grand jury adjourned. The grand jury recessed until today.

Hughes' attorneys declined to say whether he would reveal the racial council's records to the grand jury. However, one of the attorneys, Charles Morgan, said:

MAKES OWN DECISION

"We will advise him of his rights. The Rev. Mr. Hughes makes his own decisions as to matters of his own conscience and religious convictions."

Hughes has been director of the Alabama Council on Human Rights for five years. He was appointed by Bishop Clare Purcell, former bishop of the North Alabama Conference.

Hughes' attorneys Friday asked the U.S. Supreme Court to hear a plea to dismiss the grand jury subooena against the minister, claiming that he had been summoned illegally.

The appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court is actually an appeal from the Alabama Supreme Court. The appeal was made prior to the contempt citation, and has no bearing on this charge.

Wash. Post

Church Ousts Cleric Jailed in Jury Quiz

9/10/60

BIRMINGHAM, Sept. 9 (AP) The North Alabama Methodist Conference has withdrawn the credentials of a minister who spent last weekend in jail after failing to give satisfactory answers to a grand jury.

The Rev. Robert E. Hughes nol onger is a minister of the Conference, although he still holds a local license in the Church.

A spokesman for the Conference said the action had no bearing on the minister's experience with a grand jury at Bessemer, Ala., last week. However, no explanation was given.

Mr. Hughes was sent to jail last Friday for contempt of a grand jury and stayed there until the grand jury reconvened Tuesday morning.

Mr. Hughes, executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations—an organization with the expressed purpose of improving race relations—could not be reached immediately for comment.

The grand jury at Bessemer was investigating reports of race incidents in the Birmingham-Bessemer area as published in the New York Times last April.

Deputy Circuit Solicitor Howard H. Sullinger said the grand jury indicted Times reporter Harrison Salisbury on 42 counts of criminal libel.

Mr. Hughes declined to reveal membership in the organization that he heads on the ground that the members had nothing to do with the action involving the New York Times.

AFRICAN POSITION FOR REV. HUGHES

Chett Times

Alabaman Gets Credentials Back, Handed Transfer to Southern Rhodesia

9/11/60

BIRMINGHAM (AP) — The North Alabama Methodist Conference Saturday restored ministerial credentials to the Rev. Robert E. Hughes.

Bishop Bachman G. Hodge announced the Rev. Mr. Hughes' immediate transfer to the Southern Rhodesia conference in Africa.

The restoration of his credentials came on a request from Dr. P. D. Wilson, who asked the conference to reconsider earlier action which stripped the Rev. Hughes of his ministerial status.

The Rev. Mr. Hughes, 32, was jailed over last weekend for contempt of a county grand jury investigating reports of racial conflict in the area as published in The New York Times.

The loss earlier this week of his ministerial credentials apparently was unrelated to his troubles with the grand jury.

The credentials were recalled under a conference rule prohibiting ministers from taking full-time appointments outside the church in place of pastorates.

The Rev. Mr. Hughes, executive director of the Alabama Council for Human Relations, has not taken a church position.

The conference notified him last year it would take back his ministerial credentials if he did not accept a pastorate.

Bishop Hodge told the conference before it voted on the action Saturday that the National Methodist Board of Missions informed him that Bishop Ralph E. Dodge of the Southern Rhodesia conference will accept the minister in that area for immediate assignment.

The bishop also said that if the credentials were restored he would immediately announce transfer of the Rev. Mr. Hughes.

The Rev. Mr. Hughes, a native of Gadsden, Ala., was ordained an elder in the conference in 1955. He has served since that time as executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

October 4, 1960

hcf pr

Bob Hughes

I was extremely pleased by the tone of the meeting of the Alabama Council board Saturday, October 1. The ACHR is taking full responsibility for the financial obligation and shows no inclination of dumping it in our laps, although considerable appreciation was expressed for our efforts to date.

It now develops that the total obligation to the Birmingham attorney s will be in the neighborhood of $5,000 rather than $7,000. A bill for $4,500 and attorneys' fees has already been presented and paid by the Alabama Council. This includes the $2,000 paid earlier and $2,500 paid recently. The Alabama Council has raised nearly $2,000 to date. The Council is just about broke, but is receiving the special Field Grant and the regular quarterly grant this week. The only other obligation to the Birmingham attorneys will be for long distance ~~fining~~ phoning and court costs. These bills have not been gigured by the attorneys, but are anticipated to be in the neighborhood of $500.

In other words, as of now, the Alabama Council stands to lose $3,000 from its regular operating funds through the Hughes case. We have already in effect made up $600 of this by allocating a larger share of the Field grant to Alabama becuase of this situation.

Father Foley reported that he had been in touch with a national organization that usually receives a considerable annual contribution from the Washington lawyer who was active in the Hughes case. He says this organization is suggesting to the lawyer that his assistance to Hughes be considered as his contribution to the organization, if he so desires. So, it is possible that we will not receive a bill from this attorney.

10/4/60

page 2 - hughes memo

The Alabama Council has decided to immediately proceed in the search for a new director. They have decided, against my advice and against that of Father Foley, to maintain the office in Birmingham for the time being. Bob made a strong case for continuing in Birmingham as the geographic center, the site of media contacts, etc. He feels that any move would probably be to Mobile and that this would be unfortunate because of distance involved and because of Father Foley's activities in that area

Feb. 6, 1961

Hcf, lwd, met pr

Developments in Alabama

The following information was gleaned from recent conversations with Richard Shapiro and Father Foley. Richard has been working intensely in Alabama. Some of it is hush-hush.

1. Negotiations over the lunch counter situation continue in Mobile and have involved increasingly significant business leaders. The lead has come from Father Foley and from the Rev. Eugene Peacock, a Methodist minister, with the tacit encouragement of Commissioner Langan. A meeting was held this week at the Alabama Power Company with the apparent knowledge and approval of the company. At this meeting, the Negroes, led by Rev. Lowry, Mr. LeFlore and Bishop Smith presented their demands, hinting that sit-ins might be the alternative. The demands were for a fair employment policy, particularly in places catering largely to Negroes, and
1 lunch counter desegregation. The Negro leadership indicated that they would be willing to defer lunch counter desegregation for a time if the employment consideration were handled immediately. The business men present were cautious but suggested that they might be able to reach an agreement on this basis. No students were involved.

2. There was an extremely hush-hush meeting held following recent events in Georgia at the offices of the Birmingham News. This meeting was convened by News executives, apparently James Cooley (?). A very select and powerful segment of business leadership in Birmingham discussed the significance of Georgia developments and their possible future meaning for Birmingham. As we might expect, there was little feeling that there needed to be any planning or discussion or that the Georgia developments had any relevance to the Alabama situation. The interesting thing is that the News, considering its editorial policy, would take the initiative in convening such a meeting.

Feb. 6, 1961

pr

Alabama - page 2

3. I believe this was in the press, but in case it wasn't, the Episcopal diocese of Alabama has recently created an interracial committee for the purpose of facilitating communication between the races. The membership of the committee has not been revealed nor is it known as yet to our contacts.

Gen

The Jeffersonian

Published Monthly In The Interest of States Rights And Racial Integrity
P. O. Box 8032, Ensley Station
Birmingham 8, Alabama
Dave Fredericks, Editor

An Editorial

John T. Golden was elected in 1958 to the State Democratic Executive Committee and he is currently serving on this important committee. While a Democrat, John Golden stands for the South first as he has proved over and over. He was elected to the Committee on STATES-RIGHTS pledge and this pledge he has staunchly and consistently honored. The best interest of the South comes first with him, not the National Democratic Party, which is more than we can say for Art Hanes, one of his opponents in the Mayor's race, who was quoted in the Birmingham News of Wednesday, February 4, 1958, as follows: "I'm definitely not going to run for the State Democratic Executive Committee on any slate intended to knock out the loyalty oath." "I supported the Democratic ticket in the 1956 presidential election and I am a loyal Democrat." In other words, Hanes is one of the Democratic Party slaves who believes in strict party obedience, even though the party line might be anti-South, while Golden believes in the Democratic Party as originally founded and subordinates the party policy to the best interest of the people he represents. Who would you rather have as your Mayor in these tense times, a man who by his own voice has confirmed that he is absolutely party bound even to the detriment of the South, or a man who was elected on a pledge of "The South First" and the "Democratic Party Second?" Birmingham and the South are faced with troublous times, times requiring men of high caliber, unyielding will power, dedication to the South and constitutional principals, and unbending determination to resist the Federal government at every turn as it attempts to force upon us its foreign ideals and philosophies. We believe John Golden to be such a man, for his past record proves that he "will stay hitched," which is more than one can say for ninety-nine and nine-tenths of the politicians in the political arena at the present time. We have no hesitancy in recommending him to you for the Mayor's Post.----Jeffersonian Editorial Board

No Strings Hold John T. Golden

John T. Golden is a dedicated lover of freedom. With the same devotion that he gave

He did more than pay lip service to this ideal in 1958 when he ran as a States Rights

S.R.C.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-6766

October 22, 1959

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I was extremely pleased to hear that John McConnell accepted a position on your state Board. It has been my experience that he takes his responsibility seriously and I feel he will be a real source of strength. I believe he should be encouraged to take an active roll in the local group as part of this responsibility. The political factor is always a risk in cases like John's but calculated risks are indicated in the present situation and I believe he made the proper decision.

We have passed your message concerning the Mobile ladies to Mrs. Tilly.

We very much appreciated the clipping concerning Tom Waring and are considering some distribution of it. Harold is out of town this week but told me to pass on his acknowledgment of your letter to Harry Fleischman and his agreement with your concern about the possible repercussions of all this hoopla about the Civil War Centennial, especially with a character like U.S. Grant in charge.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul W. Rilling
Field Director

PWR/sm

Facts About Birmingham Relations Council

As far back as 1958, the red-led council on Human Relations was preparing to sabatoge the Civil War Centennial in Charleston, as the Photostat of the above letter proves.

Sec. 34.66 P.L. & R.
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The Jeffersonian

"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these (Negro) people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them . . . . " -- Page 166, Life Writings and Opinions of Thomas Jefferson.

VOL. 1 NO. 4 BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA APRIL 1961

BIRMINGHAM CITY ELECTION WARMS UP..

VOTERS TO CHOOSE MAYOR

States Rights Candidate

Most Important Ballot In History Of Magic City

JOHN T. GOLDEN

d candidate running with the people in the Commission race, John T. Golden was ... Jefferson County in 1958 as a member ...ratic Executive Committee by a vote of ...edge to help knock out the infamous De...ratic Oath that would have bound all Ala...ma Democrats to take a servile ... ...list Democratic Party of allegiance and ...candidates for all offices without prior ...ev might be or what dangerous or radical ...t seek to promulgate.

...fferson County placed their faith and con...olden and the other six States Rights can...mocratic Committee in 1958 and it was ...e loyalty oath was knocked out and Ala...kept free and its ideals intact. This kind ...best hope of Birmingham voters this year ...ect a MAYOR to cope with all the complex ...l face the state's largest city in the next

Council On Human Relations Part Of Red Network

Those of you who don't think that we have in our midst a group of hard-core leftists completely ...ed to anti-South prin...ples, and determined to mix ... are in for a shocking surprise when you read the following facts.

Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations is the local chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, which in turn is the Alabama chapter of the Southern Regional Council, which has its headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia.

Southern Regional Council was established by the infamous Fund for the Republic with a grant of $445,000 to "promote interracial improvements in the South," and it has, in pursuance of this objective, created state chapters in every Southern state. Each of the state chap-

(SEE PHOTO ON PAGE 2)

ters has, in turn, established county, and community chapters, of which Greater Birmingham Council is one.

To clearly show the real nature of the Southern Regional Council; Alabama Council on Human Relations; and the Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations, we invite your careful and thoughtful attention to the facts:

a) Southern Regional Council is the successor organization to the now defunct Southern Conference on Human Welfare which was cited by the House Committee on un-American Activities Committee as a communist - front organization. After dissolution of the Southern Conference because of unfavorable publicity received by reason of such citation, many of its leading lights transferred their energies

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)

Birmingham citizens must march to the polls on May 2 and select a three-man City Commission to govern our City for the next four years.

In the race for Mayor seven men have offered their names to the voters for the position made vacant by the decision of Mayor J.W. Morgan not to seek re-election.

Those seeking election as Mayor are: John T. Golden, Art... Hanes, Tom King, Bill Morgan, Frank Pape, Frank Sego a... Louis Sudduth.

Candidates seeking election as Commissioner of Public Saf... are incumbent Eugene Connor, Andy Andrews, T.E. (Jo... ...dsey, and Alvin A. Billingsley.

Eight men are seeking the position of Commissioner ... Public Improvements. They are incumbent, James (Jab... Waggoner, Earl Bruner, Joe Captain, Dan Gaylord, ... Hawkins, J.T. Higgins (?), Johnny Medders, Don Wat...

These nineteen men pose the biggest question mark tha... Birmingham electorate have ever faced.

1961 is the Zero Hour for th Birmingham. The fate of ou... municipality hangs in the balance. This is without question ... most important race in the history of Birmingham.

The men elected will face almost incredible problems t... may well make our town for all time to come...problems deal... with the racial issue...problems dealing with the future of ... schools...expansion of city's borders.. terrific traff... problems to be met...financial problems and many others t... will demand the very utmost from every man elected.

Since in each town that has experienced racial discord ... has been the Mayor or City Commission that has first betray... the people who elected them...this Spring should be a time wh... Birmingham voters should approach the polls...prayerfully a... carefully...dedicated to the selection of the men best qualif... in every particular to meet every problem posed

Golden's Pledge To The Peo...

1. Expansion and diversification of industry...in order ... create pay lines instead of bread-lines.
2. A plan to present to neighboring municipalities for merg... with Birmingham subject to approval of the citizens.
3. A stepped up school system with the accent on increas... local efforts.
4. Commission Harmony insofar as possible without sacr... ficing integrity.
5. Expanded recreational facilities for our youth. But ... stadiums, parks, or other developments witho... consent of residents in the proposed locali...
6. Mayor's Advisory Committee composed of repr... sentatives of labor, business, and other groups ... meet, discuss and plan for building a great ... Birmingham.
7. Open Door Policy. My entire working time will be at ... service of the people of Birmingham and they w... always be welcome in my office.
8. Continued support of Social Segregation, States' Righ... and local self-government.

Huddleston Asks Curb On S. Court

Washington, D. C. ...In a new move to halt the growing abuses and usurpations of power by the Supreme Court, Rep. George Huddleston is sponsoring a bill to limit and regulate the Court.

Introduced on the first day of the new session the bill is called H.R. 404 and would limit and correct the encroachment by the high court on the legislative powers granted to the States and the Congress.

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

and activities to Southern Regional Council.

b) 25 of the current and former directors of the Southern Regional Council have public records of affiliation with Communist-front organizations.

c) Southern Regional Council was established by the Fund for the Republic for the express purpose of "promoting interracial improvements in the South," which, in plain language, means mixing of whites with negroes in every level of our society from the kindergarden on up.

This objective of the Southern Regional Council jibes exactly with that of the Communist Party U.S. A, viz: the establishment of a self-governing negro state in the South, and complete and indiscriminate fusion of whites with negroes.

d) James E. Jackson, negro, and convicted Communist Party leader, has been active in Southern Regional Council affaris, particularly organization of state, county, and community chapters.

e) Southern Regional Council has been named a "Southern Red Front" by the American Legion Americanism Commission.

f) Many of the leading figures of the Council are active in the Highlander Folk School

Educational Background Of John T. Golden Cited

Birmingham holds no more interested or qualified booster of education than John T. Golden. Having been the second son of six children, born of Scotch, Irish parents, he received his elementary education in public schools of Tennessee, he worked his way through Tennessee Polytechnic Institute in Cooksville, Tennessee, graduated with honors and a Bachelor of Science Degree in Business Administration. He also received a Master's Degree in Business Administration from George Peabody College, Nashville, and the LL.B. Degree in Law from Cumberland School of Law. He spent [illegible] years as a teacher in the public schools and three years as president of an elementary school.

[illegible] World War II he did [illegible] duty and passed his bar examinations, becoming a member of the Birmingham Bar Association and Alabama Bar Association.

Both from a knowledge of its problems and vital interest in its progress, John T. Golden has proven that he is qualified to strengthen and improve our school system, insofar as his job will permit. Legally he has top knowledge of what can be done to bring the magic back to Birmingham.

Middleton Asks Curb On S. Court

Middleton, N. C. ...In a new effort to halt the growing [illegible] usurpations of power by the Supreme Court, Rep. George [illegible] is sponsoring a bill to limit and regulate the Court.

Introduced on the first day of the new session the bill is called H.R. 404 and would limit [illegible] court on the legislative branch, [illegible] issued to the [illegible]

located in Monteagle, Tennessee, and which is known as a Communist training school. Many of the negroes now in the forefront of the agitation in the South received their training in this school, undoubtedly at the behest of the Southern Regional Council.

g) Until recently, on the most ardent supporters of the Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations was the un-frocked Presbyterian minister, Claude Williams, who has a long record of Communist Party membership and activity. Williams lives at R.F.D. #1, Helena, Alabama.

After reading the foregoing, can anyone doubt the true nature of the Southern Regional Council and it's off-spring, Alabama Council on Human Relations and Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations? Can anydoubt the danger to all of us if we sit complacently while these groups are working tirelessly and unceasingly with almost unlimited funds at their disposal?

You ask, "Well, what can I do about it?" There are many things you can do. Resist, vocally and in writing, any expressions or literature you hear or receive which follow the Communist line. Speak out forcefully and unmistakably when anyone advocates integration of the races and in this instance we have particular reference to integrationist ministers of any denomination. Remember, many ministers are not men of God but of the Devil, for many are following the Communist Party line faithfully. Support any organization which is dedicated to preservation of a white South, a constitutional Republic, and the sovereignty of the states. The enemy is well-heeled while most Southern resistance organizations are operating on a shoe-string so it behooves all of us to sacrifice a little for our own self-preservation.

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Capable • Experienced
Qualified • DEPENDABLE

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS!
Together — we can build a
Better Birmingham

A Statement from

JOHN T. GOLDEN
CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR

May 2nd Primary

BACK TO BIRMINGHAM • BRING THE MAGIC BACK TO BIRMING

May 18, 1961

Dr. Frederick W. Kraus
Dental Research Laboratory
Veterans Administration Hospital
700 South 19th Street
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Dr. Kraus:

Thank you for the copy of your letter to Father Foley of May 16. We had not seen the smear sheet reprinted previously.

I received a copy of Mr. Oliver's memorandum dealing with the relationship of race to the position of director of the Alabama Council. I thought it a thoughtful and useful memorandum and responded to it in a letter to Mr. Oliver. I believe I made it clear in that letter that matters of employment of state directors are in the hands of the state councils and that certainly the Southern Regional Council would not favor any qualification for such a position based on race. I believe I expressed my personal position at the most recent board meeting, namely, that I feel that all qualified candidates should be considered but that I feel it would make some difference in the way the Council would operate whether the director were white or Negro.

I certainly do not remember saying that "only whites may be considered" at any meeting and certainly this statement does not conform either to my views or to those of the Southern Regional Council.

I hope that I have not contributed inadvertently to any misunderstandings on this matter. I hope that the new director will merit the support of the full membership of the Council and that he will provide the kind of leadership that is so sorely needed in this kind of crisis.

Sincerely,

PMR/mm
cc: Father Foley

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

Dr. Frederick W. Kraus
Dental Research Laboratory
Veterans Administration Hospital
700 South 19th Street
Birmingham 3, Alabama
May 16, 1961

Father Albert S. Foley, Ph.D.
Spring Hill College
3669 Old Shell Road
Mobile 22, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

Thank you kindly for your answer of May 12. I also received an answer of the same date from Dave Vann and since I am very hard pressed for time, I shall simply send him a carbon copy of this letter. I shall send an additional carbon copy to Paul Rilling because I shall have to mention him in this letter. To both Paul Rilling and to you, Father Foley, I shall enclose a partial photocopy of a smear sheet which I assume to be known to Dave. I wonder whether any of you feel as I do — that the facsimile of the letter on page 2 should warrant action for probable mail fraud.

It seems hardly worthwhile to pursue the argument about employing Reverend Oliver part-time to keep the place warm while one is on maternity leave and the other will not yet have arrived. This is a very short span of time and a very small sum of money. The basic problem, why this man was not considered along with others seems to me — and to him — of greater importance. According to Reverend Oliver himself, only one of the candidates for the position of Executive Director applied spontaneously, all others were approached. Why, then, was he not approached? On the other hand, lest this argument be taken as vain and contrived, it seems that Paul Rilling mentioned at a meeting (which, I believe, I did not attend) that only whites may be considered. Reverend Oliver disagreed with this opinion and laid down his general views on the relation of color to this position in a mimeographed statement which he circulated to all members of the Board and some others. Although, according to Reverend Oliver, Paul Rilling's statement was not entered into the minutes, it was never retracted and I noticed a similar attitude at the last meeting. If it is accepted that only whites need apply, then no one can blame C. Herbert Oliver for not applying spontaneously. If this rule has not been accepted, is it not high time that the Council had a meeting of minds on this important matter?

Although I am not a lawyer, the question of tax status seems irrelevant to me; and ad hoc resignation of membership, if necessary, requires no difficult formality.

With sincerest good wishes to all readers and the Council as a whole.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick W. Kraus

Frederick W. Kraus, M.D., D.M.D.

Encl.

COPY

January 25, 1961

The Rev. C. Herbert Oliver
%Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Oliver:

I appreciate your statement "A Logical Examination of One of the Qualifications for the Office of Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Namely that He Must be White." Your memorandum is helpful and challenging and I agree with you that this question should be re-examined.

As far as the Southern Regional Council is concerned, of course, there is no such qualification. Each state group is free to set its own qualifications and to employ its own professional staff. Until quite recently a Negro, Mr. John Walker, served ably as associate director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. We would be quite concerned were we to learn that any group assisted by the Southern Regional Council had such a formal qualification.

The state councils have tended to employ white directors, however. I believe that they do so because of their evaluation of certain strategical considerations. I would certainly agree with you that there are Negroes who would be qualified by training and experience to serve as directors of state councils on human relations. I believe it entirely possible that a Negro director could be of major service to the Alabama Council and to the present situation in Alabama. If it were financially possible, I believe that the Alabama Council would be well advised to employ white and Negro staff. This is not to say that a white or a Negro director could carry on the same kind of program in the present climate of the state or that tactical considerations would favor the employment of a Negro director, should other things be equal.

Although I cannot speak for the leaders of the various state councils, I personally feel that the tendency to employ white directors is based on such assumptions as 1) The white community is most resistant to change and constitutes the major problem at the present time. A white director would have more access to the white community and to those white persons who are neutral or unsympathetic to the effort to win greater equality for all citizens. 2) Negroes in the deep South are more receptive to the framework of interracial activities than are whites. Negro leaders can work more easily with a white director than can potentially concerned white persons with a Negro director.

You suggest that the "requirement" for a white director tends to leave the Negro political and social development at a status quo level while encouraging the white community to move ahead. I believe there is some danger that we may concentrate too much on moving the white community. I would suggest, however, that a skilled white director, with strong support from Negro leadership, can contribute to increased progress within the Negro community. The major barrier to the advancement of the Negro citizen, after all, is the discriminatory attitudes manifested by the white majority.

I think it is proper that state councils consider such factors as these when interviewing candidates for directors' positions. There are also other factors that are relevant. I would certainly feel that any qualified candidate should be considered.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Ala. Council 1961

REFLECTIONS ON THE QUALITY OF INTERRACIAL ACTIVITIES

This statement is not presented as the answer to the problem of good human relations. It is designed as a humble attempt to explore the area of the quality of interracial activities. It is concerned with progress toward better cooperation and understanding between the agents of good will in a divided community.

The future of our region lies in the hands of those who are most capable of reconciling the varied points of view that divide our region. Some see a future that is in the hands of one racial group which benevolently dispenses favors to other groups. Others of us see a future of men and women working together and enjoying the pursuit of life, liberty, and hapiness without legal restraint or artificial barriers.

Persons of good will must become more and more aware of the prevalence of a kind of liberalism which in effect is little more than white supremacy on an interracial basis. When policy making power is concentrated in the hands of one racial group, and when there is resistance to change in this situation, then true interracial cooperation no longer exists. All "progress" becomes retrogression as far as the region is concerned. Unless we can create the conditions in which we can rise together, we cannot rightly look with hope to the future. We must progress together or we will suffer together. When the toe is in pain, the whole body is miserable. And when the pain leaves the toe, the whole body is refreshed. The white South cannot achieve its noblest aspirations as long as a large segment of its people is in effect left to fend for itself in a world of men and nations striving for a place in the sun.

A group can hardly expect to influence prejudiced white persons to work together on an equal basis with Negroes when the group itself is not able to do so. The quality of interracial cooperation in the present context becomes a matter of the greatest importance. For it determines whether we are going forward or backward. The fact that a kind of interracial cooperation exists is not important. There has always been interracial cooperation of a sort. At one time it was a master-slave relationship. Afterwards came the paternal relationship. While vestiges of these attitudes still remain, a new relationship is gaining ground. It is spearheaded by those who wish to be done with paternalism. But they wish also to see that all policy making is in the hands of white liberals. They welcome all liberals regardless of color, but they also advance many considerations in favor of white leadership rather than bi-racial or multi-racial leadership.

It is a fact that the white community is resistant to change. So are all communities in one way or another. But this resistance must never be urged as a reason for the agents of good will to resist change also by maintaining exclusive white leadership. The fact of prejudice can only be used by the prejudiced as a reason to perpetuate prejudice. Those who seek to provide a remedy for our poor human relations must show by practice that the remedy can work.

A Negro leader who has the strong backing of white leadership is not as vulnerable as a white leader who has the strong backing of Negro leadership. Methods of eliminating a white leader who has strong Negro backing have been worked out to scientific precision. The same is not true of a Negro leader with strong white support.

To assume that Negroes in the South are more receptive to interracial activities than are whites is not altogether accurate. Frequently this is not the case. There are, of course, some Negroes who are flattered simply to be around white persons, and they look for nothing beyond. But white agents of good will would be failing humanity if they could attract only that kind of mentality. Nor is progress being made when they can attract only white persons who would associate with that kind of Negro.

We can hardly predict what kind of support the right type of leader may receive, whether he be black or white. But to assume

that leadership should be primarily in the hands of one racial group communicates something that speaks ill of prospects for good human relations. Such a procedure may maintain a calmness in the present distress, but it is destructive of the ultimate goal of good human relations.

The concern of the writer is simply this: A goal cannot be achieved through methods which are destructive of the goal itself, but only by methods which have power to contribute to the achievement of the goal.

The above suggestions are presented in the hope that they may find favorable ground in which to grow, and that they will be received in the spirit in which they are given.

C. Herbert Oliver

PR

This question will become increasingly interesting.

Olivier's memo has considerable merit, though I agree with you as regards Alabama

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✓LWD SM

A Logical Examination Of One Of The Qualifications For The Office Of Executive Director Of The Alabama Council On Human Relations, Namely, That He Must Be White.

Notwithstanding many assertions to the contrary, Alabama is fortunate to have such an organization as the Alabama Council On Human Relations. It stands as a bulwark against mass hysteria, demagoguery and the non-rational method of settling racial disputes. It calls upon citizens of both racial groups in Alabama to follow the course of enlightened reason rather than that of violent emotionalism. Alabama has an exceptionally great potential for the creation and the pursuit of enlightened reason but it also has an exceptionally great potential for the creation and the pursuit of violent emotionalism. While the former is reticent, the latter is always ready for the fray. And the Council is in the very difficult position of encouraging the rational to become activated in such a manner as to save the state from emotional ruin, if not from economic and political ruin also; and at the same time to avoid stirring up the sleeping giant of pure, pagan, race hatred.

In this context it might appear trivial to give special attention to what some would call a matter of plain common sense. But in the matter of human relations, very frequently those things which some would call trivial become matters of the greatest significance.

For the following reasons this writer feels that the requirement that the executive director (or any officer) must be white is not in accord with the spirit and aims of the Council.

1. The requirement does have a basis. This basis is an assumption. As far as I am able to determine, this assumption is that it will not work in the present racial climate. But the assumption is not based in fact, as it has not been proved to be true. Even if there have been Negro executive directors who have not "succeeded", that still does not make the assumption valid. For such directors might have been victims of the assumption itself. Furthermore their lack of "success" can never make valid the assumption that a white person must do the work. It can only show that one individual was not able to "succeed". The failure of a white person to "succeed" would hardly cause people to conclude that a Negro must do the work. But the assumption that a white person can succeed (and even though many might fail, the assumption remains) is more than half the battle won already. Conversely, the assumption that a Negro just "cannot", means that he really cannot, but the cause is not in him but in those who make the assumption. We act on the basis of our assumptions. It is not surprising that the racist makes this assumption, and his actions in implementing this assumption are understandable. But this assumption does not rightly belong in the Council. The Council should operate on the assumption that a qualified person can do the job, and it should be as determined to see it succeed with a Negro as they are with a white person. Otherwise, are we really making progress in human relations?

2. The requirement, it seems, has the unwholesome effect of leaving the Negro political and social development at the status quo level while it provides encouragement for white southern conservatives to become more liberal,

and liberals to become still more liberal, or active. One sometimes wonders whether the role of the Council is to make active liberals out of liberal whites while making conservatives out of "radical" Negroes. But it is just as important to make liberals out of some of the very conservative Negroes whose only interest in the Council is to wring out of it a little status for themselves, which costs them very little; while it adds to them much coveted status. Many of them are as opposed to any active program as the most conservative white person. This condition should not be a part of the Council.

3. The requirement is in my view discriminatory in that it rules out a whole group of persons who, except for "race", might otherwise be qualified. To the Negro, this means that he need not ever think of exercising such an office because according to the rules of the game he is ineligible. And this in turn gives white people, when they come to the place when they might want to try a Negro director, the "reason" to say "There are none qualified." Naturally.

This is offered as firm conviction, but in the realization that token consideration of it is cause for some slight hope; serious consideration would be somewhat encouraging; a rethinking of the whole question might open the door for greater progress.

C. Herbert Oliver

Chatt Times
8-2-61

TIMES: CHATTANOOGA

MADISON COUNCIL FIRES DIRECTOR

He Blames Bi-Racial Work But Group Finds Fault With His Record

By Times Correspondent

HUNTSVILLE, Ala.—The executive director of the Madison County Council of Community Organizations was dismissed form that post Monday.

Julian C. Hall said he had been asked to resign, but chose to let the council board dismiss him. He said he felt there were "other considerations" than those publicly listed by the board.

The council's directors said they acted after the personnel committee finished its first annual evaluation of Hall and said that his "record of accomplishment of work left much to be desired."

However, Hall said his membership in the Huntsville Human Relations Council, a bi-racial group, was a big factor in his termination.

In Bi-Racial Unit

He had been asked on June 8 to give up his participation in the human relations group, he said, and after he gave it considerable thought, he declined.

Mrs. Patrick Richardson, president of the County Council of Community Organizations, said Tuesday night that she would "stand on" the statement of her board on the shortcomings of Hall as executive director. The factors which brought about his dismissal, she emphasized, did not involve his connections with the bi-racial Human Relations Council.

There was a feeling, however, Mrs. Richardson admitted, that Hall might have performed a greater service to the community, to both white and colored residents, through the organization which employed him, rather than scattering his interests and efforts.

Hall came to Huntsville from Nashville in June of last year. The Human Relations Council was formed late last year. Its announced purpose was to work out a solution of racial problems.

The Madison County Council of Community Organizations has the mission of co-ordinating local efforts in the fields of health, welfare and recreation and performwork is underwritt890$..ETAOIY ing research in the fields. Its the United Givers Fund here and Hall admitted that some Huntsville residents seeking an excuse for not supporting the annual financial campaign might use his connection with the bi-racial group to justify their failure to contribute.

In a statement released after his termination, Hall said one board member spent two hours with him trying to get him to quit the bi-racial group, but that he said he couldn't do it because of his beliefs as a Christian and as an American citizen.

He refused to resign because he felt the full responsibility of the decision to end his services should be left to the board, Hall said. Referring to his one-year period in social work at Huntsville, he said he had met with an attitude which gave priority to economics, but less enthusiasm toward increasing community services. He said he felt it would be several years before Huntsville would be in a position to use effectively the contributions of newcomers.

Chatt Times
8-3-61

HUNTSVILLE UNIT DROPS MRS. HALL

She, Like Husband, Holds Bi-Racial Interest Is Cause of Dismissal

By Times Correspondent

HUNTSVILLE, Ala. — On the heels of her husband's dismissal as executive director of the Madison County Council of Community Organizations, Mrs. Julian Hall said Wednesday that she was removed from the board of the Madison County Democratic Women's Division.

Like her husband, Mrs. Hall blamed the action on her membership in the bi-racial Human Relations Council here. This was denied by a leader of the Democratic group.

Mrs. Hall said she had registered complaints with John Bailey, national Democratic chairman, and Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy.

Mrs. Patrtick Richardson, chairman of the Women Democrats—and also president of the Community Organization Council which dismissed Mrs. Hall's husband earlier — said Wednesday that Mrs. Hall was not removed from the board.

Instead, Mrs. Richardson said, she was removed as publicity director because she was serving also as publicity director for the bi-racial orgniaztion and the Democratic women didn't want a director with a dual role in publicity work.

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October 18, 1961

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

Alabama

September 15-17 and October 2-5

I visited Gadsden and Cullman, Alabama, en route to Mississippi and Selma, Montgomery, Tuskegee and Auburn, Alabama, on my return.

George Hawkins, Gadsden, though unannounced, is now among the recognized candidates for governor and is the most consistently and respectably liberal one of them. A former Folsom lieutenant, he is now a critic of Big Jim. He received me very cordially.

Hawkins is considering giving up the governor race for two reasons (1) he is discouraged at the possibility of anybody winning without adopting a fiercely anti-integration line and (2) his fellow-townsman, James Allen, is thinking of running for lieutenant-governor. If Hawkins does not run for governor, he will run for the state senate. He will announce his decision by November 1.

He still doubted Folsom would win, thought Lt. Gov. Albert Boutwell was now the front runner. He said that, though Folsom had been talking like a segregationist, he would still get the Negro vote. He said Boutwell, though a strong segregationist, is a generally sincere, able fellow--with a strong organization. There was some fear that Wallace men at the showdown would go over to Folsom.

Howell Talley and the Gadsden Times won some acclaim and a Freedom Award for his editorials on the Anniston-Birmingham riots. Talley, though "associate editor," writes all of that paper's editorials. He had been voted by the local chamber of commerce "Gadsden's Most Outstanding Man." Talley disapproved of the Supreme Court decision and resented the Freedom Riders, but was otherwise liberal on the race question and glad to talk about the problem in Alabama and the South from a frankly liberal point of view. He is realistic, however, in his editorial approach and in his political calculations.

In the gubernatorial race, surprisingly, Talley was a Gallion man. (Attorney General MacDonald Gallion is considered by many liberals to be the most dangerous of the major candidates.)

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Boutwell, he said, is like Hawkins and de Graffenreid: "They're too good to win." Talley wanted my impressions of Folsom, wanted me to phone him if I should see Folsom in Cullman. (Folsom was out of town when I visited Cullman.)

C. M. Finney, Cullman: (Tuesday, September 19) Finney was administrative assistant to Folsom while governor and is now running the office while Big Jim campaigns. (He said "the Governor is generally on hand on Mondays.")

Finney, more serious and respectable than most Folsom hangers-on, volunteered the remark: "I'm liberal on the race question, but I can't say so. You know how it is." He agreed that integration of schools, etc., would probably come during the term of the next governor.

He reported a "wonderful" response by letter, phone call, etc. to Folsom's candidate-like activities. Would Folsom get the labor vote? He wasn't sure--"Labor is so infiltrated by the Ku Klux Klan."

On a reference to Hawkins, Finney said that George was once one of the governor's best friends, but that he had parted with Folsom when the latter failed to support his candidacy for Speaker of the House.

Finney said he had word of a "Stop-Folsom" movement among supporters of Boutwell, Gallion, Wallace and Hawkins. The plan was to induce Ryan de Graffenreid to run and unite behind him. (I heard from others that Englehardt is being considered for the "Stop-Folsom" candidate. The former is a moderate, the latter an extreme segregationist.)

(Further notes on these gubernatorial possibilities are contained in my memorandum of July 13 last.)

Selma, Stronghold of Prejudice: Many regard Selma, the Black Belt metropolis, as the most prejudiced city in Alabama. I happened to have heard its Mayor Hines declare on the TV Citizens Council hour the previous Sunday: "There'll never be any integration in Selma." Lewis said there was no liberal voice whatever in Selma; a few Negroes were "suspected" of belonging to the NAACP. He said that while Klan membership in Selma itself was under par, the Klan was strong in neighboring localities, particularly Tuscaloosa, Clanton, Pratville and Witumka. Art Lewis, very much a man-about-town, is secretly liberal. The walls of Art Lewis' Buick are plastered with historical pictures and documents, many related to the Civil War. For the benefit of bystanders he made it appear that I was mainly interested in his "museum"; in the privacy of his office we talked frankly.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Edward B. Feild, editor of the Selma Times-Journal, is a real museum piece. I had heard a favorable mention of him, because of a strong editorial denouncing the Montgomery riots. I had misinterpreted his position. "It was just the wrong way to go about it," he said, "I wouldn't mind killing half a dozen niggers if it would do any good." A feud between Feild and the Ku Klux Klan also appeared to have had something to do with it. He had quarreled with the Klan "scum"----obviously not over any kindly feeling toward Negroes on his part. The Klan had threatened to bomb his home. He said Klan membership in Selma, formerly over 80, had recently fallen to 65, then risen to 70 again. He said the police "gave the Klan 15 minutes in Montgomery."

Speaking apparently without emotion, Feild said that white children in Selma were never going to go to school with "baboons." Employment? White people in Selma hired Negroes whenever they could, but they always lost money. The Negroes were "good for nothing" and not worth the money they paid them. Negro progress in the United States? "Those smart Negroes they're giving jobs to are just like the niggers in Selma; Scratch 'em, and you'll find they're all savages underneath." What did the future hold? "There'll be a bloody race war in the North. Then the Northerners will see that the South was right. The Supreme Court and Congress will reverse all this stuff."

Jewish Leaders in Alabama: Following a lead from Rabbi Mantinband, I talked with two men who illustrated the dilemma of the Jewish community leader, of liberal convictions, in the Deep South. One was Art Lewis, above-mentioned, and the other was Eugene Heilpern of Montgomery.

They were similar in many respects--handsome, gregarious, sophisticated, more or less wealthy and closely identified with the power structure. Heilpern had "some thought of running for Mayor." He is a second cousin of Mayor Loeb, of Memphis. Lewis is more of a scholar.

Both men are acutely conscious of anti-semitism and what they feel is a necessity of appearing to go along with segregationist elements. Lewis is a member of the Citizens Council, which, he points out, is much more respectable than the White Citizens Council. Each showed me an identic leaflet, issued by the White Citizens Council, which combined rank anti-semitism with its anti-Negro massage. Both men are in controversy with National Jewish groups and feel that the ADL in particular is jeopardizing their position in Alabama. Lewis is one of a group now urging a meeting of the Alabama B'nai B'rith to consider withdrawal from the national organization.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Of the gubernatorial ballock, Heilpern said, "Nine out of ten people I speak to say it will be Folsom."

Grover C. Hall, Jr.: In visiting some sixty newspaper editors across the South the first thing in the nature of a rebuff that I have received came from Grover Hall, somewhat famous editor of the Montgomery Advertiser.

"I have a stack of work on my desk and other people to see--- and I don't like the organization you represent. If you come back this afternoon you can see some of the staff."

A dapper, excessively clever sort of prima donna, he was jovial, nevertheless. I said I would like to have the views of Grover Hall---he gave me a nutshell version:

"We're going to have to take a dozen pickaninnies into our schools, and it won't hurt our little white angels a bit. I know that. But mass integration won't come in our lifetime."

"Are you going to keep public order?"

"Yes, I'm for that." He added some derogatory remarks about Governor Patterson and others.

I took time to present him with a copy of my book, adding that reviewers on both sides--even Jack Kilpatrick--had called it "accurate."

"Then it's OK by the high priest," he said facetiously. We exchanged wishes of "Good Luck."

(We dined with the Clifford Durrs in Montgomery and had a pleasant visit with Dr. Luther Foster at Tuskegee. Learned that Aubrey Williams is critically ill with cancer, he was too ill to receive visitors.)

Neil Davis, editor of the Lee County Bulletin, is probably the most outspoken liberal editor and one of the best informed observers in Alabama. The Bulletin won the award of the Alabama Press Association this year for best editorials. To insure objectivity, the Association went out of the state for a judge, and who was the judge? None other than my friend, Oliver Emmerick of the Jackson (Miss.) State Times. The citation read: ". . . for courageous and cogent editorials on a controversial subject, etc."

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Davis like many other moderates, was discouraged by a Labor Day speech of Folsom, in which Folsom seemed to go over to the segregationist side. He thought the prospects for university integration were better in Mississippi than in Alabama, but believed those for public school integration were probably somewhat better in Alabama. (Ralph Draughon, president of Auburn University, belonged to the fierce resistance group.) He believed four northern Alabama cities to be more or less prepared to accept school integration: Huntsville, Decatur, Florence, and Sheffield.

Benjamin Muse

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Hard Thinking Needed

Some facts to face

Ways of living, customs and attitudes that have existed for generations, centuries and millenniums cannot and should not be changed overnight.

Difficult problems are presented by recent court decisions and federal agency regulations and orders. The best solution to these problems requires intense study, understanding, tolerance and good will on the part of every element of the population.

Fortunately, the police commissioner of Birmingham has pledged himself and the Police Department, in the strongest terms, that no lawlessness will be tolerated from Negro or white, local residents or outside meddlers, irresponsible juveniles or self-seeking inspirers of hate.

IN THIS HE MUST have the strong support of the entire City Commission, the County Commission, all municipal governments, the sheriff, the solicitor, the schools, the pulpit, the press, the radio, the television, civic organizations of all kinds and every thoughtful citizen.

We want no federal marshals sent into Jefferson County and we must see to it that no acts or utterances on the part of our citizens or our officials invite their interference.

We must do some hard thinking now on just how we can meet the necessities of court decisions and agency orders within the framework of law observance.

Submitted by these citizens

Thomas W. Martin
William Mitch Sr.
Dr. Leslie Wright
Benson Franklin
Frank Dominick
Dr. Allen N. Koplin
Clyde V. Sellers
John M. Gallalee
William P. McGough
Glenn Ireland II
Douglas Arant
Dr. Tinsley R. Harrison
T. Drew Redden
S. D. Moxley
John S. Jemison Jr.
Claude Eubank
John C. Pittman
Mrs. Henry Edmonds
Paul Dowd
Z. D. McCuen
Leo Bashinsky
Mrs. Rose M. Earle
George A. Mattison Jr.
Fred Martin
Mildred Hellums
Roy F. Ray
E. W. Bryant
Wilson Smith
Edwin Kimbrough
R. Julian Lackey
Sam Burr
Paul H. Earle
Darius A. Thomas
William S. Pritchard
Eugene Daughtery
W. W. French
Milton Grafman
John C. Yarbrough
James A. Head
Mrs. Joseph H. Eshelman
William P. Engel
Dr. Louise Bramscomb
William P. Lathrop
W. G. Musgrove
Mrs. Eva Comer Ryding
Charles Zukoski Jr.
Eric C. Bradley Jr.
Bruce Thrasher
Hugh Daniel
Dr. Harwell G. Davis
R. A. Monaghan
Mrs. Hobart M. McWhorter
Houston Brice Jr.
Marvin H. Sterns
E. T. Williams Jr.
Mrs. O. B. McCullough
Hazel Gerald
Andrew Thomas
Allen Burgess
Richard T. Eastwood
Otto School
T. L. Ogle
Thomas E. Bradford
George A. Mitchell
W. H. Brady
Dr. G. J. Roscoe
John Terry Badham
Dr. Henry King Stanford
Miles Gibson
O. Z. Hall
William C. Ireland
Dr. John E. Bryan
Frank Spain
Elton B. Stephens
Paul Friedman
Clyde H. Wade
G. C. McCullough Sr.
Fred Shackelford
Donald S. James
G. E. Puckett
Mary O. DeMoll
James A. Venn Jr.
Campbell Blake
James J. Monaghan
Joyce Jackson
Dr. S. U. Newfield
Fred Sington
Frank Lankford
George Rust
Dale LeCount
Mariano Pinto
Emil Hess
Harvey DeRamus
Earnest Flowthen
Arthur V. Weibel
Lamar Jackson
Donald D. Stafford
Donald Comer Sr.
Howard Strevel
T. J. Toolen, Archbishop
Frank P. Samford
E. V. Ramage
Claude Lawson
William E. Mitch Jr.
Milton Andrews
B. Roper Dial
Wilbur W. Schon
E. M. Friend
Mrs. Edith D. Underwood
Arthur A. Adams Jr.
Sam Goldberg
C. C. J. Carpenter, Bishop
Henry R. Howns
Frank H. Bromberg Sr.
Hugh Baker
T. M. Berry
R. H. Borders Jr.
R. M. Goodall Jr.
Albert L. Mills
Sidney W. Smyer Sr.
Paul J. Young
Mrs. M. I. Cleveland
Hugo Beach
Donald Fullbright
Edna Moore
Henry C. Goodrich
Mac Layne
Henry L. Cox
R. H. McCrummen
Harold F. Lassen
Hugh Franklin Jr.
E. J. Hydinger
Frank Brook
Ruth F. Fullerton
Mrs. Sidney Smyer Jr.
William Shaston
Sidney W. Smyer Jr.
[illegible] Newfield
Joe Madden Jr.
John Lukens
Dr. Buford West
Ruben E. Farr
Frank Plummer
Milton Yeilding
Hugh Koul
W. R. Bond
Allen Rushton
Mark Hodo
Crawford Johnson III
Frank Newton
Edward Norton
David Cody Wright
J. A. Durick, Bishop
Hugh Bigler
Gerald Stone
Amasa G. Smith
Virginia S. Dorman
E. P. Rosamond
Mrs. Luther Patrick
Trotu Porter
William M. Thompson
Dr. Hugh Comer Nabors
Ben J. Lewis
Dr. Hughes Kennedy Jr.
John D. Hill
Mary Harris
Mary J. Burchfield
Robert Jewison III
Robert E. Garrett
Fred O. Myers
Marvellyn E. Hughes
John C. Turner
William S. Fuller
S. L. Watkins
Walter S. Hovell
Mrs. Sidney Smyer Sr.
Ada Weed Davis
W. L. Fullerton
George M. Murray
Nathan Eversky
Thomas N. Crawford
C. W. Gillam
C. H. Oliver
Vivian McClendon
[illegible] Cross
Dr. W. Price
Dr. E. G. Gibbon
Jerome A. Cooper

Ala. ~~Attys~~ Reps Dope

B'ham News - Nov. 12, 1961

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Ala Dope

SPECIAL REPORT ON BIRMINGHAM JANUARY 5, 1962

Tension in Birmingham is high.

Birmingham Post-Herald this morning has a front page story with pictures of a no tresspassing sign that had been removed from one of the community centers and placed on the lawn of Mayor Art Hanes. Another hand printed sign states "Wake-up Birmingham! You are too young to die!!"

The Grand Jury concluded yesterday three months of investigation. A total of four indictments have been returned by the Jefferson County Grand Jury. Newspaper reports of the Grand Jury's activities has indicated that almost all of their investigation was centered around the Municipal Air Port. The Grand Jury states "that Alabama laws dealing with betrayal of public trust by public officials, conflicts of interest by public officials and violations of public confidence in general are extremely weak". The Grand Jury has been investigating bribery of public officials but states that the official statute is extremely technical and conduct which plainly indicates a bribe to the average citizen is many times not bribery within the meaning of the statute.

There is a move under way to have a public statement signed by nearly a thousand leading citizens of Birmingham to be presented to the City Commissioners next Tuesday and to be published in the Birmingham News in a full page ad at the end of next week. There have been many meetings of small groups of white citizens attempting to find some solution to the problem of the closing of the parks.

At this point we would review the events of the past few weeks. On October 24th Federal Judge H. H. Grooms ruled that section 859 of City Code was unconstitutional and ordered desegregation of the recreational system. City Commission said after January 1st the parks will be closed and "no tresspassing" signs will be put up. The Birmingham News and the Birmingham Post-Herald have taken a strong position that the parks must be kept opened if Birmingham is to make any progress. The City Commissioners have slashed the budget of the Birmingham Park and Recreation Board which is under the supervision of the Mayor. Indications are that money not spent on the parks will be used by Commissioner Wagoner to improve the storm drainage in certain sections of the city. He has been hurt politically by the fact that some areas have this problem. Commissioner Eugene Connor is also increasing his budget for public safety. On December 28th the Park Board did vote to close all parks. By this time the City Commissioners had already posted no tresspassing signs on park buildings including community centers.* Mayor Art Hanes made a motion that the parks be posted with no tresspassing signs. In two attempts he failed to get a second. He angrily shouted that they were all a bunch of integrationists. Mrs. J. H. Berry said she resented being called an integrationist. Mayor Art Hanes stormed out of the meeting in a very angry mood. One person who has talked with the Mayor on several occasions has said in the past few days that Mayor Art Hanes is "a nervous wreck". Reports have been made that for many weeks he has had great difficulty in sleeping and indications are that he may be at the point of nervous collapse. It seems to be apparent that he is completely under the domination of the other two commissioners. It is also to be recalled that at a public meeting early in December Mayor Art Hanes made the statement that integration will come at gunpoint. He has repeatedly charged that the Communists and integrationists are trying to run Birmingham.

At the same time that business leaders are frantically searching for some constructive approach to keep the parks open it is apparent that most of them are

* At a meeting of the Park Board

working in spite of feelings of great frustration and the general inability to find any way to keep the parks open.

One man who has been extremely active in these groups states that there is some thought that the issue of desegregation of public schools will openly confront the City within a few months and this is going to be an issue before next September.

Negro leaders on December 18th presented a public statement to the commissioners and the press that they would meet with white people to work out a constructive approach to work out the park situation. City Commissioners bluntly stated that they would meet with Negroes only to discuss complete segregation. During the week of January 1st business leaders did meet with Negroes leaders in an unpublicized session. There has been wide spread discontent in the Negro community stating that they were being sold down the river by their leaders simply because they offered to meet with white people. Many of the Negro leaders had received crank phone calls condemming them for their statement.

At the Emancipation Day Celebration, January 1st, at the 16th Street Batist Church in Birmingham, one Negro leader who had signed the statement said that Negroes must not back up one inch. He strongly criticized business men. The Director of the Alabama Council interpreted his remarks to be condeming white business leaders. The Negro leader interpreted his remarks to be condeming the Negro business leaders who had made the statement with him. The atmosphere at the meeting was militant and agressive but there were no real inflammatory statements made. At that meeting on January 1st all leaders of civic, school, and church groups were urged to attend the mass meeting to be held tonight, January 5th. It has been learned that this is a meeting called by Mr. A. G. Gaston so that the Negro leaders who meet with white leaders could report on that meeting and find out what the Negro community wanted them to do in the future. Emory Jackson, Editor of the Birmingham World, gives the impression that many Negroes are going to the meeting to find out whether they can trust any of the Negro leaders who are speaking up for open parks. There is apparently a great deal of resentment against many of the prominent business leaders "who have been unwilling to go to jail and who have never shown any interest in improving the lot of the Negro".

Reports have come from Miles College for the past several weeks that the students are becoming extremely anxious to take direct action in Birmingham in the form of sit-in demonstrations or boycotts of stores. Field Secretary for CORE has been in Birmingham for several weeks and is very possible that any time now there will be an overt demonstration in Birmingham. On January 3rd and 4th the field secretary for CORE has organized and carried out sit-in demonstrations in Huntsville. Field Secretary of CORE has reported that as of last week he had finally rented an office in the Negro Masonic Building and within a few days he was told verbally that he must move his office out of the building because a representative of the City had told the landlord that the building would be declared unsafe if CORE had an office in the building. It is believed that this was the fire marshall that had talked to the landlord. Last week Field Secretary for CORE was trying to find a place to rent a room in Birmingham. His landlady had been told by her employer that she would be fired if she continued to rent a room to him.

A report yesterday indicates that there is a mounting unrest in the Negro

community. Statements have been heard in the Negro community that if there is any trouble "we will get a few Klansman next time". Mr. Benjamin Muse pointed out yesterday that it is quite important to know if there is wide-spread purchases of guns in the Negro community because only a few could touch off a large scale riot.

A few weeks ago a person who has been compiling a list of names, addresses and phone numbers of people who are speaking up for open parks stated that those people had better watch out. She reported that recently the Klan members have taken their robes out of the closet and are carrying them with them in their cars at all times ready for action on a moments notice.

It is extremely difficult to document a vague but persistent feeling that large scale riots could easily break out at anytime. Mr. Benjamin Muse states that the impressions of the Alabama Council on Human Relations are shared at least to a degree by Dr. Lucius Pitts of Miles College, Dr. Henry King Stanford, President of Birmingham Southern College and Attorney Charles Morgan, Jr.

THIS REPORT SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO MEAN THAT RIOTS WILL TAKE PLACE. It is significant to note that many white people who have been silent are now speaking out, for constructive action.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is now regarded by some of the white leaders as an organization that may be helpful in reducing race tensions. There is a possibility that the image of the Alabama Council is slightly improving over the past when it has been held in contempt as a group of crackpots and radicals by moderates in power structure. It was learned on January 3rd that a mimeographed document of 20 to 30 pages attacking Souther Regional Council and the Alabama Council was written by attornies in Birmingham, members of the State Legislature and the St ate Attorney General in order to support a bill in the state legislature last fall to establish an Alabama Un-American Activities Committee. This bill never came to a vote in the excitement of reapportionment.

It will be important to find out what happens at the Negro meeting tonight at the Methodist AME Zion Church of Negro community leaders. It will also be important to see what develops with the statement to be made by the white business leaders as they approach the City Commissioners on Tuesday, January 9th.

LD ✓ Ala - Dope
PR ✓
(copy for BM)

COPY

MILES COLLEGE
Birmingham 8, Alabama
March 6, 1962

COPY

~~(copy filed Files in research)~~

Mr. _____ _____, President
_____ Department Store

_____
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Sir:

We are now approaching the Easter Season, which like Christmastime is a period of goodwill. We write you this letter because we are sure you are interested in the growth and development of all of Birmingham, but particularly of the economic growth of our town.

The students of Miles College, along with students of some of the other colleges of our community, are concerned and desirous of improving the human relations in our community. We would like to ask you to join us in our efforts.

It is generally conceded that Negroes spend more than $4,000,000 weekly in the downtown area. We are certain that as we approach this Easter season the average will increase. When we consider this large amount of spending on the part of our people and recognize the continuation of discriminatory practices of employment and the racial labels on facilities by the merchants of Birmingham, we are grieved that this kind of intimidation continues in what is in our estimation potentially a great city.

We are, therefore, urgently requesting that you give immediate consideration to the following: employment of more of our people in jobs above the custodial level (sales people, clerks, secretaries, etc.); the removal of racial designations on restrooms and drinking water facilities and the opening of the restaurants to customers, regardless of race.

In view of the urgency of these matters, we request an answer from you by Wednesday, March 14th.

We are

Yours for the cause of a greater Birmingham,

THE MILES COLLEGE STUDENT BODY

/s/ FRANK DUKES
/t/ Frank Dukes, President

Ala Dope

September 18, 1962

LWD (cc: P.A.) PR

Field Report, Birmingham, Alabama, September 15, 1962

1. At the present time, the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in consultation with the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of the Alabama Christian Movement, ~~planned~~ plans "demonstrations" in Birmingham the week of September 24 in connection with the SCLC annual meeting.

2. A great many responsible persons of both races fear that such demonstrations would quite possibly, even probably, lead to wide-spread violence. The mood in the city is reported as ugly; the reactions of the Police Commissioner uncertain, and some elements in the Negro community no longer wedded to the non-violent approach.

3. Finally, during recent weeks, a group of the "top level businessmen," fearing violence, have met and held at least three discussions on how to forestall such demonstrations. Some members of the group have had at least one meeting with several Negro leaders including Lucius Pitts. Acting as head of this group is ~~are~~ Sidney Smyer, immediate past president of the Chamber of Commerce.

4. Lucius Pitts last week journeyed to Washington where he met with Burke Marshall and Robert Kennedy off-the-record. He received assurances that the Justice Department would have ~~and~~ an observer on hand who would be available to Pitts and that marshals would be available nearby in case of severe ~~trouble~~ trouble during the week of the 24th. More than this, they would not offer.

5. I met with the Executive Committee of the Alabama Council on September 15. ~~Lucis~~ Lucius Pitts had met earlier with selected Negro leadership for breakfast. With Pitts, Welch, Jimerson, and Powers, we developed the following general approach. Pitts, Jimerson, and Welch were to see Smyer and tell him clearly and firmly that the only possibility of avoiding demonstrations the week of the 24th would be for white leadership to make some specific and visible gesture of concession or good will. They were to suggest

that such gestures might well include the removal of all signs from water fountains and rest rooms in down town establishments and a commitment, preferably public, to the formation of a status backed interracial committee. The delegation was to indicate to Smyer that if these things could be achieved the group would recomend to Negro leadership that demonstrations be deferred for sixty days. Pitts was confident that Negro leadership would accept this kind of an arrangement. Pitts believes that Shuttlesworth can call off demonstrations if he desires. Wyatt Walker gave the same impression to Jimerson several weeks ago.

White leadership, including David Vann, ~~had~~ have hoped that the Negroes would postpone demonstrations in deference to the liberal effort to change the form of city government, scheduled for referendum in early November. Such a concession would not be possible, but a sixty day ~~deferrdin~~ deferment for other reasons would put the new possible date for demonstrations safely beyond the referendum.

6. Pitts, Jimerson, and Welch did meet with Smyer at 9:00 A.M. Sunday morning, Smyer coming in from his country home for the session. Smyer indicated to the group that he felt that the suggestions were possible and reasonable and that he would do what he could to carry them through. He expressed ~~cond/confiden~~ confidence that the signs could be down "within forty-eight hours" and that the group would agree to the public announcement of the formation of an interracial committee. He indicated that the group had plans for such a committee, at any rate. At present both Pitts and Smyer are attempting to gain agreement from their respective leadership groups; the Alabama Council will continue to act as go-between and negotiator.

7. Pitts expressed to me the hope that SRC would communicate with Burke Marshall, interpreting to him the possible seriousness of the situation and requesting any involvement of the Justice Department that might be feasible. He stressed that this ~~wo~~ should be an independent request and should not hint that we are apprised of his off-the-record session with Marshall and Kennedy.

8. Hope was expressed that SRC would have a staff member on hand the week of the 24th, unless demonstrations are clearly not planned.

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The Jeffersonian

"I place economy among the first and most important virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be feared. To preserve our independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between economy and liberty, or profusion and servitude. If we run into such debts, we must be taxed in our meat and drink, in our necessities and our comforts, in our labors and our amusements. If we can prevent the government from wasting the labors of the people, under the pretense of caring for them, they must become happy."

---Thomas Jefferson

VOL. 4 - NO. 10 BIRMINGHAM, ALA OCTOBER 1962

RACE AGITATORS IN ACTION

King Calls For Negro Rule In Birmingham

Those who are so enthusiastically supporting the change of government movement for Birmingham would do well to ponder long and hard on the following account of a meeting held recently at the Negro Ensley First Baptist Church, bearing in mind while doing such soul-searching that our present Commissioners, whatever their faults, have stood like rocks against the arrogant demands of Negro leaders for a beginning of integration in our city. The Negroes, as well as the Kennedy boys, simply haven't been able to get anywhere with Hanes, Connor and Waggoner.

The brother of Martin Luther King is pastor of the Negro Ensley First Baptist Church. At the aforementioned meeting, successively Negro preachers, among them white-hater Rev. Shuttlesworth, stated in substance as follows:

(a) "That they were part of a big movement and that it is moving forward as the President wanted it done."

(b) "That in most places in the South there are more Negroes than whites, and that if we go to the polls, we can elect three Negro commissioners to run Birmingham."

(c) "The black man will run city hall as it should be run and be fair to all, including whites."

(d) "We can show the present city commissioners, Hanes, Connor, and Waggoner, just as we showed them about buying from white stores."

(3) "That a Negro delegation from Birmingham had been promised by the Kennedy boys that their boy (we presume they mean Meredith) would be enrolled in a school in Mississippi."

(f) "That Mr. Eisenhower (the speaker evidently meant the Republicans) was defeated because he never did learn that the Negro elected people in the South, but that the Kennedy boys know that the Negro does elect them."

(g) "That Judge Lynn will have to rule right in the Birmingham desegregation suit in Federal Court by Negroes because the big man in Washington will tell him how to rule."

(h) "That downtown stores has just as well open their lunch counters and take down their water signs and toilet signs because the

(Cont. on page 4)

Where City's Petitions Came From

If there was ever any doubt in the minds of most citizens of Birmingham about where a great portion of the names came from who signed the petition to change Birmingham's form of government, the above photograph should prove to be a partial answer to any query. Of the more than 11,000 names placed on petitions, more than 5,000 of them were by Negroes, and this is a scene made at a North Birmingham polling place, where they were signing up wholesale. Notice about the petition can be seen in the upper right hand corner.

Shades Valley Red Cell Can't Be White-Washed

A few weeks ago the people of Birmingham were starled by a statement of a very brave teenage girl that there was a Communist cell operating within the student body of Shades Valley High School. The ensuing investigation cleared Jefferson County Schools within themselves of any complicity but its investigation has been prefunctory and has not proved that such cells do not exist among students in the city's school system. Citizens are demanding to know whether organization of such self-described groups of "free-thinkers" have been set up in other schools or whether they are being attempted.

Since this disclosure in the newspapers it has been brought to the attention of The Jeffersonian that they are students at Shades Valley High who have refused to show respect for the American flag. This act and others placed alongside the original disclosure that such a cell had been started on its way, and that involved in some of the operations was one Jimmy Crim or Jimmy Eber, should bring a full-scale investi-

(Cont. on page 4)

This is a group of "Human Relations" members or "free thinkers" shown as they rehearsed some folk-songs which included, we presume, the latest rendition of "The Communist Internationale."

EXCLUSIVE

On Tuesday, October 16, 1962, the Greater Birmingham Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations had a meeting at 10th Court and Center Street, North, in the Congregational Christian Church, a Negro church, and the following whites and Negroes were present:

Reverend Joseph R. Ellwanger, white male, pastor of a Negro church at 128-6th Avenue, South; Arthur D. Shores, Negro, attorney; Reverend Harold D. Long, 1208 Finley Avenue, Negro; Reverend Erwin R. Oermann, white, 600-19th Avenue, South; Walter N. Campbell, white, 523 Eastwood Place, Vestavia; Dr. Frederick W. Kraus, white, 114 Stratford Road; Reverend Louis L. Mitchell, Jr., white, 906 Sheridan Drive; Manley R. Causey, white, 2308-3rd Place, N. W., Center Point; Mrs. Louise Bryan, white, 1840 Fulton Avenue, S. W., West End; Clara Josephine Williams, white, 2525 Highland Avenue, South; Gordon O. Hicks, white, 2909 Highland Avenue, South; Joe E. Jackson, white, 1004 Drexel Drive, Homewood; Wilson Nelson Brown, Negro, 6325-35th Avenue, North; Sutton E. White, Negro, No. 4, 10th Court, West; Robert E. Lee, white, No. 1 Moncrest, Mountain Brook; Glen E. Glaus, white, 1417-44th Street, West; Reverend Joseph Walker, Negro, 925-8th Street, S.W.; Maggie W. Erwin, 337 Lexington Drive; Mable Neely, Negro, 116 North 10th Avenue; Keith C. Russell, Jr., white, 2930 Pawnee Avenue, South; Jim W. Walter, white, address unknown; Reverend Norman C. Jimmerson, white, address unknown.

There are other whites and Negros present who could not be identified.

The Reverend Joseph Ellwanger was in charge of the meeting in the absence of the president of the organization, a Negro preacher, C. Herbert Oliver, from Bessemer, Alabama. Ellwanger spoke to the organization and told them to get out and work and do everything possible to change the form of city government to a mayor-council form, but "please do not let the people know that we are for the change in government. If you do, it would hurt our cause."

Ellwanger is a well known integrationist. This is the same organization that David J. Vann has been attending, but he did not show up at this meeting.

A Negro girl got up and asked Arthur Shores, the Negro attorney, to report on what his and Shuttlesworth's committee had accomplished with the committee of businessmen of the Chamber of Commerce of Birmingham regarding the hiring of Negroes in the stores downtown. Arthur Shores replied that they were making progress but that he did not want to make a report at this time. He also said some of the stores at the present time have Negro employees, that "if you would just get out and look, you would see them."

This same Negro woman made the suggestion that in "boycotting" the merchants they should "go in and buy from $50.00 to $60.00 worth of merchandise, and after it is wrapped, ask the clerks if that store has Negro clerks; if they say 'no we don't,' then tell them we don't want your merchandise and walk out. This would put the stores to quite a bit of trouble and expense."

Everybody at the meeting voted that it was a good plan and they would put it into effect. They brought up that it could not be called a "Boycott" here in Birmingham, they would have to go under the name of "selective buying."

They had a Japanese at the meeting by the name of Oniki. This same Jap attended the Shuttlesworth meeting on Monday night. He also endorsed this plan of "selective buying" and told the audience that he thought

(Cont. on page 3)

THE JEFFERSONIAN
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J. D. TOWNES, EDITOR
Morris F. Dixon-Publisher

Asst. Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenback, left above, is shown with Chief Marshall James P. McShane as they parade the streets of Oxford, Mississippi. McShane is the New York City cop who was discharged from force in 1957 in a prize fight scandal and the same person who escorted the Bobby Kennedy "freedom riders" through Montgomery and in his latest escapade gave the order at 8:01 p.m. Sunday night, Sept. 30, at Oxford to "give 'em the gas" at one minute after JFK began his address to the nation.

Architects Of Change Petitions Combine Greed and Subversion

Citizens of Birmingham during the past several weeks have been subjected to a barrage of propaganda seeking a change in its city governing body never before witnessed in this area, but similar to and largely directed by the same forces that have wrought havoc in other municipalities throughout the nation. Many hit by the suddenness and vicious distortions thrown recklessly at them appear groggy with confusion and are wondering just where all the impetus, both financial and technical is coming from. This article is designed to give them a look-in on some of the personalities and forces who are pushing so relentlessly for change.

In its early stages, the "brains" apparently fronting the drive was David J. Vann, attorney, whose office is located in the Comer Building in Birmingham. Since its inception, however, it became apparent to backers of the plan that there was much in the background of Mr. Vann that they did not want to come out into the open and he was pulled back and other home-grown collaborators pushed to the fore. But just to refresh a few memories that may have been dulled by the constant bombardment from the Birmingham News, radio and TV stations of Birmingham, urging this revolutionary overthrow of our exisiting City Commission form of government, here are a few facts concerning Mr. Vann:

David J. Vann was a law clerk in the office of the Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in 1954, when the Supreme Court handed down their decision on school desegregation.

In January of this year, David J. Vann, a spokesman for the Young Men's Business Club, along with Attorney Charles A. (Chuck) Morgan (who at present is defending revolutionist Norman Jimerson against an injunction obtained by Attorney General MacDonald Gallion in the Talladega racial trials), began agitation for integration of Birmingham City Parks and playgrounds rather than have them closed by the Birmingham City Commission after Negro agitators began a drive to have them mixed.

On March 28, 1961, the Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations held an inter-racial meeting in a Negro Church, the First Congregational Church, located at 1024 North Center Street. Present at this meeting were the following white persons:

David J. Vann; Lawrence Meyers, who was at that time Educational Director for the Temple Emmanuel; Rev. Joseph Ellwanger, white pastor of a Negro Church, St. Paul Lutheran Church at 128 6th Avenue, South; Miss Estelle Warren, school advisor for the Episcopal Diocese of Alabama; Dr. Paul Foreman, a sociology professor at the University of Alabama; Rev. and Mrs. Louis Mitchell, an Episcopal minister.

At this meeting David J. Vann was one of the speakers, recalling the days when he was Hugo Black's law clerk and helped work up the briefs for that decision and declared that it was "one of the most glorious decisions" every handed down by that body.

On June 27, 1961, the Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations held an inter-racial meeting at the First Congregational Church located at 1024 Center Street, North. Present at this meeting were the following white people:

David J. Vann; Ellis Richardson, white male, a former student at Birmingham Southern College; Dr. Louise Branscomb; Ruth Streessow; Leona Cronheim; Rev. Josiah Ware, an Episcopalian minister in Vestavia; Robert S. Dillon; Bill Scott; Rev. William Curl, pastor McCoy Methodist Church; Dr. Scofield; Jim Atkins of WBRC-TV; Jody Williams, a dental technician at the Veterans Hospital, Birmingham; Dr. Frederick Kraus, formerly connected with the Veterans Hospital and now at the University of Alabama Medical Center currently one of the shadowy so-called "free-thinkers" who has been involved with attempting to set up cells among Shades Valley High School students; Rev. Josiah Ellwanger; Dr. Roger Hanson, husband of WBRC personality "Betty Lee." Hanson is employed at University of Alabama Medical center. Several Negroes including Arthur D. Shores attended this meeting.

The Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations, whose office is at Room 1224 Comer Building, is a chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The Alabama Council is directed by the aforesaid Norman Jimerson, now involved in Talladega racial agitation case. The Alabama Council on Human Relations is part of the Southern Regional Council, whose headquarters are located at 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

The Southern Regional Council, which was organized in 1944 as the successor to the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation, Inc., and came to the fore to take the place of the subersive, red-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was cited by the House un-American Activities Committee as a Communist front organization, having most of the same personalities in that organization as directors in the new front.

The Southern Regional Council interlocks with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, whose field secretary is the infamous Carl Braden, a convicted communist who is also a party to the injuction suit in Talladega with Norman Jimerson.

There are perhaps many people who are not opposed to changing Birmingham's government from Commission back to Mayor-Council form, but when they learn of the shadowy figures spearheading the drive for change and the mysterious manner in which they are so well financed, hesitate to back such a coterie of fifth-columnists who are only using the governmental change propaganda to mask their real purposes, which include preparation for Metro government, and to send into political oblivion the three commissioners who have dared to oppose their sinister plans.

Putnam Says Negro Capacity Is Not Equal To The Whites

Carlton Putnam, in his great book "Race and Reason," said: "I have found it useful to ask nine simple questions.

1. Can you name one case in all history in which whites and Negros in large numbers have lived together without segregation and have failed to intermarry?

2. Can you name one case in all history in which a white civilization failed to deteriorate after intermarrying with Negroes?

3. Can you name one case in all history of a stable, free civilization that was predominantely, or even substantially, Negro?

4. Can you name a better example . . . of a Negro society left on its own resources -- after previous local contact with one white civilization and while still under the protection and influence of another such civilization than the Republic of Haiti, and do you find anything in the Voodoo religion, or the government of Haiti, or its laws, or its public education, or its finances, or its literature, that suggests equality with our white culture?

5. You say the Negro "hasn't had a chance." Getting back to the beginning of history, what chances has the white man had that he didn't make for himself, and what chances has the Negro lacked that he couldn't have made for himself, had he had the capacity?

6. You speak of human rights. What human right is greater than the right of a civilization to defend itself against destruction?

7. Did Abraham Lincoln, or Thomas Jefferson, or John Marshall, or Andrew Jackson, or Daniel Webster, or any other great statesman of our past, or any Supreme Court in our history prior to Earl Warren's, favor forcing social integration on the South or consider that its customs in this respect were a denial of equal opportunity or contrary to any other American ideals?

9. With reference to international appeasement, which is mere in the interests of world progress: that an advanced civilization should remodel itself to suit the wishes of backward peoples, or that the advanced civilization should maintain those policies which have distinguished it from backward peoples?

The whole matter can really be put in a nutshell: a gullible, trusting nation has been misled by various minority groups with their own self-interest at stake into believing that Negroes have an inborn capacity for Western civilization equal to the white race . . . The facts are that the Negro does not have the aforesaid inborn capacity and that social integration with him invariably produces deterioration in any white civilization that tries it."

Thank God for fearless and dedicated men like Carlton Putnam.

It has been denied by the Kennedys and the defense department that Negro troops were used on the morning of Oct. 1 in downtown Oxford, Miss., but at 8:30 a.m., members of 108th Calvary Mississippi National Guard pulled out and units of the 2nd Infantry Division, from Fort Benning, Ga., which was composed of approximately one-third Negroes including all-Negro non-coms was given the job of further subjecting the people of Mississippi to Kennedy-inspired humiliation. Defenseless women and children were herded into downtown Oxford drug stores with tear gas and placed two Negro guards with fixed bayonets at each entrance, keeping them a prisoner for four hours, despite the ill children at home who were needing the medicines they had come to purchase.

Foreign-Owned Local Papers Daily Grow More Vicious

Readers of the foreign-owned Birmingham News have in the past few months had their stomachs turned almost daily by the complete change of policy regarding integration and thought-control as promulgated by Communist-inspired social revolutionaries. Their editorials and slanting of the news regarding events in Mississippi and their almost daily diatribes seeking to grind Birmingham's City Commissioners into the ground and brain-washing of readers into defeatism on National Defense, Integration and Socialization of this nation are a constant insult to the intelligence of our people.

An all-time low in machinations of this newspaper monopoly was reached in the past few days with a letter to employees, in concert with Birmingham Chamber of Commerce in seeking to pave the way for complete integration of ever facility in our city. A media that this week is printing editorials and other data extoling "freedom of the press," "your right to know the facts" and other hackneyed phrases trotted out to celebrate National Newspaper Week have completely belief their great tradition with this nasty sell-out to the forces that would completely Communize America.

Read this "Statement of Policy" issued to all white employees and judge for yourself how closely it is attuned to actions of Izvestia, Pravda, and other totalitarian news media in iron curtain lands. If your stomach will stand one more nauseous dose read the photostated letter to the employeed reproduced below:

STATEMENT OF POLICY

All citizens of this community are urged to refrain from any activity either individually or in concert with others involving or threatening any act of violence, breach of peace or other violation of law in connection with integration movements, segregation of the races or racial problems or controversies in any form.

The right of any person or group to assert what he believes to be his lawful rights is not questioned, but there is no justification for deliberate law breaking. Acts of violence and deliberate incitement of breaches of the peace not only do irreparable damage to the community as a whole but seriously threaten the business of The Birmingham News and the welfare of every employee of The News. All persons are therefore urged to refrain from mass demonstrations, assemblies or other activities which are calculated to provoke resistance or incite breaches of the peace and from other violations of law in connection with race controversies or movements.

A deliberate violation of this policy by any employee will be regarded as cause for discipline by the Company.

Clarence B. Hanson, Jr.
President and Publisher

Reprinted Editorial from The Alabama Journal

KENNEDY AT THE ARSENAL

WHEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY visited Redstone Arsenal in North Alabama the other day, word came from Washington that a Huntsville delegation to welcome him could be formed and come to the Arsenal, but the welcoming party of prominent persons from the city must consist of 30 white men and 15 Negroes.

The silent reply to this bureaucratic directive from Washington was that no reception committee went from Huntsville to greet the President, nor did prominent citizens go individually. They regarded it as an affront to demand a reception committee of the kind demanded by Washington.

As a matter of fact, it was an insult to the people of Huntsville and of Alabama for Washington to demand that a reception committee should consist of only 45 "prominent" citizens, and that there should be one Negro for every two white men on the committee.

Actually, the President did not make a visit to Alabama for he never stepped on free Alabama soil. His plane landed on the Arsenal's runway and departed in the same way.

It could hardly be called an Alabama visit.

Integrationists Want Change In City's Government

For those who claim that it is time for a change in the form of city government of Birmingham, one should ask -- Do you want:

1. A change from private parks to integrated parks.

2. A change from three men who have shown that they will not sell out to integrationists, to a number of men of which some are bound to succumb to the lures of money at the expense of our children.

3. A change from three white men elected by a strong people, to a number of men who will inevitably be controlled by the Negro bloc vote and will sooner or later arrange to have a Negro sitting in council with them.

4. A change from a city where it is still safe for our women and children, to an integrated jungle like Washington or Atlanta, where white people are not even safe in their own homes.

5. A change from three dedicated men without a hint of a dishonesty with a businesslike government operating within the income of the city and adding to surplus funds each year, or to a graft-ridden council where political favors are paid off with taxpayers' money.

If a person wants integration, graft, racketeering, lude houses, dope addiction for their children, and control by a bunch of greedy downtown merchants and our foreign-owned-newspapers, then he should be for a change in the form of City Government. The strong, Christian, white people of the City of Birmingham have consistently shown that they want the men now in office in the City Hall and will not be misled by the aliens who are interested only in our destruction.

Huddleston Hits Ole Miss. Action

Washington, D. C. -- Congressman George Huddleston, Jr., today called Federal government military action in Mississippi a "smokescreen for the administration's inaction, drift and vacillation on the Red Cuban menace."

The Alabama lawmaker said that the violence, resulting in at least two deaths, was provoked by a number of moves by the Justice Department in an effort to ease the public pressures for action on Cuba.

Above is a picture from the September 6, Birmingham News of the pushers of Birmingham government change presenting their petitions to Probate Judge J. Paul Meeks (seated). From left to right, they are, William A. Jenkins, house-painter for Birmingham Housing Authority and CIO Political Action Committee labor boss; J. H. Berry, North Birmingham realtor, whose wife resigned under fire, Birmingham Park and Recreation Board who stated that she had rather see all the city parks integrated than closed; and David J. Vann, former law clerk to Supreme Court Associate Justice Hugo Black, whose lone decision put James Meredith, Negro, in University of Mississippi.

RACE
(Continued from page 1)

they could accomplish a lot by this plan. This Jap is from Morningside, New York and he did a lot of popping off about integration.

Rev. Norman C. Jimmerson, white, got up and talked about the sit-in trial at Talladega, of which he is one of the defendants, and a known integrationist, stated that the state did not have a case against them, but they needed at least $5,000 to continue to fight it.

Jimmerson is a bosom friend of Carl Braden and Anne Braden. Carl Braden is an identified Communist, who was recently released from the Federal pen for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Anne Braden is a reporter for the "Southern Patriot," official magazine of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. This publication is on the subversive list published by the Senate Internal Security Committee.

Rev. Ellwanger also mentioned that the Inter-Citizens Committee were working on some police brutality cases and they were filling out reports now and would make a report at the next meeting. A Rev. J. L. Ware, a Negro preacher, and C. Herbert Oliver, a Negro preacher are liason officers for the Alabama Civil Rights Committee headed by Father Albert Foley at Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama.

They had quite a discussion about the speech Commissioner Connor had made in Ensley on Tuesday, Oct. 16, at noon. They said that Mr. Connor had recognized them during my speech. The same Negro woman mentioned before got up and made a talk about the Negroes using the white rest rooms and restaurants in the stores and told them that the Birmingham Police Department could not put them all in jail, to go ahead and use them. Jimmerson made the statement that "Bull Connor would put them all in jail."

It was suggested that they all write individual letters to Richmond Flowers, Jim Allen, and Big Jim Folsom congratulating them on their stands on the Oxford-Ole Miss incident.

A young white doctor got up and made the statement that he was at the polls getting names on the petition for the change in the form of government, and he would suggest that they (the organization) not come out for this change publicly because person after person told him at the polls that they were not going to have anything to do with this thing if they were going to get a Negro on the council. He insisted that they keep it quiet that the organization was for the change in the form of government.

Chamber's R.A. Puryear, Jr. Uses Threats, Intimidation Against City's White People

Original plans for changing Birmingham's city governing body from the present Commission back to the Mayor-Council form came about through machinations of a Birmingham Chamber of Commerce appointed Bar Committee who drafted the first proposals.

We have watched with considerable concern the slow give-in of Birmingham merchants and business men to demands made by Negroes and their Red-backers for integration of our down-town restaurants, hiring of Negro sales-clerks and stenographers. The so-called Senior Citizens Committee of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce has met with these Negro agitators since the latest threat of a Negro Christmas boycott and promised them that every effort would be made to meet their demands.

Following the same pattern used in Atlanta and Dallas, local daily newspapers through the threat of withholding advertising contracts, have been coerced into launching an all-out attack to get rid of present City Commissioners who have been the only public officials of the South to-date to stand firm with the people in opposing the Judas-like betrayal.

The latest in this program is a letter from Birmingham Chamber of Commerce of September 19, 1962, addressed to all members and signed by R. A. Puryear, Jr., president of the Chamber, ordering all member companies to take on an immediate program of intimidation against all employees. We have the letter and accompanying memoranda in its entirety on files for examination of any reader, but we quote only pertinent paragraphs from this infamous document:

. . . . "All employees are advised and requested to refrain from any participation, direct or indirect, and from encouraging or approving any such participation by any dependents or members of the households in public demonstrations in connection with racial, social or other controversies . . . singly or in concert with others."

. . . . "All persons are therefore urged to refrain from assemblies or other activities which are calculated to provoke resistance . . . in connection with integration movements, segregation of the races or racial problems or controversies in any form."

"A deliberate violation of this policy by any employee will be regarded as cause for discipline by the company, including discharge."

This totalitarian thought-control program attempted by Dictator Puryear would strike at the very roots of freedom of American citizens, depriving them of freedom of assembly guaranteed under the Constitution; freedom of speech, and even freedom of thought; using an economic stranglehold to attempt to shackle and bring into slavery even members of the families of any poor victim so unfortunate as to be employed by one of these collaborators with Red-led Negro agitators, and Kennedy-inspired revolutionaries.

Puryear who is president of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and President of Alabama Gas Corporation, who has grown rich through operation of the American free enterprise system, evidently has through agreed or self aggrandisement allowed himself to become the front man for the Fabian Socialist who with a Harvard accent are reading us their new "Executive Orders" and "Court Made Laws" almost daily.

Puryear has sold himself so solidly on this traitorous move that he has personally called in employees of Alabama Gas Corporation and questioned them about membership in the Citizens Council and other patriotic organizations implying that membership in such stalwart American movements is and will be frowned on by the powers that be in that utility. How much closer to the tyrannical dictatorship imposed on Hungary, Poland and Red China can one get. It is a thought-control move that even Khrushchev or Mao would be proud to have evolved.

Alabama Gas Corporation enjoying a virtual monopoly in their field, now would add to their greedy domain every thought and action of every employee and every member of their family. We wonder if these moves were conceived in his own adled brain or whether they are the result of Kennedy pressure on business as used against Mississippi businessmen.

THEY'RE ALWAYS HELPED US M.L. - ESPECIALLY CARL ELLIOTT

Two years ago when this newspaper supported the Independent Democratic electors, we were knifed in the back by the Roy Mayhall crowd and most of Alabama congressional delegation. They charged we were just back-door Republicans, Dixicrats and every other term they thought would discredit us. They went up and down the state telling what a grand guy Kennedy was and what a wonderful job he would do for Alabama if elected.

Now, following Oxford and Ole Miss, this same congressional delegation and their loyalist hangers-on are disclaiming all knowledge and operational connections with the National Democratic Party and claim that "we are all good ALABAMA democrats." We wonder if Kennedy will axe Carl Elliott from the powerful rules committee since he is now ONLY an ALABAMA democrat?

NEW WEAPON

Hundreds of anti-white publications and businesses, such as Life, Time, Fortune, Look, Newsweek, daily pour thousands of pieces of mail into Jefferson County in attempts to sell their wares, to make more money a portion of which will be plowed back into the constant program of defaming our people and our region.

Many of these missives contain postage-paid envelopes in which they hope you will send them some more money to swell their integrationist coffers. Now here is where you can do a good job of your region and your children. Save all such envelopes. They make excellent avenues of getting the Southern story over to the people who need it most. . . and at their expense rather than our own.

We will supply the literature that is to be placed in these envelopes, or you can select your own. But by all means SEND NO MONEY, only some piece of literature that tells these people how we feel. You might also enclose a little note telling them you will not subscribe because of their anti-Constitutional attitude.

This is a South-wide program, tell your neighbors. If you accumulate a stack of these envelopes and do not have printed matter to put in them, mail it to this newspaper and we will have our staff put the proper message into them and mail them where they will do the most good.

Stores and business houses normally receive many more of these than individuals, so if you have access to any that come in this fashion, do not just throw them in the waste-basket. . . contact us and request materials to be used in them or just bundle them up as mail to The Citizen's Press, P. O. Box 8054, Birmingham 8, Ala., and we will take it from there.

DIRECT

All movements of the federal marshals in Oxford, Mississippi, were directed by direct contact with Washington, D. C., it was verified by a Birmingham News reporter's short-wave radio, that picked up the orders as they were given.

There is only one degree lower in the lexicon of no-goods than the vote-buyer and that is the vote - seller, and it matters not a whit whether the purchase price is a job for a relative, an increased cotton allotment, a new local hospital, a new federal check or lunch - room program, a poll-tax receipt or just a plain old dollar bill.

SHADES VALLEY RED CALL

(Cont. from page 1)

gation by a proper agency.

This young man is the stepson of Dr. Herbert Eber a practicing psychologist in Birmingham and an active associate of the Interracial Birmingham Council on Human Relations. (See other stories in this issue giving the complexion of this outfit.)

It has been established that cells have also been set up in other schools in the county, all of them by this same Jimmy Eber and his associate.

It has been the practice of Communists to infiltrate the schools in every country they seek to subvert, in order to recruit their future leaders. They provide the technical know-how and actual physicical support for the Youth Leaders who influence their associates with his canned arguments in order to form a hard-core of liberal "thinkers" who brow-beat their opposition into submission or silence.

Another peculiar coincidence was the action of "Rev." Louis Mitchell of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, who following the disclosure of this fine girl stood in his pulpit and spoke disparingly of the "teen-age McCarthy" who had exposed the Communist cell at Shades Valley. It should be remembered that this same Mitchell has been an active leader in the afore mentioned inter-racial Birmingham Council on Human Relations. Mitchell was also a leader of a teen-age mob who on Oct. 10, 1961 tried to break up the showing of a anti-Communist film in Birmingham. He has constantly played down the Communist menace in his church, and has been in company with members of the Muslin Negro sect of black-supremacists.

If these people think for one moment that we are going to sit idly by while they persecute this defenseless girl because of her patriotism and love of school and country and very obedience to her God, they have grossly misjudged the patriotic people of Birmingham. It would seem that the good people of St. Luke's would look seriously at the "Rev." Mitchell and his real intentions and interests and remember that the Bible warns that in the last days there will be many false prophets teaching false doctrines.

We call upon the people of Birmingham to make their concern known to the Board of Education; to ask a real investigation by patriotic clubs of Birmingham, rather than political hacks, to see whether this cancer has eaten its way throught the Jefferson County school system. Patriots should also stand firmly behind Shades Valley principal Frank Peake, who is well aware that the subversive movement exists and has knowledge of its adult backers in this anti-American activity.

Lawerence TV Center Not Same As Hi-Fi

In the May issue of The Jeffersonian, a story was carried on activities of one Alton Lawrence of Lawrence Hi-Fi & TV Center at Five Points, South.

After appearance of the story we have had numerous calls asking whether there is any connection Between Lawrence Hi-Fi of Five Points, South and a Lawrence TV Center of Five Points, West.

In this respect we want to explain that at the time the previous article was written we did not know there was a place of very similar name at Five Points, West as it had just opened recently.

After it was called to our attention we have made a careful investigation and discovered that Lawrence TV Center of 2306 Warrior Road, Five Points, West, is operated by Mr. Jack Lawrence, that he has no connection whatever with Alton Lawrence and that he certainly is not affiliated with the Communist Party, nor is he associated with any similar organization.

We regret very much that any person associated the two firms one with the other due to similarity of names, and we certainly hope that no embarrassment or loss of business was suffered by Mr. Jack Lawrence. It is never the purpose of this newspaper to cause unfair criticism or injury to any innocent party in its campaign against the Communist conspiracy in this country, and we take pains to protect such persons at all times, in so far as we are able.

KING CALL FOR

(Cont. from page 1)

Negro has the rights to the court and the promise of the Kennedy boys."

This, in substance, is what was said at this meeting. Scare you? Well, it ought to, for we in Birmingham are in a battle to the death for all we hold dear, our families, our homes, our children, our very lives are at stake.

Can anyone, regardless of what he may think of Art Hanes, Bull Connor, and Jabbo Waggoner, say truthfully that they have not stood steadfast and unyielding for the white people of Birmingham, and against the integration demands of the Negroes, and ultra-liberals of our city. And don't think for a minute that they haven't been under heavy pressure from both groups, as well as some business interests, but they haven't budged an inch. Not a city in the South, including Jackson, Mississippi, has more stauch men than we have in these three. Think before you vote, and we are sure you'll vote to retain the Commission.

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Dear Dope MM

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 3-4764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 21, 1963

To: Paul Anthony From: Montez Albright

Subject: Biracial ministerial group in Anniston, Ala.

The Rev. Haskell Murry, graduate of Gammon and currently living in Atlanta but commuting to Anniston where he has a part-time job working with young people in a church (the work has since spread to the community) was by the office this afternoon. He is a truly remarkable man, totally blind but gets around by himself by a method which has been self-taught. For instance, he said if I got him to the elevator, he could go by himself to the bus station and on the Anniston.

He wanted materials on negotiating with power structure people on desegregating facilities: schools, jobs, lunch counters, etc. I gave him quite a bit of material. I suggested he talk to the Georgia Council on how things were done in Macon and Brunswick, but Frances Pauley was out of the city and Mr. Holmes was attending a meeting. I am sending a CC of this to the Georgia Council and hope they will mail some of their reports regarding these matters to: the Rev. N. Q. Reynolds, 1702 Cooper Avenue, Anniston, Ala.

Regarding speakers for the interracial ministers group which Mr. Murry helped found recently and which has a number of white ministers and the will and inclination to undertake negotiations on these matters, I suggested our board member, Duncan Hunter, and Mr. Holmes. Paul, you may have some other suggestions you would want to write to Rev. Reynolds, or people nearby.

They don't want to start sit-ins, as they do not have the voting strength to make demands; they prefer quiet negotiations at this point. They have the press sympathetic and agreed to keeping quiet at this point and supporting them later, when needed. There was some opposition by city council at first, but the majority of the council approved the group and the others went along.

MA

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TECHNICA[illegible] E[illegible]CHANGE

April 17th [illegible] [illegible]th 1963

Fe[illegible]turing

— Paper [illegible]es[illegible]tations —

Industrial, Missile[illegible] a[illegible] Space Exhibits

Total of 64 Booths [illegible]esenting Products From

[illegible] 100 Differen[illegible] A[illegible] Space Industries

[illegible]

Ft. Raymond Jones [illegible]ory[illegible] Noon - 8 p.m.

No [illegible] Admission Fees

Be [illegible] Guest

A TOUR OF MARS[illegible]L SPACE FLIGHT

CENTER HAS BEEN ARRANGED

GENERAL INFORMATION

The Huntsville Section of the Instrument Society of America enjoyed such phenominal success in its first technical show one year ago that it is doubling the number of booths for this, the second annual show of its kind ever held in Huntsville. An added feature of this year's show will be a technical exchange of papers relating to Industrial and Space Technology. The show will feature the very latest in missile and space instrumentation components and systems, including all types of transducers, analog and digital computing equipment, valves and regulators, RF equipment, optical and direct recording instruments, and telemetry and ground support instrumentation required for industrial and aerospace research.

The latest in instrument automation equipment will be on display. The opportunity will exist for attendees to consult with some of industry's highest rated technical talent on specific instrumentation requirements.

Further information can be obtained concerning the exhibit by contacting the Exhibit Arrangement Committee listed below.

Huntsville Area Code — 205

Sam Sims — 539-4803
Richard Bullwinkle — 881-1611
Charles Coe — 536-5581 Ext. 514
James Newsum — 881-3401
Starting April 15, Through April 19, Call Armory Directly at 881-3891 or 881-3822.

HOSPITALITY SUITES

Exhibitors hospitality suites will be liberally sprinkled among the various motels for afterhour relaxation and additional technical discussions.

INSTRUMENTATION EXHIBIT COMMITTEE

General Chairman
SAM SIMS

Paper Session Chairman
H. S. HARMAN

Arrangement Chairman
CHARLES COE

Publicity
A. L. DAVIS

TOUR OF NASA MARSHALL SPACE FLIGHT CENTER

Two three-hour tours featuring special points of interest will be conducted by the Public Information Office of MSFC. The high-lights of these tours will include a first hand look at the Free World's largest space vehicle, the Saturn. Also the Space Museum, Manufacturing & Engineering and Test Divisions will be visited.

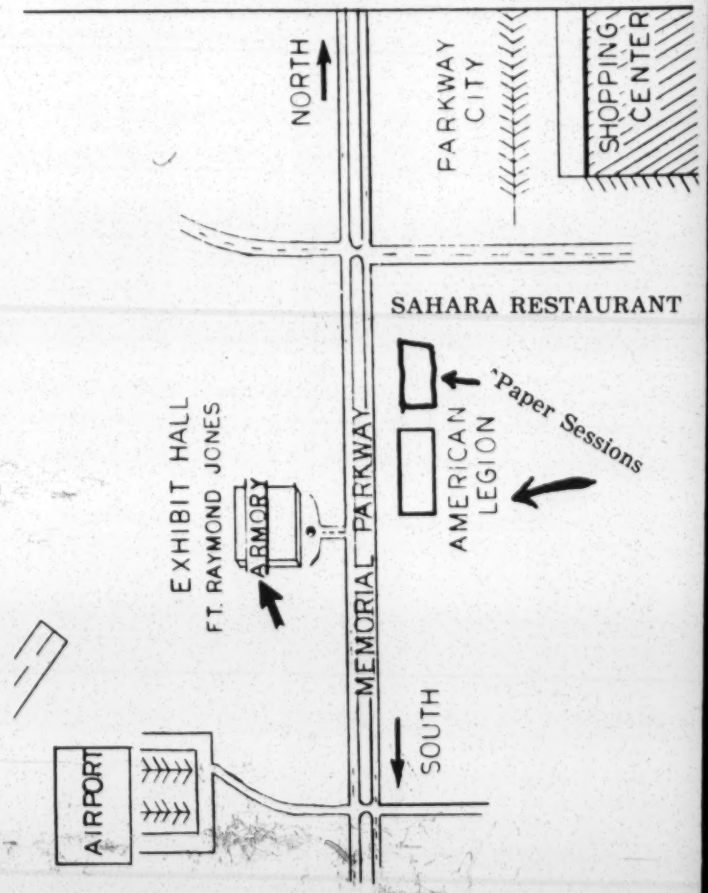
Who May Make Tour

All exhibitors and exhibit attendees are eligible for the tour. It is only necessary to register at the registration booth (located in the entrance to the Exhibit Hall, Ft. Raymond Jones Armory).

Tour

Depart Exhibit Hall — Wednesday & Thursday 8:30 a. m. Transportation will be furnished.

LOCATION OF EXHIBIT HALL AT THE FT. RAYMOND JONES ARMORY



PAPER SESSIONS

The paper sessions will be held at the Sahara Restaurant on South Memorial Parkway, Compliments of Doris and J. D. Sasser., and the American Legion Post No. 37.

A total of 12 papers will be presented, six on Wednesday morning, April 17th from 8:30 till 11:30 a. m.; and six on Thursday morning, April 18th from 9:00 till 12:00 noon. Section Vice President, Mr. Harlan S. Harman is the general chairman of the paper session.

Listing of paper titles and their authors are as follows,

INSTRUMENT RELIABILITY AND MORTALITY By F. V. Tarbell, General Electric Co.

ANALYSIS OF MEASURING ERRORS AS APPLIED TO CALIBRATION By James R. Miller, AMSC

MANNED EXPLORATION OF THE MOON By Harvey Golden, MSFC

CABLE TRANSMISSION OF VIBRATION MEASURMENT AT SATURN TEST FACILITIES By T. L. Greenwood, MSFC

RECENT ADVANCES IN FREQUENCY RESPONSE METHODS By Abe Fuchs, Boonshaft & Fuchs Inc.

CRYSTAL TYPE ACCELEROMETERS By Fred Liev, Endevco

GAS DAMPED STRAIN GAGE ACCELEROMETERS By G. D. Goodrich, Statham Instruments, Inc.

A FIVE VOLT OUTPUT PRESSURE TRANSDUCER DESIGNED FOR TEST STAND USE By W. D. Pennycook, Wiancko Engineering Co.

ELECTRICAL COMPENSATION AND STANDARDIZATION OF STRAIN GAGE TRANSDUCERS By Harvey Pastan, Dynisco, Inc.

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* 3. W. A. Brown Associates
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5. Heat Technology Labs
6. Tektronix, Inc.
* 7. Astro-Tec
* 8. Edgar A. Moore & Assoc.
9. Ampex
10 Non Linear Systems, Inc.
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12. Statham Instruments, Inc.
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*14. Vaughn Electrosources, Inc.
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38. Minneapolis Honeywell, Inc.
39. Allegany Instrument Co., Division of Textron Electronics Corp.

* Representative Firms exhibiting for several companies.

PLACES OF INTEREST

Big Spring

This huge supply of continuous running water gushes out of the ground in the heart of downtown Huntsville. The spring, altho now retired, was until recently the city's main water supply.

Community Center (located in Big Spring Park)

Immediately adjacent the Big Spring is the new modern community center, providing recreation for all members of the family in the form of tennis, swimming, indoor basketball, ping pong, T. V., etc. All free to the public.

Boat Harbor

Located ten miles south of downtown Huntsville on the Tennessee River is the Madison County Boat Harbor.

Monte Sano Mountain

From a vantage point of 1,000 ft above the city, the swiftly spreading city of Huntsville can be seen for miles in all directons.

Restaurants

The Restaurants listed below are among Huntsville's Finest:

Dale's Restaurant — South Memorial Parkway

Shoney's Big Boy Restaurant — North & South Memorial Parkway

Gibson's Barbecue — South Memorial Parkway

Dwarf Restaurant — South Memorial Parkway

Boots Restaurant & Lounge — South Memorial Parkway

Charron Restaurant — North Memorial Parkway

Albert Pick Restaurant — North Memorial Parkway

Jerry's Drive-In Restaurant — South Memorial Parkway

Sahara Restaurant — South Memorial Parkway

Desert Inn Restaurant — South Memorial Parkway

Motels:

Albert Pick Motel — 2901 Memorial Pkwy., N. W.
Bon Air Motel — 721 Meridian, N.
Barclay Motel — 2201 Memorial Pkwy., N. W.
Charron Motel — 1305 Memorial Pkwy., N. W.
El Rose Motel — 910 Meridian, N.
The Bentley Motel — 2219 Meridian, N.
Frank-Ann Motel — 2101 Memorial Pkwy., S. W.
Holiday Inn — 3312 Memorial Pkwy., S. W.
Kings Inn Motor Hotel — 1220 Memorial Pkwy., N.
Lake-Vue Motel — 3012 Memorial Pkwy., N. W.
Makada Motel — 1300 Memorial Pkwy., N. W.
Maple Grove Motel — 2515 Meridian, N.
Heart of Huntsville Motor Hotel — 2204 Whitesburg Drive, S.
Park Valley Motel — 11821 Memorial Pkwy., S.
Redstone Motel — 12021 Memorial Pkwy., S.
Sands Motor Hotel — 2700 Memorial Pkwy., S. W.
Shelby Motel — 2209 Memorial Pkwy., N. W.
Sunshine Motel — Meridianville Pike
Wake Robin Motel — 2303 Meridian, N.
Myrick Motel — Highway 72, E.

LODGING RESERVATIONS FOR OUT-OF-TOWN EXHIBITORS AND ATTENDEES SHOULD BE MADE AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE CONVENIENCE

INSTRUMENT SOCIETY OF AMERICA

HUNTSVILLE SECTION

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Ala Dope

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Madison 9-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date September 19, 1963

To: LWD, VJ, SB, PA

From: MM

Subject:

In Birmingham yesterday, I called Dr. Pitts (who had no messages for SRC, since he had just talked with Les 10 minutes earlier) and Chuck Morgan to give them regards from ~~out~~ our staff and make it known that we had representation there. Shortly after that, I met Myrtice Wood, ACHR secretary, who was going by Morgan's office to pick up copies of his speech, so I accompanied ~~him~~ her and got a full copy of it for us (attached). Met Morgan. Vernon, I didn't see, within speaking distance, anyone from SCLC or the NAACP. Saw King and Wilkins from a distance. Did see ~~Julian Bond~~ and speak to Bob Moses, Julian Bond, Metz Rollins (United Pres. Ch. in the USA), Oliver Holmes, Jimerson. (Charles Demere was there, but I didn't see him.)

at the funeral

Myrtice and I were unable to get inside the church, and stood outside. I met a few people from Birmingham, about 9 or 10 of them white. They were all ACHR members or people who had been involved in interracial activity of some kind before. Despite what the papers said about several hundred white people attending, I didn't see but about 25 or so in all, outside, some of them from out of town. Perhaps ~~people~~ the white people the paper referred to were inside the church, but I didn't see them leaving. If any city officials or ~~dignitarit~~ dignitaries were there, I heard no mention of the fact. Even the white ~~people~~ ACHR members seemed to stand apart, huddled together, poor things.

We didn't see the ministers's ~~parad~~ in the march, march; a friend of Julian Bond's from Birmingham said he ~~didn't~~ had recognized only one local white minister, this being the Catholic priest from his (a Negro) parish. (This was a pre-arranged march to the church prior to the service.)

(over)

(white)
Local/people with whom I talked are pushing plans for a memorial service, for which they hope to get Martin King and Billy Graham. No definite time set, nor have they approached King or Graham as of yet. [These people said private school establisment plans hadn't gotten off the ground.]
~~State/~~ A few state troopers ~~stt~~ stood on a hill behind us during the service, at some ~~s~~ distance. People said they were making pictures. After leaving the church we saw at an intersection ~~a~~ 2 or 3 ~~b~~ blocks away a pack of about
20-25 of them, with rifles ~~at~~ held at about a ~~5~~ 50° angle, whatever official position this is. (Later, during the evening, we ~~say~~ saw two or three of them on each intersection in the ~~Negro/residential~~ downtown Negro residential areas.)

Plans for an evening mass meeting were afoot during the services, we learned, but ~~they/didn't~~ we ~~learned~~ heard before services were over that none was to be held. The ~~march~~ impromptu march toward downtown, ~~with/mostly/young/people/in/it~~ comprised largely of young people, perhaps 500-600 of them, was dispersed by Diane Nash Bevel after ~~going~~ progressing about two blocks and meeting city police.

I saw nothing--in ~~attednac~~ attendance at the funeral, in the attitudes of people ~~in/cars/and/on/the/s/~~ we encountered on the street, in traffic, parking lot attendants, etc. ("we" being those of us at the church service, and Myrtice, who is a Negro, and I as we went from place to place in the city together)--which would ~~suggest~~ indicate the least degree of change of heart from white Birminghamians. They all ~~looked~~ seemed hostile.

Incidentally, during the service we could hear chimes downtown playing the first phrase of "Dixie," which they do ~~regularly~~ every day.

We called on the Ware family in Sandusky yesterday evening. They are quite poor, father an unemployed mine worker according to ~~local/paper~~ Atlanta paper. At least four sons and one daughter remain in the family, ranging from ~~about~~ about 6 to 16. They seemed touched by two letters they had received, apparently the only two written communications, one from a lady in California, one from a Baptist women's organization (outside the South, I think). They ~~brout~~ brought them out and ~~showed~~ showed them to us. Virgil Ware's funeral will be Sunday. (He, of course, was the youth who was shot.) We wanted to call on the Robinsons, the family of the young man killed by policemen, but time ran out because we had such difficulty finding Sandusky.

I guess this is quite unlikely, but if you hear of any large sums of money being donated or raised for the families, I wish some of it could be channeled into trust funds for college educations for the Ware children, so they won't have to share their father's fate of working in the mines for a living. They seemed to be fine young people. I wonder if the Wares and the ~~Rogi~~ Robinsons aren't being overlooked in ~~expe~~ expressions of sympathy.

Nor about the condition of the injuries sustained by the Negroes injured in the dynamiting.

In one of the families in which a young girl was killed, another daughter's eyes were seriously injured. One report was that one eye was lost, with a strong possibility that she will be totally blind. Local papers, radio-TV stations have said nothing about this. They do report, on every newscast, on the condition of a white youth hit by a brick or rock. In one of the Negro families, the daughter killed was an only child. I have addresses of all the families involved in which there were fatalities.

Mr. and Mrs. Chris McNair (Denise)
Rt. 4, Box 523
Bessemer

Mr. and Mrs. Alvin C. Robertson (Carol)
1021 Fifth St. No.

Mr. and Mrs. Claude Wesley (Cynthis)
22 - 11th Avenue No.

Mrs. Alice Collins (Addie)
233 Sixth Ct. W.

Mr. and Mrs. James Ware Sr. (Virgil)
236 DeKalb Street
Sandusky (shot, riding bike)

Mr. and Mrs. Robinson (Johnnie)
622 - 28th St. No. (killed by policeman)

Jmilson

Ala-dope

VISIT TO SELMA, ALABAMA

October 7, 1963

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Background

I was called from Mrs. Peterson's office (Department of Labor) in Washington, D. C. and asked to join Miss Shirley Smith, Miss Dorothy Hite, Mrs. Louis Cowan, Dr. Geraldine Wood, and Mrs. Inez Robb in a study trip to Selma, Alabama. I felt I must go, but considering conditions in Selma, -- such a large group should not go together.

On October 3rd Miss Smith, Miss Hite and Miss Cowan and I had breakfast together at Peachtree Manor Hotel, Atlanta. It was decided that they go on to Selma and I would go on Monday.

I called the Methodist minister at Selma and asked for an interview but he spoke so much about "outside interference" I canceled the engagement. I wrote to the Catholic Priest and he called me and told me he would meet me at the airport.

Before I left for the 1:18 plane Miss Smith gave me some insight into what the group found. She suggested that Mrs. Frank Cothran, Director of Christian Education for First Presbyterian Church, felt there must be communication across racial lines and had been asked to meet me at the airport. She did not meet me but Father Oulette did.

The Interview with Father Oulette--from my notes

Preface. For 37 years the Catholic Church has maintained a Mission for Negroes in Selma. (The house is beautifully furnished and is on a large lot with trees and flowers. All through the time I was there Negro children were coming in the building. He is a young man with pleasing manners. He is a native of Vermont.)

He told me -- In the fall of 1962 the Student Nonviolent coordinating Committee had gathered the best information about Selma than about any town.

The students at Selma College (Baptist) and the High School children became restless of inaction and began picketing and"sit-ins." The information gathered by SNCC was ignored.

The Dallas Improvement Association of Negro leaders (Father Oulette is the only white member) asked the students to wait and not fill the jail and the two Negro workcamps until legal help and bond money could be secured. The reply was, we have waited as long as we will. Father Oulette added, nothing can stop these children they are ready to die.

MY SECOND VISIT TO SELMA

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Miss Shirley Smith and I went to Selma, October 31, 1963. Miss Smith is Executive Director of the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights which grew out of President Kennedy's Conference with the 300 women he called together in July. I have been appointed as Southern Advisor.

We flew to Montgomery, made reservations for our return, mine to Atlanta and hers to Birmingham.

We found our "U-Drive-It" car we had ordered awaiting us. We drove to Selma and registered at the Albert Hotel.

Miss Smith called Mrs. Ruby Hrobowsky (874-6561), 225 Lawrence St., who invited us to come to her house at eight o'clock. Mrs. Hrobowsky and husband are both teachers. She is very lovely and looks like a young edition of Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr. Her home is new and beautifully furnished.

Soon after we came, three other women came in--one at a time.
Mrs. M. E. Williams, 709 Philpot Avenue,(874-7322), a teacher in the Baptist College.
Mrs. Margaret Moore, 1414 Broad St.,(874-5228), a teacher in Hudson High School.
Miss Ruby Boyd, 1604 Mabry Street, (874-5988).

All four of these women are members of the National Delta Sorority. They knew me because they were at the National meeting in Washington when I was initiated as a Delta. Mrs. Hrobowsky served dinner to Miss Smith and me,--shrimp cocktail, tossed salad, a large, thick, tender steak, ice box pie.

Notes on what they said to us:

Mrs. M. E. Williams - I am a Northerner, teaching in the Baptist college here. Our president of the college urged the students to take no part in the demonstrations. The Alabama Southern Baptist Convention had made a pledge of financial support, and he did not want this much needed money jeopardized. (This did not deter the students, though. Some of them were arrested and spent weeks in the jail or workcamp and are out on bail now.) I suggested that she find out definitely if the money is withheld--it might be possible to get help from the American Baptist.

The most disturbing thing I heard while in Selma came from Mrs. Williams: "Hatred is growing among the children in our (Negro) elementary schools. I was surprised to hear our two and three year-olds in our nursery singing: "I aint gwing to let Jim Clark turn me round."

She gave these words the children sing on the streets:

"If you miss Hudson High
And you can't find me nowhere
Just come around over to Parish High
I'll be sitting over there.

"If you look for Governor Wallace
And you can't find him nowhere
Just come over to the Crazy
House, he'll be sitting there."

Mrs. Moore is the most aggressive one in the group.

She said she tried to talk over the problem with some white women she knew and was met with this -- "What are you doing letting your children go to jail. This is an awful thing. I would not let my child go to jail, etc."

There was, as yet, no getting over this barrier raised by the white women.

Only 35 are registered on any registration day. Mrs. Moore told of being second in line--a white woman was first and she received a No. 1 card--Mrs. Moore was given No. 37 -- no chance to register that day. She told the one who gave her the No. 37 card what she thought of it. He replied, my wife stood in line several times and has not been registered yet. She also reported on the oral examination after filling in the questionnaire, -- they yelled at you.

A phone call came to her from a man asking for an engagement with her. She recognized that it was a white man trying to talk like a Negro.

Her young daughter was disturbed by the advances of a white boy. Mrs. Moore went to his mother and said, "I want to talk to you about your boy, if he was mine I would appreciate someone telling me. Then she told of the approaches the boy was making to her daughter. The mother thanked her and told her it would not happen again.

Dr. Dunn who has a Rest Home, not only fired Mrs. Cecil Collins when he found she had registered but beat her severely. All the Negro employees left in a body and now can find no work. Gray Ladies came in and other Negroes needing work took their places. The pay is $18 per week with long hours.

Bennie Tucker was arrested October 7th when he drank water from a "white" fountain. All Colored rest rooms were locked and water cut off the Negro fountains. (He was released October 27.)

As the Negroes gathered at one of their churches for a rally a white man was there with a snake and he would slip up on people and put it on them. He was arrested but later released.

We asked why Mrs. Boynton had not been arrested, especially since Prathia Hall was arrested in Mrs. Boynton's home, (October 7.) The reply was, "They are afraid of her." (Prathia was released with Bennie Tucker on October 27.)

All in all it was a nice evening. Mrs. Boyd began to reminisce. Her father had a big farm, near them there was a tenant white family. The man and the children were friendly, the mother was not. The white

man borrowed the surrey and horse from her father to take his wife to see her folks. As they passed by the house the man and children waved, the mother turned her head. Mrs. Boyd said although she was only four years-old when this happened she still remembered the look on that white women's face.

She told another story: a white boy late on evening asked to be taken in for the night and was told he would have to sleep with one of the boys of the family, which he did. The next morning though, he refused to eat at the table with the Negro family.

Mrs. Moore added, "I can cook the food but when I put it on the table it becomes holy." (This was evidently a quote.)

The next day, November 1.

Our first visit was to Dr. John Newton, pastor of the Presbyterian Church. He was a pastor in Gainesville, Ga. when I was director of Georgia Committee on Human Relations--and he worked with us then.

He was writing, he said, to his children in Europe who had asked him about the racial situation in Selma--he told them there was "madness" in the town. Everyone was afraid, reprisals of different kinds were used against people. The Ford agency had been almost put out of business because the Ford Foundation had furnished money to aid the freedom groups.

He referred to the incident of the four Negro girls who visited the Church on Sunday morning, September 29, and said some people threatened to move their membership, among them the daughter of the Mayor--but there had been no loss of membership.

The Church has a Negro Mission Church and during the week women from First Church attended the Annual Meeting of the Mission and were thrilled with the reports given.

Dr. Newton assured us he spoke out-rightly to his congregation and over the radio. See marked paragraph of letter from Mrs. Bayne to the Times-Journal

Notes from Interview with Father Oulette, St. Elizabeth Parish.

I took Ralph McGill's book, "The South and The Southerner" and a packet of the program and material given out at the workshop of The Fellowship of the Concerned.

We talked of the beating given Mrs. Collins by Dr. Dunn. He told us that John Doar from the Justice Department had a picture of the bruises and broken skin on her shoulder. He wanted to push this case as it was a clear case of brutality but his partner Burke Marshall did not think it best to push the case.

John Doar gave him a copy of the restraining order issued to Victor B. Atkins, registrar of Dallas County, against the way regristration had been carried out--among other things the oral examination had to be recorded, etc. Also, Mr. Doar said there was being a study

A letter to the Editor, The Times-Journal, Selma, Alabama

Editor, The Selma Times-Journal, Selma, Alabama

Since the four colored teen-age girls who visited the First Presbyterian Church last Sunday did not leave their names and addresses, I would like to take the opportunity of using your column to send this message.

Sincerely,

PAT BAYNE

Mrs. Lewis M. Bayne
RFD 4, Box 90
Selma, Alabama

October 2, 1963

Dear Girls:

You were visitors at The First Presbyterian Church last Sunday and probably were congratulated on having "integrated" it. Like you, I was late in getting to church and took a back seat and thus when I heard you come in during the morning prayer, your feet scraping over my head in the servants' balcony on unaccustomed high heels-- I knew we had been "integrated". You probably noticed that ninety-eight per cent of the well-bred ladies and gentlemen of our church did not look around, stir, or even slightly move a muscle, although all of them knew you were there. This does not include the little girl in the rear of the church who turned around and looked several times, as she has only recently come to us from the Baptist Church. She will learn in time, and I note that she is already learning to sit with a stiff spine, hold her shoulders back, lift her eyebrows and loer her lids in the approved Presbyterian manner.

If you had difficulty in singing with us you probably noticed that we do not sing very well. That first hymn from the one hundred and third Psalm was arranged in 1680 and we have been working on it for some time. Just to be broadminded the second one was a 1915 hymn but of course it's too new to have been learned well. Unfortunately, we are not a singing church.

Our minister was scolding us, if you didn't understand the sermon, about our lack of zeal in attending Sunday School. He is a learned gentleman, a highly educated scholar, and looks, in his long black robe the way a Presbyterian Minister ought to look. He has only been here about a year and a half and at first sought to instill in us fire, spirit, zeal, and evangelical fervor. "With the influence, education, brains and money in this church we could set this community on fire!" he tells us. Most of us however, feel that any congregation with as mai many matches as we have would be presumptious in starting fires. He has now has settled back to a holding action, only occasionally slapping his hand against the pulpit to emphasixe a point. Nobody jumps. We are not a nervous congregation.

You were seated in the servants' balcony in the rear of the church by the Deacons in accordance with orders from the Elders, the ruling body of the church. Elders meet, pray, make rules, and give orders to the Deacons who have to carry them out. This does not always make for harmonious relations and men have been known to discuss this, in polite, well-modulated tones, of course, without changing anything. Elders seldom change.

When you were allowed to leave the church by the side stairs after the congregation was safely on its way home, I noted that you did not wear hats. A little world of advice: If you intend integrating the First Presbyterian Church you should be properly gloved and hatted, and if you intend visiting us again you should take the money you receive from the NAACP and buy yourself the proper attire; however, why should young girls like you want to leave a Baptist church, especially a colored Baptist church, and spend your Sundays with us? I assure you that birds of a feather flock together, and we are of a feather here at the First Presbyterian. You not only have the wrong color feathers but you don't fly right.

You integrated the First Presbyterian Church of Selma, Alabama? Little girls, we don't even integrate with many white people. If you came to our church for a hundred years sat on the servants' balcony, or even with the congregation, ninety eight per cent of the ladies and gentlemen of this church would never look around, stir or even move a muscle. We would not reject you; we would not accept you; we would simply look around you, over you, through you and freeze you numb.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Lois M. (Pat) Bayne

Member, First Presbyterian Church
Selma, Alabama

HUNTSVILLE TIMES
Nov. 23, 1965
Ala Dept

Alabama Council Honored

J. Edwin Stanfield, left, executive director of the Alabama Council of Human Relations, accepts a certificate for the Council presented on behalf of the Southern Regional Council by John W. Wheeler of Durham, N.C., president of the SRC. The certificate and a $1,000 cash prize, the George S. Mitchell Award, was presented to the Alabama Council by the Regional Council for having the largest percentage growth in memberships of any human relations council in a Southern state. The Alabama Council's membership increased 200 per cent during the past year. The award was made Monday in Atlanta at the Southern Regional Council's annual meeting.

7-B—LEE COUNTY BULLETIN Auburn, Alabama
Thursday Morning, November 25, 1965

Ala Dope

WINNER of the Southern Regional Council's George S. Mitchell Award is the Alabama Council on Human Relations, which had the largest membership gain among state councils during the year. ACHR president Nat Welch (left), formerly of Auburn and now of Atlanta, accepted the award from Mrs. Mitchell, widow of the first executive director of SRC, for whom the award is named. With them here is John H. Wheeler, SRC president from Durham, N.C.

Alabama Human Relations Council Wins Membership Growth Award

The Alabama Council on Human Relations announced today that it has won the George S. Mitchell Award of the Southern Regional Council. The award is a cash prize of $1,000 given annually to the state human relations council in the South which has the largest percentage growth in membership.

Membership in the Alabama Council on Human Relations increased more than 200 per cent during the past year.

The award was made at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. It was presented by Mrs. George S. Mitchell, widow of the man whom it memorializes, and John Wheeler, president of the Southern Regional Council.

Accepting on behalf of the Alabama human relations organization was Nat Welch, a former Auburn businessman, who is president. Certificates of the award were given Welch and J. Edwin Stanfield, executive director.

Other Alabama members of the Southern Regional Council Board of Directors who were present for the award were Moreland G. Smith, Montgomery; Dr. Lucius Pitts, Birmingham; Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute; and the Rev. Duncan Hunter, Huntsville.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is a voluntary association of Alabama citizens which seeks "to attain, through research and education, equal opportunities for all people of Alabama." Its office is in Huntsville.

The late George S. Mitchell was largely responsible for drawing together the group of outstanding citizens from all over the South who formed the Southern Regional Council in 1944. He was the first executive director of that organization.

740 Sanders St.; sermon: "The Good Fight."

12 noon and 5:15 p.m.
Altar Boys: Saturday 8 a.m.

Gene Blyth Commercial

Mental Gymnastics

Governor Faubus went on television this week and warned that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was Communist in origins and dangerous in its ideology.

The Council let it be known that it would like equal time to respond to this allegation.

Governor Faubus thereupon declared that if the Council wanted to argue with him he might run for a sixth term.

The governor has engaged in some curious mental gymnastics in his time but nothing which comes to mind quite matches the announcement that a decision to seek re-election might be based on whether an organization he has smeared as red seeks to defend itself.

Ala. Reg.

ACHR Wins $1000 Prize

BPH - 11/25/65

Alabama Council on Human Relations has won the George S. Mitchell Award of the Southern Regional Council.

Presented yearly, the $1000 prize is awarded to the state human relations council in the South boasting of the largest percentage of membership growth.

STANFIELD

Alabama Council enjoyed an increase in membership of more than 200 per cent.

Mrs. George S. Mitchell, widow of the man it memorializes, and John Wheeler, president of the SRC, presented the award at the council's annual meeting in Atlanta.

J. Edwin Stanfield of Birmingham, executive director, and Nat Welch of Auburn were given certificates of the award. Mr. Welch accepted the award for the state council.

Among others attending was Dr. Lucius Pitts of Birmingham, a member of the regional council's board of directors.

Headquartered in Huntsville, the Alabama Council is a voluntary association of Alabama citizens which seeks "to attain, through research and education, equal opportunities for all people of Alabama."

The late George S. Mitchell was largely responsible for drawing together a group of citizens from across the South who formed the Southern Regional Council in 1944.

"Congress shall make no law. . . abridging the Freedom of speech or of the press . . ." —1st Amendment, Bill of Rights, U. S. Constitution.

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Left Wing Council Invades State

How A Republic Died

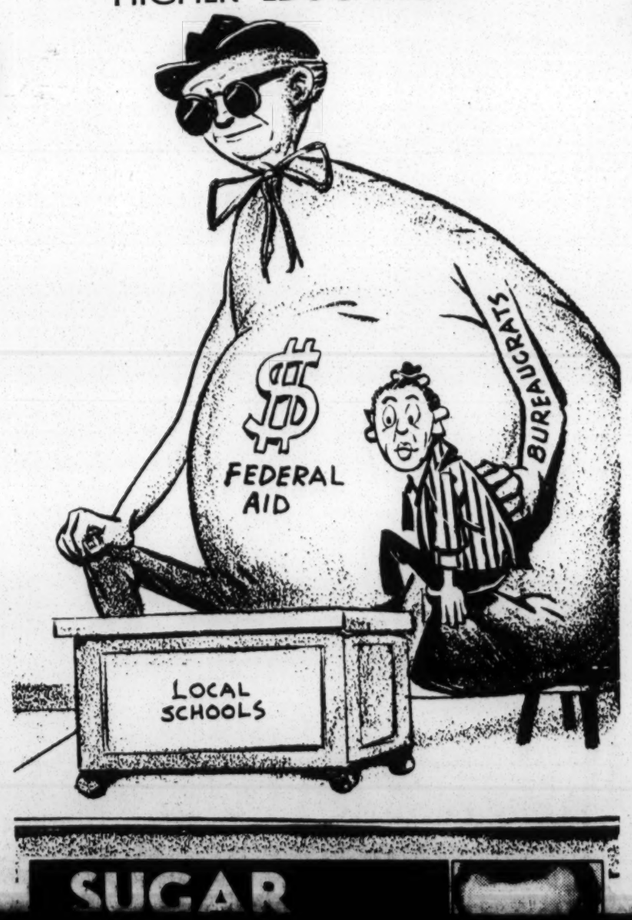
By Dr. Charles Poling, D.D.

Constitutional State rights no longer exist. Government is no longer from the state-house and the State legislative bodies; government is from Washington and the White House. Government is in partnership, maybe the captive, of labor unions; our free enterprise system is but a memory. Today, big government competes with the little businessman, regulates and restricts business.

Today the farmer is no longer free to manage his own farm, no longer free to decide what crops he will plant — this decision is handed down from Washington. As citizens, we have no way of knowning just what is happening in, or to, our Government — all of our news media is managed and we are told only what Washington wants us to know. Treason in high places of Government, Billie Sol Estes, Bobby Baker, and Jenkins, are shielded; and too many others who have betrayed America, are protected by public servants who are sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution.

Men who fraternize and play patsy with our godless enemy are received as royalty in high places. Martin Luther King — known to as-

HIGHER EDUCATION



ACHR Goes about work Quietly; Carries Out Orders From Above

By Jimmy Jones

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is probably the most important single left wing organization in this state. It is also one of the most carefully camoflaged and least understood (by the general public) organs of the left.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations receives its financial support and organizational directives from the Southern Regional Council on Human Relations in order to "encourage the development of action groups at state level; recruit and develop state leadership and seek to remold and articulate public opinion through the radio, press, speakers and publicatons . . ."

Records of the American Legion's Americanism Commission reveal that the past directors and presidents of the Southern Regional Council have held essentially the same offices in the Communist Southern Conference Educational Fund and/or the subversive Southern Conference on Human Welfare. (That is, they held the same offices in both organizations.)

All existing evidence indicates that the Southern Regional Council is controlled and directed by the Southern Conference Education Fund, an identified Communist front.

Directives laid down by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (with offices in New Orleans) are relayed through the Southern Regional Council to the Alabama Council on

"Protestant church religion came [illegible] to enhance the rise of capitalism. It proclaimed the divine right of property. It defied (sic) the kings of finance, the lords of commerce and the captains of industry. Today this church religion is directed by remote control from the Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and the offices of cartel imperialists. With these it has economic investments in the capitalist exploits of the whole world.

"The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, therefore, goes beyond church religion of all kinds. It goes back to the class struggle basis of true religion. It defines, reclaims and acts upon the democratic dynamic of our Judaeo-Christian Heritage."

Rev. Williams was expelled from the Presbyterian church for heresy. According to a recent edition of The Worker, Rev. Williams was re-ordained as a minister in a Baptist church in Chicago. After the ceremony he returned to Helena.

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Councilman Seibles Asks Negro Policemen

and the State legislative bodies; government is from Washington and the White House. Government is in partnership, maybe the captive, of labor unions; our free enterprise system is but a memory. Today, big government competes with the little businessman, regulates and restricts business.

Today the farmer is no longer free to manage his own farm, no longer free to decide what crops he will plant — this decision is handed down from Washington. As citizens, we have no way of knowning just what is happening in, or to, our Government — all of our news media is managed and we are told only what Washington wants us to know. Treason in high places of Government, Billie Sol Estes, Bobby Baker, and Jenkins, are shielded; and too many others who have betrayed America, are protected by public servants who are sworn to uphold and defend the Constitution.

Men who fraternize and play patsy with our godless enemy are received as royalty in high places. Martin Luther King — known to associate with Communists, having as his chief lieutenants sex perverts and identified Communists — an ordained Baptist minister who openly denied in the National Observer the Baptist doctrines he said, when ordained, that he believed — he went on record as not believing the doctrines of the virgin birth, the deity of Jesus Christ, the substitutionary atonement of Christ, the literal resurrection of Christ and other basic doctrines he confessed before Almighty God to believe and accept.

While mouthing a doctrine of nonviolence, he organizes and leads (from a safe distance) demonstrations he knows will end in violence, perhaps death. What hypocrisy, and this egomaniac has become the spiritual Moses of a militant minority of his race and the socialist liberal clergy. He has whipped his disciples into a frenzy of lawlessness. The mood of his army is illustrated in a threat issue by one of his lieutenants in Americus, Ga.: "We'll tear this town down." Tyis is nonviolence? King is not a man of peace; he is not really an apostle of nonviolence; he can hold his position of rule only through riosts, subversion, and revolt. Probably he is not a Communist, but he is communism's chief ally, whether he realizes it or not.

His program of civil disobedience is a deadly pestilence, and if unchecked, will destory our republic through the ever-growing bloody revolts that are spreading with frightening speed from city to city in America. When human beings behave like jungle brutes, they can be controlled only by force, and their cry about "police brutality," is offensive and disgusting to decent, law-abiding citizens. My sympathy is not with the plundering, revolting, "barbarians," but with the police who are sorn to uphold our laws and preserve peace.

I am not about to forget that these hoodlums have seriously beaten, injured, and killed many of our police. Is it not significant that people who are obeying the law and respecting the rights of others never complain about "police brutality?" "The court and not the street is the place to seek justice" and redress from grieveance. Truly our land is cursed by "barbarians" and our highways and byways are red with violence.

Presently, organized crime is at an alltime high. Last year we had a 13-per cent increase in crimes reported, over 1963. There were 20,500 reported cases of forced rape; 112,000 reported robberies, and more than amillion cases of aggravated assault. Students riot on the campuses of our universities, destroy

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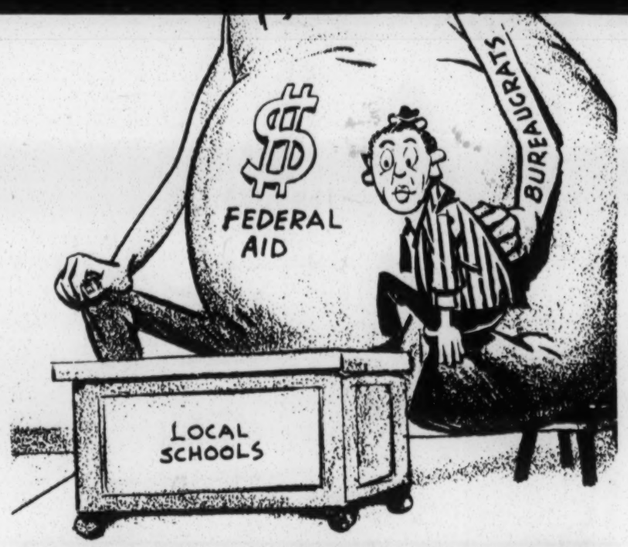

SUGAR AND SPICE

by Bill Smiley

Pity For The City Man

This is a time of year when my heart goes out to city-dwellers. It's a time when rural or smalltown living is immensely superior to that in the concrete canyons, the abominable apartments, the sad suburbs of metropolia.

In the city, day ends drearily in the fall. There's the long, wearying battle home through traffic, or the draughty, crushed, degrading scramble on public transportation.

The city man arrives home fit for nothing but slumping for the evening before the television set. And what greets him? The old lady, wound up like a steel spring because she hasn't seen a soul she knows all day, there's nothing to look at but that stupid house next door, exactly like their own, and the kids have been giving her hell.

He's stuck with it. For the whole evening. That's why so many city chaps have workshops in the basement. It's much simpler to go down cellar and whack off a couple of fingers in the power saw than listen to Mabel.

Life is quite different for the smalltown male. He is home from work in minutes. He surveys the ranch, says, "Must get those storm windows on one of these days," and goes in, to the good fall smells of cold drinks and hot food.

His wife saw him at breakfast, again at lunch, has had a good natter with the dame next door, and has been out for two hours, raking leaves with the kids. She doesn't need him.

Instead of drifting off to the basement, the small-town male announces that this is his bowling night, or he has to go to a meeting of the Conservation and Slaughter Club, and where's a clean shirt. And that's all there is to it.

While her city counterpart squats in front of TV, gnawing her nails and wondering why she didn't marry good old George, who has a big dairy farm now, the small-town gal collects the kids and goes out to burn leaves.

There is nothing more romantic than the back streets of a small-town in the dark of a fall evening. Piles of leaves spurt orange flame. White smoke eddies. Neighbors call out, lean on rakes. Women, kerchiefed like gypsies, heap the dry leaves high on the fire. Kids avoid the subject of bedtime, dash about the fire like nimble gnomes.

Or perhaps the whole family goes to a fowl supper. What, in city living, can compare to this finest of rural functions? A crisp fall evening, a drive to the church hall through a Hallowe'en landscape, an appetite like an alligator, and that first wild whiff of turkey and dressing that makes your knees buckle and the juices flow free in your cheeks,

But it's on weekends that my pity for the city-dweller runneth over. Not for him the shooting-match on a clear fall Saturday, with its good-humored competition, its easy friendliness. Not for him the quiet stroll down a rising like clouds of mosquitoes. sunny wood road, shotgun over arm, partridge and woodcock

It's not that he doesn't live right, or doesn't deserve these pleasures. It's just that it's physically impossible to get to them easily. If he wants to crouch in a duck-blind, at dawn, he has to drive half the night to get there.

Maybe on a Sunday or holiday, in the fall, the city family decides to head out and see some of that beautiful autumn foliage. They see it, after driving two hours. And with 50,000 other cars, they crawl home in late afternoon, bumper to bumper, the old man cursing, the kids getting hungrier, the mother growing owlier.

Smalltown people can drive for 15 minutes and hit scenery, at least around here, that leaves them breathless.

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The Birmingham Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was organized by an assorted group of left wingers in 1956.

Meetings have been held in various places including the Chamber of Commerce Building, Miles College, the Negro Y.M.C.A.; and more recently, the Center Street Congregational Chruch.

The Directors of the Birmingham Chapter of the ACHR were listed in the Birmingham News, January 17, 1957. They included Perry Daugherty, Dr. Roger Hanson (a teacher at the University Medical Center), Robert Johnson, Dr. Beryl McLasky, William Mitch (Mitch has quite a long Communist front record. He is active in the Jefferson County Mental Health Assn. and local labor groups), Rev. J. L. Ware, Rev. J. C. Wilson, Mrs. H. C. Bryant, Peter Cowin, Justine Barker, Dr. Fredrick Kraus (Unitarian; teacher at the University Med Center, and active in mental health), Mrs. James Battle, Arthur Shores (long time Communist fronter), and others.

On February 14, 1957, the Alabama Council on Human Relations elected C. G. Gomillion vice chairman. Gomillion has been associated with at least 14 Communist organizations and enterprises. He is also a "graduate" of the infamous Highlander Folk School.

Another interesting member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in 1957 was Claude Williams, R. F. D. Helena, Ala.

Claude Williams, still a resident of Helena, was featured in an article written by the expert on communism, Dr. J. B. Matthews, in the February, 1954 issue of American Mercury magazine. Dr. Matthews said that "Reverand Claude Williams was a member of the Communist party under the name 'John Galey.'"

Rev. Williams was director of the now defunct Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, an organization cited by the Attorney General as Subversive and Communist, and identified in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as one of te most vicious Communist groups in the United States. This organization was formerly located at 4105 1/2 3rd Avenue South, Birmingham, Alabama.

Williams' organization had as its objective the destruction of all legitimate religions. In a speech in New York on December 29, 1945 at the National Convention of the Institute, Rev. Williams said:

Manufacturers and the offices of cartel imperialists. With these it has economic investments in the capitalist exploits of the whole world.

"The Peoples Institute of Applied Religion, therefore, goes beyond church religion of all kinds. It goes back to the class struggle basis of true religion. It defines, reclaims and acts upon the democratic dynamic of our Judaeo-Christian Heritage."

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Councilman Seibles Asks Negro Policemen

City Councilman Seibles Jr. spoke to members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in Birmingham last week.

Seibels called on the group for an increased drive for Negro policemen and Negro school board members.

The Albama Council on Human Relations is an am of the Southern Regional council, which has been called a Red Front by the American Legion Publication, "The Firing Line." It also has connections with the Communist Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The group expressed its appreciation to Seibels for the work done by the City Council in the hiring of Negroes to fil vacancies on the Library, Pensions and Security and Housing boards.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations has carried on an extensive campaign to bring to light cases of "polic brutality" to them, along with signed affidavits. Other state "Councils on Human Relations" have had the setting up of civilian policy review boards as their goals.

Seibels is director of Public Safety in charge of the Police Department for the city of Birmingham.

U.S. Moving From Principles - Mallick

Greenwood, S.C. - -The United States is moving away from the principles of personal and economic freedom and in the direction of a controlled economy, which has been a resounding failure time after time in thousands of years of human history.

That was the theme of remarks made today before the Greenwood Rotary Club by Earl W. Mallick, vice president-South for United State Steel Corporation.

Earlier, Mallick had made essentially the same speech before the faculty and students of Lander College.

"History records that nations have fallen or lost their positions as leaders in the world when they went farther and farther down the welfare state plan in the direction of complete socialism," Mallick said. "I don't know when that point was reached, but I do know that we are getting closer to it every day.

"Our nation is moving increasingly in the direction of more and bigger welfare measures - measures which forcibly take money from one group of citizens and give it to another group - measures which. . sap the vitality of any nation-measures which remove the incentive to produce little by little measures which, if the trend is allowed to continue, will some day result in the collaps of our economic system, and with it, our political system as well."

Mallick pointed out that the Russians had tried central economic planning and failed and are now trying to restore incentives to some degree. The Roman Empire couldn't make the welfare state work, he said and when, i n 301 A.D. the Emperor Diocletian tried to fix wages and prices, the results were disastrous including starvation and death.

The spiritual founders of America had a different, better idea of how best to provide for human welfare, Mallick said That idea was freedom, which Mallick called "our most precious possession."

'The concept developed in 17 was as revolutionary as the war After people had been killing each other for centruies over what kind of authoritarian government there should be, our forefathers declared that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights among them the right to life and liberty.

"This is at once a spiritual political and economic concept. Mallick said, "spiritual in that ognizes that those rights are given to us by God; Political in that this is a denial that these rights are given to

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SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE

Support Your Local Police

Dec Dpr

The Dean Manion Forum

DEAN MANION: Last October 15 and 16 were nationally organized "Days of Protest," so-called. The protest was against the presence of our troops in South Viet Nam and against their defense of themselves and of the South Vietnamese people in our war to keep the Communist from taking over the country. The "Days of Protest" project represented an organized, well coordinated effort to sow the seeds of treason spectacularly and simultaneously in all parts of the country. It was deliberately calculated to give treason a new respectability by fronting it with "intellectuals," students and college professors.

Under the guise of "Academic Freedom" the "Days of Protest" did not end on October 16. On prearranged schedules, draft cards are still being burned before ever-ready television cameras and now, with the public encouragement of United States Senator Robert Kennedy, blood banks for our Communist enemies, the Viet Cong, are being assembled throughout the country. Another big march on Washington is scheduled for November 27.

What is behind these demonstrations? Why do so many college students appear anxious to hamper and handicap the efforts of our soldiers to keep themselves and human freedom alive in Southeast Asia?

Just a few days after the "Days of Protest" began I was in California on the campus of San Jose State College where a "card-burning" exhibition was scheduled to take place after two hours of pacifist oratorical harangue before a growing crowd od curious students who were mixing cheers with jeers for the speakers. My companion was young Jack Cox, a student at San Jose State, who is currently the California President of Young Americans for Freedom and a former member of that organization's National Board of Directors.

Cox was an on-the-spot observer of the October 15-16 protest staged at the Berkeley campus of the University of California. In the course of our discussion he disclosed some of the extended history that is behind the demonstrations that we saw at San Jose, and that we are seeing now. First of all, I asked him what went on at Berkeley on October 15 and 16. Here is what he said:

MR. COX: I think the "International Days of Protest" should be in the minds of all Americans. These two days, October 15 and 16, were set up by a group called the Viet Nam Day Committee to demonstrate against U.S. military participation in Viet Nam. Now this organization — like the "International Days of Protest" themselves — is merely a part of the past activities of ultra Left Wing organizations here in the Bay Area and throughout the country.

DEAN MANION: To put things in perspective, I asked Mr. Cox to give you the background of this Leftist activity.

MR. COX: Well, back in 1960 the House Committee on Un-American Activities was to hold hearings in San Francisco to investigate Communist activities in the Bay Area and in the State of California and was subpoenaing various witnesses. In December of 1959, the Communist Party met at an international conference in New York City. At that time they felt that one of their primary objectives would be to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

They understood that HCUA was going to hold hearings in San Francisco. Knowing this they set up action groups; they started working on the college campus. There was a group caled SLATE which, according to the California State Senate Commitee on Un-American Activities, is a transmission belt to the college campus for the Communist Party at Berkeley. This organization was set up and gained control of the college newspaper, "The Daily Californian." The organization also had control of other publications and various individuals in the student government at Berkely.

Then, in April, the House Committee announced that it was going to hold hearings in May in the Bay Area. Well, the Communists then started working actively on the Californian campus through SLATE and other groups, and actually on many other college campuses but this particular situation — "Operation Abolition" — you could say, was the beginning of what I would call the chaos at Cal.

There were other demonstrations over the succeeding period of three years, many things, but the Free Speech Movement was probably the second of the largest that they had. The Free Speech Movement started, I would guess, about a year and a half ago. When it was set up in the beginning, it probably was a good cause. I think the University was wrong in what they had done.

There were Conservatives and Moderates and Liberals within the protesting organization at first. The Conservatives and the Moderates wanted to go after the issue of free speech by using legal practices — by going to the courts, etc. Well, unfortunately, the other group, the Leftists, said, "no, we want to demonstrate. We think this is the only way to accomplish our gains." And so they went ahead and had their demonstrations and their riots. They sat down on a police car and wouldn't let the policemen leave the car after the policemen had arrested, I believe it was Jack Weinberg, for some particular illegal act he had performed.

As things went on, they got involved in such things as the filthy speech movement, where they just stood up saying four-letter words for the sake of saying foru-letter words. This is just another aspect of the whole movement.

NON-STUDENT DIRECT DEMONSTRATIONS

DEAN MANION: Mind you, my friends, all of this was done to build up a vanguard of young people to lead future activities — such as the anti-Viet Nam war movement. Listen while Jack describes the history of this movement in particular:

MR. COX: This started, I would say, probably early in 1965, on May 21st and 22nd. The Viet Nam Committee was started in early May to organize these demonstrations. They set up various things, and right now the Viet Nam Day Committee here maintains a full-time, paid staff at their office. The Committee is conducting many activities, including these latest demonstrations. Many of these individuals who say they are students really aren't students at all. For instance, in the so-called "student" and the Viet Nam Day Committee, have been dropping in degree of participation, in the sense that this one wasn't as successful as the Free Speech Movement. For example, May Houlihan asked the demonstrators to march in the daytime. They said no. The marchers, on Friday during the demonstrations, were less than 4,000 — there were as many as ten to twelve thousand during the Free Speech Movement. This is also the same group that stopped troop trains last summer in Berkely, lying down on the tracks and all these things.

DEAN MANION: Americans all over the Nation were appalled by these irresponsible actitivites, many of which bordered on treason. What, my friends, has happened to these young people that they would go to such lengths to disgrace their country's war effort and attempt to discourage our fighting men in Viet Nam? What influences are permenating the American campus today to lead our youth away from the time-honored traditional American values? Are the Communists directly involved in these student activities? I asked Jack Cox to elaborate on this point:

MR. COX: I don't think it matters whether or not the Communists control the thing by one per cent, ten per cent, 50 per cent or 100 per cent. The point is these things do not represent the majority of American youth. But on the question of Communist influences here, let me say that one of the leaders of the demonstration was Mike Myerson, the International Chairman of the DuBois Clubs, which, according to J. Eddgar Hoover, is a Communist-spawned organization. I believe that is the way he described it. The DuBois Clubs have been the leading Left Wing organ used by the Communist Party in reaching young people. Myerson is one of the many members of the DuBois Club who are active in organizing the VDC.

DEAN MANION: The DuBois Clubs, as you know, from previous Manion Forum broadcasts (Manion Forum Reprints 537, 548, 554) have spread to campuses all across the country. I was interested to learn how strong this organization is at Berkeley. Said Cox:

MR. COX: It's very strong, along with the Students for a Democratic Society and many other organizations. They seem to habout 101 organizations, including among other things the Sexual Freedom League. The Communists

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Richard Wall Appointed To Republican Post

Harold D. Wall, Jr., of Birmingham has been appointed Political Education Chairman of the Alabama Young Republican Federation. Announcement of this selection was made today by Young Republican State Chairman

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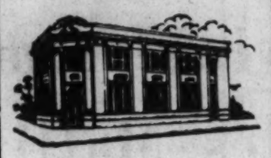

W. H. Stewart, Chairman
E. J. Blackburn, President
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In making this announcement Oliver said "Harold Wall did an outstanding job as Jefferson County young republican chairman during the successfyl 1964 campaign and later as Sixth District Young Republican Chairman. I am very happy to appoint him to this key post in our Young Republican state organization."

As political education chairman, Wall will be responsible for a statewide political training program for more than 3,000 Young Republicans.

Wall stated "Young Republicans played a major role in achieving our great Republican victories in Alabama last year. It is essential that Young Republicans be given a through political education so that they can continue to supply the Republican Party with trained political leaders and skilled precinct workers."

Last year Wall also served as special assistant to the republican state chairman and was also administrator of the citizens for Goldwater organization.

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Then, in April, the House Committee announced that it was going to hold hearings in May in the Bay Area. Well, the Communists then started working actively on the Californian campus through SLATE and other groups, and actually on many other college campuses throughout the Area. During the hearings they held demonstrations. During these demonstrations, there were arrests. The arrests were made by the law enforcement officials in San Francisco where the hearings were held. Fire hoses had to be turned on to stop the rioters from jumping barricades and attacking police. And this was, I think, the beginning of the whole thing.

Since then they've jumped to other causes; they've jumped to civil rights; they've attacked former Senator William Knowland and the Oakland Tribune for "discriminating." Of course, that has not been the case according to the skilled opinion of the Urban League and the various welfare agencies like the FEPC IN Alameda County. And they've jumped on many causes. The VDC is just another one of them.

I think that "Operation Abolition," the film, gives a good understanding of what happened. And remember, this was merely the beginning. I think you could go back even farther than that, the sake of saying foru-letter words. This is just another aspect of the whole movement.

NON-STUDENT DIRECT DEMONSTRATIONS

DEAN MANION: Mind you, my friends, all of this was done to build up a vanguard of young people to lead future activities — such as the anti-Viet Nam war movement. Listen while Jack describes the history of this movement in particular:

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DEAN MANION: Yes, and I can testify to that. Just before I talked with Jack Cox to prepare this radio program, I met a Viet Nam day Committeeman who was on the paid staff of the Committee. He told me that he had formerely been a university student but at the time he was "temporarily" absent from class. The same answer was given by one of his companions who said that he was a representative of "Individuals for Peaceful Revolution." He was not able to explain exactly what that was.

Perhaps this student movement could more properly be called the "drop-out movement." Whoever they were and whomsoever they represented, however, they managed to publish some startling material which was passed out to the students during the month of October in anticipation of the "Days of Protest." Jack Cox had some of this literature on hand. Listen while he quotes from it:

MR. COX: "We must go to jail as political prisoners. Our massive civil disobedience aimed at blocking the U.S. war machine will send shock waves from Maine to California and from the U.S. to all parts of the world. If, on October 16 at Berkeley, for example, thousands of students and others block the gates of the Oakland Army Terminal and are arrested, scenes of thousands of middle-class youths being carried away will be in every American living room." This is part of it.

They go on to say, "We must go to jail as political prisoners, not as trespassers or disturbers of peace, we must de-emphasize legal niceties and stress moral imperatives. In our trial it must be Johnson and McNamara who stand as defendants." The press—as they say here — "is controlled and feeds only war news."

They go on to say that thousands of students and others blocking the gates of the army terminal should be blocking the army terminal where the munitions are. They say "massive civil disobedience on Viet Nam will dramatize the issues throughout the country and express our personal projection of the war machine and expose the inability of traditional American institutions to cope with dissent."

DEAN MANION: But in the end, Cox says, the demonstrators didn't actually block the gates, and in fact, the whole expedition hardly lived up to Leftist expectations.

MR. COX: Actually, you could say their demonstration fizzled to a degree. I think that the Leftist organizations at Berkeley, which, of course, organized the Free Speech Movement

But on the question of Communist influences here, let me say that one of the leaders of the demonstration was Mike Myerson, the International Chairman of the DuBois Clubs, which, according to J. Eddgar Hoover, is a Communist-spawned organization. I believe that is the way he described it. The DuBois Clubs have been the leading Left Wing organ used by the Communist Party in reaching young people. Myerson is one of the many members of the DuBois Club who are active in organizing the VDC.

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MR. COX: It's very strong, along with the Students for a Democratic Society and many other organizations. They seem to habout 101 organizations, including among other things the Sexual Freedom League. The Communists have been active in all of these things. Also active are many ultra-Leftists and pacifists. I think there is room for responsible dialogue in discussing the situation in Viet Nam — responsible, I say. I don't mean irresponsible.

Here is one of the posters they were distributing. It's a black poster, and was circulated all over college campuses in California. A big picture of General Maxwell Taylor, not a too distinguished picture of him by the way, and on top it says in big letters: "Wanted for War Crimes, General Maxwell Taylor." On the botton it says, "Viet Nam Day Committee, 2407 Fulton Street, Berkeley, California," along with the phone number. There were many more publications like this that they have distributed.

They appear sincerely to believe that Lyndon Johnson is worse than Hitler. So is anyone else, they say, who supports this so-called war machine. They fail to realize the situation we are in in Viet Nam. They use the same kind of language that comes out of Radio Hanoi and Peking and other areas where the Communists are very vocal. You can read publications, for instance, by the foreign language publications now in Peking and find the same thing being said at Berkeley.

DEAN MANION: There you have it, ladies and gentlemen, the sad truth about what some of our misguided children are trying to do to their country. But let us turn now to the brighter said of the coin for a moment, and there is a brighter side. Take the national organization of Young Americans for Freedom, for instance. I asked Jack Cox to difine some of the aims and activities of Young Americans for Freedom in California and elsewhere.

MR. COX: Young Americans for Freedom believes primarily that if we are to counter anything like I have described or to do constructive things, we should do it in a responsible manner. We know that the symposium in Washington on the sixteenth of October, in which YAF participated, on the same day of the VDC protest, was very effective. I believe Senator Thomas Dodd, of Connecticut, among others, spoke at this symposium.

YAF had a rally here in California at the same time. Tom Houston, the National Chairman of Young Americans for Freedom, came to the Bay Area in California for four days to speak at the YAF-sponsored "Days for Freedom." He spoke at the University of California and had several very successful press conferences. He also spoke at San Francisco State College, along with former Congressman Ed Foreman, of Texas. Other responsible people

Continued on Page 7

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Rep. Martin Reports On Viet Nam

by Congressman Jim Martin
Seventh District of Alabama

The day starts early in Viet Nam. On my first day, the Army escort officer called at my hotel at 5:30 a.m. and as we proceed to the airport, the local people in Saigon were already crowding the streets, getting on with the business of the day.

In subsequent articles, I will talk about Saigon, it commercial life and the industry of the people. In this report, I want to talk about the war here and the people who are fighting it.

Within a few minuted after our Twin Beech Aircraft took off from Saigon, or within 20 miles, we saw bombs dropping from an American plane, sending from Saigon across the rich farmlands of the Mekong Delta. This vast area contains 14,000 square miles of rich paddies, and is inhibated by about 6 million Vietnamese. It is a surplus rice growing area capable of producing enough rice to feed all the people of Viet Nam and still have huge amounts for export.

Until a little over a year ago, most of this area was either in hands of the Viet Cong or controlled by them. Today, the tide has turned and the forces of the Government of South Viet Nam now control the major part of the area. The people ae reaffirming their loyalty to Free Viet Nam, and even sizable groups of Viet Cong are coming over to the Government side bringing with them vast amounts of weapons and ammunition.

The people are beginning to see how much progress is made in a free society, and the contrast with a controlled state is so apparent that it is now safe to make a cautious prediction that the successful end of the war against Communist aggression will be won. Not in a few days or weeks or months, but in the end, victory for freedom will come.

Streaking down from a height which was out of range of ground fire, our plane landed at the headquarters of the 7th infantry division (Vietnamese) in the Pro; vince of Dinh Tuong. After a quick inspection trip of the heavily fortified air landing strip, we took a helicopter and surrounded by two armored heli- The regional capital of the Mekong Delta area.

Vietnamese Major General Quang, who is Corps Commander and Governor of this region comprised of 15 provinces, met us and gave us a detailed briefing of the military setup as well as the political and economic situation in this command. It is interesting to note how closely the political makeup of South Viet Nam now resembles our own breakdown of States by geographical lines and in civil organization. The Vietnamese Government is making every effort to rehabilitate the towns, villages, and hamlets and turn the government over to the people. Large areas are listed as "pacified" which means that somewhere near normal life has been resumed and the Viet Cong are slowly being defeated.

The majority of the Viet Cong in this area are local people who have been sold on the Communist philosphy and have been the backbone of the fighting strenght here. First with military successes and now with patience, planning, and building for the future, the Vietnamese Government are increasing. Where, for years, the buildings have been in ruins there is now a major building boom going on. Homes business buildings and permanent schools and other public buildings are going up. On all sides there is evidence of private initaitive and individual enterprise.

From General Quang's office we went to the market place in Cantho. Threading our way through the crowded streets and stalls we met and migled with the Vietnamese people. It was almost like campaigning in Alabama as crowds on all sides reached out to shake hands and to greet me with smiles and cheery "hellos."

The market is the social center of the community. Refrigeration is very primitive here, which means that people shop daily for meats, vegetables and other perishable foods. The streets and narrow aisles of the markets were jammed with people, tropical fuits and vegetables the carcasses of freshly killed water buffalo and pigs, and stall after stall of fish. The waterway adjoining the market was packed with sampans and "junks" on which many families live.

The Cai Von Training Center is the pride of the Vietnamese. Here they aretraining non-commissioned officers for both the regular armed forces as well as the local forces. It was a heart - warming sight to see these classes of fine, battle-proven young Vietnamese dedicated to the cause of liberty, learning how to use modern American weapons and the strategy to combat Viet Cong guerillas.

The highlight of the day was a visit to the Province of Sadec and a boat trip down the Sadec River to the Hamlet of Binh Tien. We sailed down the river in a steel armored motor boat. Ahead of us were two boatloads of armed guards while three more boats filled with guards with machine guns ready trailed behind us. Along the shore a fleet of jeeps kept a wary eye on the jungle trail and overhead soared three helicopters with a machine gunner leaning out of the doors on either side.

Along the banks we passed jungle villages with homes on stilts and pigs resting on the porch and even in some of the rooms. Rows and rows of coconut trees, mangoes, and other tropical fruits lined the banks. In evn the most primitive villages the people were busy, engaging in fishing, trade and the children working in small and crowded schoolrooms.

At Binh Tien we were greeted at the docks by a fine looking honor guard of the local militia and the town elders. This group was most picturesque in their long black robes, many of them with chin whiskers in which you could almost count the number of hairs. I greeted each with a handshake. Here I was privileged to visit the several homes and the local school. The one mud street was lined on both sides by the town speople who clapped and smiled as we passed. Across a public building was a large handpainted sign, "Welcome U.S. Congressman Delegation."

From the school I was taken to the town hall, a most ornate building in true oriental style, to be given a refreshing drink of coconut milk served straight from the coconut just plucked from the tall trees surrounding the town. In the nearly 100 degree heat of the jungle, it was in the town of Vinh Long. Here come again, we were briefed by a proud and efficient military commander and Governor who told us of the progress of his territory. We were greeted at the Province Headquarters by a smart looking honor guard and a military band as well as the civic and Province officials. Vinh Long was a shining example of optimism on the part of the Vietnamese with its new building program its plans for educational programs for the children, and civic betterment.

American aid is given to these communities through the U.S. Operations Missions to help in constructing roads, bridges, and other public facilities.

As the day ended and the shadows of evening fell, we were hustled back to our plane for the flight to Saigon before dark. As we arrived at the airport at helicopter landed and I discussed with the American Major theactions of the day. They had been on an attack mission against the Viet Cong only a few miles from where we stood and the Viet Cong suffered casualties of 19 dead the whole attacking force. There were no losses for the Americans or South Vietnamese.

We landed in Saigon to watch the helicopter unload some American men wounded in fighting north of Saigon and we remembered some words we had remembered some words we has just read in a little chapel on the airfield at Vinh Long (A chapel built by the men of our Air Force to commemorate those Americans who have died fighting for freedom on the Vietnamese people. The bell in the Chapel was contributed by the Canterbury Methodist Church of Birmingham, Alabama.) I could not forget the words:

"They shall grow not old as we that are left grow old Age shall not weary them nor the years condemn at the going down of the sun and in the morning we shall remember."

Flashlight Safety Day, the annual appeal to check all flashlights to make sure they are working and ready for emergency use, will take place on 1965's shortest day (and longest night), Tuesday, December 21.

Special attention, according to the makers of "Eveready" batteries, who initiated the public reminder, should be given flashlights kept in cars and in the home, near fuse, boxes and stairways, in bedrooms, basements and garages.

Proper inspection requires replacing worn out bulbs and batteries or, with the newer rechargeable flashlights, batteries should be fully charged for maximum light.

Dixie Division Observes Anniversary

MONTGOMERY - - Twenty-five years ago this month, the 1st (Dixie) Division was called to duty by President Franklin D. Roosevelt for what was then billed as a one year tour of training.

But it would be over five years later, After World War II, when these 3,729 Alabama National Guradsmen would return to stack their weapons again in the home town armories.

The 31st then commanded by Maj. Gen . John C. Persons of Birmingham was composed of troops from Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and Louisiana. Alabama's major division unit was the 167th Infantry Regiment with 2,207 Alabamians led by Colonel Walter M. Thompson of Gadsden.

Other 31st units from the state were 106th Medical Regiment special troops, 106th QM Regiment, 56th Field Artillery Brigade, and 62nd infantry Brigade.

In addition to the division troops, Alabama sent some 1,500 other guardsmen on active duty for World War II. These men were called at intervals from September 23, 1940 to February 10, 1942.

In commemorating the 25th anniversary of the call, Governor George C. Wallace has prolcaimed November 25 as "Dixie Division Day" in Alabama.

"All Alabama, and the Nation is proud of the record of the 31st in World War II, where it drew some of the toughest and least dramatic assignments. Their service was true to their motto: Where Duty Calls, 'It Shall Be Done," said the Governor.

After Governor Frank M. Dixon yielded control of the state unite state units November 25, 1940, the men were allowed to continue training and processing at local armories throughout the state until mid-December when they moved to Camp Blanding, Florida. It was here that the 31st had first been organized in 1917.

For almost four years the 31st supplied replacements and cadre for other newly formed divisions, and took part in extenisve maneuvers until ordered overseas in January, 1944.

Arriving at Ora Bay, New Guinea, the "Double D" trained briefly before going into combat at Aitape, Wakde-Sarmi, and Morotai. Here, its three regimental combat teams accounted for more than 5,000 Japanese in mop-up operations against the bypassed imperial 18th Army.

Reaching Morotai in September, 1944, the 31st was at that time the western-most penetration of General Douglas MacArthur's command. In this position the 31st controlled the Halmahera Sea, cutting off 45,000 Japs on the island of Halmahara who might have been used as reinforcements in the upcoming invasion of the Phillippines.

On November 15, in a pre-invasion move, a battalion of Alabama's 167th Infantry attacked and secured the Island of Mapia to knock out an enemy sppotter station. Ironically, in this operation the 167th killed nearly 167 of the enemy.

In April the entire division, now commanded by Maj. Gen. Clarence Martin, hit the beaches of Mindanao, Phillippines,

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In Tuins there is now a major building boom going on. Homes business buildings and permanent schools and other public buildings are going up. On all sides there is evidence of private initaitive and individual enterprise.

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Following a meeting with a number of boys from Alabama at the IV Corps Headquarters (Vietnamese), we had lunch with the American officers who serve in this area as advisors to the Vietnamese.

Back to the helicopter to land in a grassy plot in the center of the Cai Von Training Center. It was almost too small for comfort as my helicopter andits two military escorts clipped the tops of trees to squeeze into a postage stamp size landing spot.

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From the school I was taken to the town hall, a most ornate building in true oriental style, to be given a refreshing drink of coconut milk served straight from the coconut just plucked from the tall trees surrounding the town. In the nearly 100 degree heat of the jungle, it was quite satisfying and certainly welcome.

Bidding goodby to the people of Binh Tien, we boarded our helicopter and for a few breath; less minutes wondered if we would clear the tall coconut trees surrounding the samll town squares from which we took off. The pilot, seeing he couldn't make it, made a sharp turn to travel up the river until he could gain enough altitude to take us up over the trees.

Our final stop of the day was

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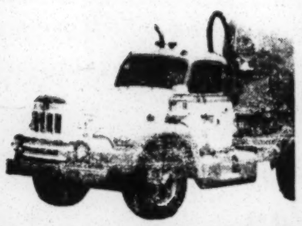

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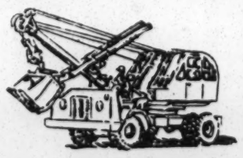

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Editorials

BY PAUL HARVEY

You have been waiting for the other shoe to fall. If you are one of the comparative few who knew what he said, you considered Senator Robert Kennedy's public utterance indefensible.

But if you have waited for three weeks for somebody to throw those intemperate, impolite and "near treasonous" words back in his face - - you have decided by now that surely Senator must have been misquoted.

He was not misquoted. He has neither retracted nor denied his remarks at the Unversity of California at Los Angeles, Friday night, November 5.

He said he would willingly give his blood to the North Viet Namese.

Senator Kennedy said he would give blood to anybody that needs it," and that to give it to the North Viet Namese would "be in the oldest traditions of this country."

By the following Monday, comparatively few publications had quoted the Senator's unfortunate utterance.

Barry Goldwater, in Albuquerque, wondered aloud "that the press has not jumped down his throat." Goldwater said the Kennedy remark sounded to him like aid and comfort to the enmy -- "near treason."

Certain vocal elements among the news media have been complaining about being shushed they shushed themselves on this one!

When I requoted the Senator's offer to give his blood to our enemies, a friend who daily perusés New York City papers asked, "Where did you get that story?"

The only possible conclusion I can draw from the comparative blackout on this boo boo is that the name Robert Kennedy is somehow sacrosanct. Actually, Bobby is not a "love those who persecute you," sort. He is a bitterly vengeful man.

But though he should have to eat his acrid words, his friends in the press are eating them for him.

For just once challenging our foreign policy, Douglas MacArthur and Joe McCarthy were stabbed to death by left-handed news writers. Robert Welch, for one indefensible utterance, was buried alive under an avalanche of indignation.

Now a United State Senator-with the added prestige of previous Cabinet-level authority - says he would willingly give his blood to strengthen our enemies.

How do you suppose that sounds through a head-pack of bloody bandages?

The Kennedy army of press agents was quick to refocus attention on their Senator's Latin American junket, to quote him generaouly on other subjects.

One woman whose intemperance matched his, telephoned to say it was all right with her "if Senator Kennedy gives all his blood to the Viet Namese."

Probably more meaningful to our troops in the field was the offere telephoned to me from Oregon: "My friend and I want to give blood to the Viet Cong; we have infectious hepatitis."

The Spirit Of Sickening-Sick

HISTORY OF CHRISTMAS CAROLS

Called *noels* in France, *le pastorali* in Italy and *Weihnachtslieder* in German, carols are the welcome sound of Christmas everywhere.

But did you know that originally carols were not songs but dances? It's a fact! These "round" dances were part of early Christian worship, and one of the first "carollers" was St. Francis of Assisi, back in the 12th century.

When was the first carol sung? Probably as an accompaniment to early nativity plays. And one of the earliest of the choruses of praise, *gloria in excelsis deo* (glory to God in the highest), can be heard in church services to this day.

U Thant Talks Of Avoiding War

By NEOMA LIDE

UN Secretary General U Thant recently said the large scale fighting in Viet Nam today might have been avoided if bold steps had been taken in 1964. Yet, in the past, U Thant has advocated this war to be stopped in a way not suggesting boldness but rather U.S. acquiescence in Viet Nam.

straight talk

DIAGNOSING THE SICKNESS

By Tom Anderson

In America, the reading of the Bible in public schools has been declared illegal, but it is not illegal to read degenerate filth or material advocating the overthrow of our nation by force. Some reading material approved by the National Council of Churches includes books so obscene they could not be read aloud in the House of Representatives. Right here in my town, the little-taxed, big-profiting Methodist Publishing House not only sells James Baldwin's obscene and degenerate books, but defends them.

In Detroit, a former police inspector said: "There has not been a sex murder in the history of our department in which the killer was not an avid reader of lewd magazines." Many thousands of boys and girls are led down the primrose path starting with "hot" books and pictures, graduating to "real action" movies of every conceivable type of abnormal sex. Psychiatrists and prison wardens know well that even a perfectly normal child can be converted into a sex pervert and criminal by the filth racketeers.

The sickness in the soul of America has been planted there. As Will Rogers said: "What this country needs is more clean minds and dirty fingernails." The "Liberals" say we should read between the lines of our Constitution, our Bible, our marriage vows; that there are no absolutes; no right and no wrong; whatever is socially acceptable is all right; sin is old-fashioned, non-existent, imaginary.

The Mattachine Society (homosexuals) claims that one out of every ten Americans is a homosexual, including roughly a quarter million each in the federal Civil Service, the armed forces, and security-sensitive positions in private industry. Homosexuality, throughout recorded history, has accompanied declining civilizations. St. Paul said in Romans 1:24: "Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness through lusts of their own hearts, to dishonor their own bodies through themselves."

Eight hundred forty-seven grave security risks in "our" State Department have been identified, including pro-Communists, alcoholics, sex degenerates, homosexuals and people suspected of being communist spies.

Michael Goleniewski, former KGB intelligence agent, testified that six diplomats and ten Marine guards assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw during 1958 and 1959 were compromised by women communist agents. The Communists reportedly took embarrassing photographs of these sex acts for blackmail purposes. The State Department admitted the guilt of its employees and transferred five of the six to other State Department posts. "Call girls", formerly called whores, are regularly used by the State Department. A "call girl" or "bedroom politician" ring reportedly operates continuously within the atheistic, amoral United Nations.

Lyndon Johnson's protege Bobby Baker bragged that he had ten members of the Senate in the palm of his hand (compromised). Baker knew every intimate detail of the Senate, its people, their weaknesses, who was sleeping with whom, who was out drunk, who could be bribed and for what price. So does Moscow. The only secrets the American government has in the cold war against history's most diabolical, criminal, atheistic conspiracy are the secrets our government keeps from the American people.

Some people will resent seeing things like this in a family newspaper; but we must face it, because morality demands it and survival requires it. As the Apostle Paul asked the Galatians: "Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?"

The AMERICAN WAY

IS IT HARD TO LIVE BY PRINCIPLE?

By Harry Browne

"It is hard to live by one's principles. It is always easier to give in to temptation and be like others."

Do those words sound familiar? I've read them and heard them often.

The man who says it is difficult to live by principle does not really understand his own principles. For living by principle should be the easiest task in the world.

What is a principle? It is simply an un- would be impossible to live by. Anyone who tries to do so will inevitably experience frustration.

Why? Because the "principle" is not realistic. Every man lives for himself and what he feels is meaningful. To live for others is conceptually impossible.

Whatever a man's motives, they are all part of satisfying his own objectives. The man who devotes himself to charity is only

THE ROMANCE OF WOOD

Namese.

Senator Kennedy said he would give blood to anybody that needs it," and that to give it to the North Viet Namese would "be in the oldest traditions of this country."

By the following Monday, comparatively few publications had quoted the Senator's unfortunate utterance.

Barry Goldwater, in Albuquerque, wondered aloud "that the press has not jumped down his throat." Goldwater said the Kennedy remark sounded t o him like aid and comfort to the enmy -- "near treason."

Certain vocal elements among the news media have been complaining about being shushed they shushed themselves on this one!

When I requoted the Senator's offer to give his blood to our enemies, a friend who daily per-

Now a United State Senator-with the added prestige of previous Cabinet-level authority - says he would willingly give his blood to strengthen our enemies.

How do you suppose that sounds through a head-pack of bloody bandages?

The Kennedy army of press agents was quick to refocus attention on their Senator's Latin American junket, to quote him generaouly on other subjects.

One woman whose intemperance matched his, telephoned to say it was all right with her "if Senator Kennedy gives all his blood to the Viet Namese."

Probably more meaningful t our troops in the field was the offere telephoned to me from Oregon: "My friend and I want to give blood to the Viet Cong; we have infectious hepatitis."

The Spirit Of Sickening-Sick

THE ROMANCE OF WOOD

Only one tool of man is older than fire... the wood he used to fuel the first blaze! Even before the first flame flickered in a gloomy cavern, wood—the world's most versatile raw material—was being used for rude weapons.

Soon men learned to fashion woodworking tools — saws, chisels, axes and augers — and they carved this durable, beautiful material into furniture, decorations and idols for their homes and temples.

Wood has been important in world history. There was the Wooden Horse of Troy; the so-called "Wooden Walls" (ships of war) that long protected the island fortress of Britain from invasions; and, of course, the wooden cross upon which Christ died.

Wooden money has often been used. As recently as the depression years of the 30's, scrip money made of plywood, in 25¢, 50¢ and $1.00 denominations, was used in the U.S., in the small town of Tenino, Washington.

Plywood — wood in sheets, or "plies"—is not new. In 1500 B.C., the plies came from split logs. Nowadays a log is shaved into a continuous wooden sheet, like paper unwound from a roll.

When this wooden peeling is glued in layers, with grains in opposite directions, it is stronger per pound than steel.

Available as it is today in shining, pre-finished panels of woods such as beautiful Canadian Birch, plywood is one of the most attractive and inexpensive—as well as durable and strong — of all wood products.

With its even, subtly varied grain pattern, its light natural beauty, Canadian Birch plywood has become one of the most-used of all the pre-finished panellings. Kitchens, dens, doors, dividers and built-ins are all looking lovelier these days, thanks to Canadian Birch plywood, the newest chapter in the romance of wood.

HISTORY OF CHRISTMAS CAROLS

Called *noels* in France, *le pastorali* in Italy and *Weihnachtslieder* in German, carols are the welcome sound of Christmas everywhere.

But did you know that originally carols were not songs but dances? It's a fact! These "round" dances were part of early Christian worship, and one of the first "carollers" was St. Francis of Assisi, back in the 12th century.

When was the first carol sung? Probably as an accompaniment to early nativity plays. And one of the earliest of the choruses of praise, *gloria in excelsis deo* (glory to God in the highest), can be heard in church services to this day.

The custom of outdoor carol singing is many hundreds of years old. According to researchers at the Aeolian Music Foundation, it seems to have started in the Middle Ages when groups of people went from house to house singing by torchlight.

Yet despite these joyous beginnings, the Christmas carol eventually ran into rough going. As Puritan influence grew, carols became gloomy and grim; finally the Puritans made it a crime to print or sing carols publicly!

But the carol — which plays so large a part in giving Christmas a spirit of gaiety — couldn't be suppressed for long, and many great writers such as Martin Luther and Charles Wesley and composers including Felix Mendelssohn and Friedrich Handel began to take an interest in this form of music.

In the England of Charles Dickens' time, the practice of "wassailing" or group singing of carols from house to house at Christmastime was popularized.

At the turn of the century, Americans added their own contribution to Christmas caroling as singers gathered around the family player-piano. With the recent revival of the player-piano, this delightful scene is being recreated all across the country. Most popular of the modern players is the Pianola, both a regular piano and a player-piano that encourages family togetherness during the holiday season or any time of the year.

Family gatherings for carol singing should be better than ever this season with more Christmas music available on music rolls than before

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U Thant Talks Of Avoiding War

By NEOMA LIDE

UN Secretary General U Thant recently said the large scale fighting in Viet Nam today might have been avoided if bold steps had been taken in 1964. Yet, in the past, U Thant has advocated this war to be stopped in a way not suggesting boldness but rather U.S. acquiescence in Viet Nam.

As the Secretary General speaks of bold steps that might have been taken in 1964, the United States is busily engaged in fighting the Viet Namese war in what might be described as largely on the enemy's terms. Where an aggressor (such as North Viet Nam) has overrun a country (as in the case of South Viet Nam), why is it necessary to use "gloved hands" in dealing with the aggressor? Instead of polly-picking around, why isn't U.S. policy in that war to strike at any facilities in North Viet Nam being used to further this war as well as to issue — and, if necessary, carry out — ultimateums to neighboring countries who are lending physical aid to the Communists in their war of aggression?

Are U.S. policy makers afraid that world opinion might tab us with 'bully' for daring to adopt a truly winning policy against the Communists? This is no mere war of expediency to further careers of ambitious U.S. politicos who would fan the flame of an American public incensed by the raw Communist aggression.

This war is not purely for the sake of 'uniting the country' in common cause. More than that by far, it is a war in which our American men and fresh-out-high-school youth are being subjected to fight and give their lives for FREEDOM — more specifically, so far as the South Vietnamese are concerned at this time, for INDEPENDENCE. We are too involved simply to quit and back out yet seemingly not enough involved to go all-out to win at the earliest possible date. Indeed, it seems well past time for the United States to 'put up or shut up.'

Those who fear Communism or want to live agreeably with it — for whatever reason — shout for PEACE. PEACE, they say, is the only way the world can survive. This goal, however, can hardly be attained before all human nature has become so benignly divine that leaders of all nations — large or small — cease to trample upon other nations. Until all human nature has reached so lofty a plane — if it ever does, somebody should be big enough, good enough, strong enough and stern enough to take on the world's bullies and aggressors — be they big or little.

Behind the Viet Cong stands North Viet Nam. Red China and Russia stand behind North Viet Nam. While the U.S. sends men to fight and die in this war to save South Vietnamese independence, Russia and Red China sit quietly behind the scenes pulling the necessary strings to keep their standing in good stead with the

--Continued on P-7

armed forces, and security-sensitive positions in private industry. Homosexuality, throughout recorded history, has accompanied declining civilizations. St. Paul said in Romans

it, because morality demands it and [illegible] requires it. As the Apostle Paul asked the Galatians: "Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?"

The AMERICAN WAY

IS IT HARD TO LIVE BY PRINCIPLE?

By Harry Browne

"It is hard to live by one's principles. It is always easier to give in to temptation and be like others."

Do those words sound familiar? I've read them and heard them often.

The man who says it is difficult to live by principle does not really understand his own principles. For living by principle should be the easiest task in the world.

What is a principle? It is simply an unchanging fact of life that one recognizes.

The object of living by principle is to realistically obtain more of what you want in life — whatever that may be. So you formulate a set of principles as guideposts to follow in order to obtain what you want.

If you have thought out your principles *for yourself*, they will be fully consistent with the real world as it is, and with your goals in life. In this case, living by them is not difficult — but violating them would be very hard to do, because you'd be unwilling to accept the consequences of violating what you know to be the truth.

For example, is it wrong to lie? Once a man has determined for himself that it is wrong, he will have no trouble being honest thereafter. For he knows that to violate this principle will bring unpleasant reactions — the fear of being discovered, the disrespect of others, etc.

On the other hand, if he finds it difficult to be honest, it simply means he has never *fully* understood the consequences of dishonesty that would apply in every case.

To be livable, a principle must be consistent with the real world. For example, the tenet "live your life completely for others" would be impossible to live by. Anyone who tries to do so will inevitably experience frustration.

Why? Because the "principle" is not realistic. Every man lives for himself and what he feels is meaningful. To live for others is conceptually impossible.

Whatever a man's motives, they are all part of satisfying his own objectives. The man who devotes himself to charity is only attempting to satisfy his own motivations — perhaps even to the exclusion of others who can conceive of "better charities". He is pursuing self-interest no less than the man seeking wealth.

On the other hand, the individual who realizes that others will offer him more in proportion to what he offers them, is also selfish — but constructively so. Why constructive? Because he is adopting principles that help him to obtain what he wants in life.

Living by principle is not torture or self-denial. If you believe *you* are living by principle — but find yourself sometimes envying those who *don't* live by yours — then you should seriously consider adopting *their* principles. For there is something wrong with yours.

"Living by principle" means to take the time to think out your life, to determine your highest goals, and to formulate principles that will take you to those goals.

To live by those principles is always easier than rejecting them — if the principles are consistent with your understanding of life itself.

What are *your* principles? Draw up your guideposts and live by them.

From the Guest Pen...

FEDERAL AID MEANS FEDERAL CONTROL

By Rosalie M. Gordon
Editor, America's Future

With something akin to locking the barn door after the horse is stolen, school administrators all over the country at long last are becoming very concerned about federal aid to education bringing in its wake federal control of our state and local school systems. Such concern is better late than never — in fact, if it grows great enough perhaps the encroaching invasions into our schools of the federal bureaucrats can be halted before they become so seriously imbedded that we wake up to an educational system in America closely resembling those of totalitarian regimes.

These belated fears are certainly well-founded. There was the shocking instance of the federal Commissioner of Education withholding 30 million dollars from the Chicago public schools on the most flimsy grounds. The funds were restored not because they should never have been withheld, or because the Commissioner acted in a most highhanded manner if not actually illegally, but only because the Democratic mayor of Chicago protested to the Commissioner's Democratic bosses in Washington.

Then there is the fact that the federal Office of Education is withholding funds from at least 19 southern school districts in an effort to force them to comply with federal regulations on integration.

All this proves, of course, that there is no such thing as federal handouts — of money first taken from the people in the states and cities — for education or anything else without federal control. How far and how nearly ridiculous such control can become is seen in another episode in Chester, Pa., where two youngsters were suspended from school for bringing their own lunches! Evidently, under the federal school lunch program, all children in a school must buy their lunches at school in order for the school to get such "aid." The two Chester children were suspended because they brought their own lunches and refused to pay the 35 cents each for school lunches which they had no intention of eating.

Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction Ray Page was not exaggerating in commenting on the arbitrary withholding of funds by the federal Office of Education from the Chicago schools. Mr. Page declared: "If the United States Office of Education dictates the policies of the Board of Education of Chicago, the same could happen . . . to every other school district in the nation."

U.S. Health Service

Not satisfied with trying to inflict mass medication on public water supplies of the American people, the U.S. Public Health Service sent staff members and U.S. Public Health Service U.S. tax dollar subsideis abroad to spread its pseudodox gospel to the world.

The effort, of course, embraced enlistment of the World Health Organization but that branch of the U. N. was a push-over. To be sure, elevating fluoridation t o universal status only vastly expand the market for sodium fluoride, and the apparatus with which to apply it.

In 1955, the dentists of Franch at their annual convention, voted against fluoridation after the Institute Pasteur, and the Ministry of Health had failed to approve it. Switzerland was going slow as as a result of experiments which indicated that fluorine might aggravate thyroid imbalance in persons suffering from goiter. In the Feb. 12 1955, issue of the British Medical Journal Dr. Hugh Sinclair director of Oxford University's Lab of Human Nutrition had declared that "the Health Ministry's plan to put chemicals called for flourides into drinking water may poison millions of people."

France, Italy, Norway Denmark, Russia and India refused to sanction fluoridation of public waters. In Great Britian Belgium Switzerland, and New Zealand there had been experiments on a trial basis. In Sweden, the scientific council has prohibited all fluoridation of water supplies pending further study.

It should be stressed that fluoridation has not known biological role in the human body. There is not evidence that fluoried in the water supplies, pending further study.

water supply is essential for sound teeth, and it may well be that the fashion in fluoridation on it s way out. This has nothing to do with the water supply, and reductions of 50 per cent in caries have been shown merely for toothbrushing and mouth washing after measl.

It is also important to note that sodium fluoride is widely known as a commercial poison commonly used for such purposes as poisoning of dry-rot fungus in timber, de-worming pigs, de-lousing poultry, and as a constituent of insecticides and rat poison.

What is so throughly alarming about Fluoridation is the attitude of officials upon whom the public relies for the protection of its health. The incredible fact is that no studies onvolving medical examinations of adults in artificially fluoridated areas have yet been undertaken ANYWHERE. That the health of large populations should be hazarded upon such foundation is indeed horrifying.

Some of the highest life expectancies are reported from the regions of the globe with the least fluorine in soil or water. Certainly, Public Health Service i s marred by incredible delinquencies. If ever we get a Federal Administration with enough brains and courage to rescue the U.S. Public Health Agency from itself, and its overlord, HEW, an early item should be the terse Executive Order: "Quit Poisoning Our Water."

A Book well worth reading.

V.H. Huey

Business Highlites

PITTSBURGH —The pick up in steel orders is aelerating acording to mill operators. Some report booking up to 15 to 20 per cent from a month ago. Steel shipments are about level with a month ag.

NEW YORK —Sales of small household electrical appliances to early Christmas shoppers have been extremely brisk. General Eetric and other manufaturers are estimating that Christmas sales of these applianes will be 6 to 7 per cent over last year.

WASHINGTON — Imports surged 29 per cent in October from the previous year levels while exports gained only 6 per ent, according to he Census Bureau. However, the import bulge was caused to a onsiderable degree simply by the aftermath of strik delays. Goods that should have cleared cust9ms late in the summer weren't cleared until last month.

A CONSCIENTIOUS? OBJECTOR

Top Scientists Rap Man On Moon Project

WASHINGTON —One of America's most prominent scientists attacked the U.S. man-on-the-Moon effort Monday as a waste of men, money and material that could be used to solve more pressing scientific problems.

Dr. Warren Weaver, former head of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, estimated the project would cost $30 billion to complete. If this amount were being spent in a race against the Russians, "I think that is just plain stupid," he said.

Weaver said he supported the principal of going to the Moon, but he urged that the program be run at a much slower pace with much less money so that

As examples, he suggested that:

—Every U.S. teacher could be given a 10 per cent raise a year for 10 years.

—Two hundred small colleges could be endowed with $10 million each.

—The education through graduate school of 50,000 scientists could be financed at $4,000 a year.

—Ten new medical schools could be constructed costing $200 million each.

—Complete universities for more than 50 developing countries could be built and endowed.

— Three new Rockefeller Foundations worth $500 million each could be financed.

Man's War In Viet Nam

WASHINGTON —It's still a man's war in Viet Nam.

While the United States so far has poured 165,000 troops into the anti-Communist fight, it has assigned only 176 women —most of them nurses—to duty with military forces in Vie Nam

And Defense Department figures showed Monday that even in the time honored profession of wartime nursing, some services are experimenting with male nurses.

There are only 11 women in uniform in Viet Nam today, and all are members of the Women's Army Corps (WAC). There are no Air Force WAFS, navy WAVES or women Marines there.

Between the Bookends

AN "EXTREMIST" VIEW OF "CIVIL RIGHTS"

Amid all the furor over "rights", privileges, and what-not for "minority races", a New England publisher is releasing a paperback reprint of Booker T. Washington's autobiography. The famous Negro leader's story of his own life, entitled *"Up From Slavery"*, is a blueprint for success for any man — of any color.

(The publisher is Western Islands, 395 Concord Ave., Belmont, Mass. 02178; $1.)

Booker T. Washington would certainly feel out of place among today's "civil rights" leaders. In fact, Washington would probably have been the last to call his own campaign one of "civil rights". He felt that it was self-evident that a man must succeed on his own merits.

He was born as a slave, and was freed early in childhood, at the end of the Civil War. He worked to help support his family and had an insatiable desire to educate himself. And he wanted education that was practical — that would help him make something of himself.

Finally, he found a way to attend Hampton Institute in Virginia. He worked his way to the school and then applied himself to earn his way through it. In this context, one passage in the book is especially revealing of Washington's character and ambition:

"The charge for my board at Hampton was ten dollars per month. I was expected to pay a part of this in cash and to work out the remainder. To meet this cash payment, as I have stated, I had just fifty cents when I reached the institution. Aside from a very few dollars that my brother John was able to send me once in a while, I had no money with which to pay my board. I was determined from the first to make my work as janitor so valuable that my services would be indispensable. This I succeeded in doing to such an extent that I was soon informed that I would be allowed the full cost of my board in return for my work."

Here in a nutshell is the secret of success: "make my work . . . so valuable that my services would be indispensable." Where is the demand for "free education"? Where is the assertion of a right to a "decent" living, etc.? It was never a part of Booker T. Washington's character to believe that anyone owed him anything. He knew instinctively that others will exchange with him as each merits the other's respect and confidence.

Here, in this book, for one dollar, you can obtain the inspirational story of one humble man's rise to success — a story that can serve as a model for any man of any race.

--Cont. from p-3

to begin another period of vicious fighting.

At a disadvantage because the Japanese held the high ground throughout, the 167th began clearing the vital kilbawe-Talomo trail, dubbed as "Heartbreak Trail." In 10 weeks of gruelling search-and -kill operations, the 167th cleared 26 miles of this supply line.

When the War ended in August, 1945, the 31st was widely scattered throughout Mindanoa and continued to find resistance in some parts from diehard Japanese.

The 167th was assigned to operate a prisoner of war center at Davao and continued this mission unti relived for return to the United State in Nov. 1945.

At Camp Stoneman, California the division was de-activated and demoblizied on Dec. 21. 1945.

In Nov. 1946, it was resurrecas a National Guard Division located in Albama and Mississippi.

Peking Perils Red Aid To Communists

LONDON —Communist China is seriously hampering plans by the Soviet Union and East European satellite nations to step up supplies of arms to the Vietnamese Communists, Iron Curtain sources said Monday.

The sources said China has imposed fresh restrictions on the transhipment of military aid from Russia and East Europe to North Viet Nam and the Vet Cong in South Viet Nam.

China has also refused proposals from Moscow for a coordinated arms aid strategy for Viet Nam, the sources added.

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Weaver said he supported the principal of going to the Moon, but he urged that the program be run at a much slower pace with much less money so that present scientific resources and funds could be used on solving other questions.

In an interview with U.S. News & World Report, Weaver said he recently made a list of what could be done in the United States with $30 billion now used on the moon project.

As examples, he suggested that:

—Every U.S. teacher could be given a 10 per cent raise a year for 10 years.

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But, Weaver said he was more concerned about the space project's drain on scientific manpower.

Current nonagricultural employment of 878,000 is a new high for Alabama, according to estimates by the State Department of Industrial Relations.

NEW YORK —Beech-Nut Life Savers Inc announed it has ageed to purchase Wilbur Choolate Co. for approximately $6.5 million in ash.

Beech-Nut said the final details are still beingworked out, but that the prie would be about $41 per Wilbur share.

NEW YORK —MCA, Inc announced plans to purhase the remaining shares of Decca Records Inc. for $48.50 per share or approximately $3.7 million.

MCA said it will merg Deca, of which it now holds 95 per cent, into itself as of Jan. 1. Dea holds a 92 per cent interest in Universal Pictures, while MCA produces television films and leases equipment to independent producers.

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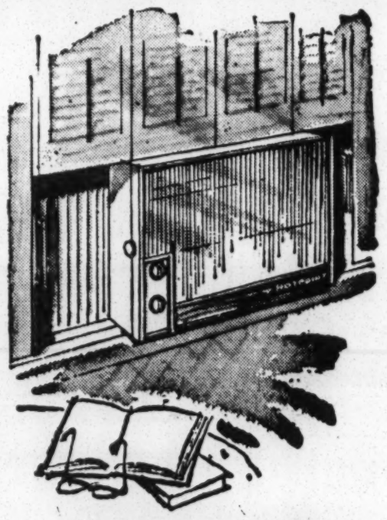
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HOW A REPUBLIC DIED: Cont'd from page 1

property and shout obscene epithets. Every day we read of lawless demonstrations in our cities and youthful worlfpacks are prowling our city parks, subways, and streets; even in Washington, and in our government buildings, women workers are molested. Just what kind of people have we become? How long will we temporize and retreat before these jungle mobs? I find myself asking, "just how unselfish, how patriotic and dedicated to freedom and constitutional government are the leaders we elect to office?"

Have the flames of patriotism died out in the heart of America? Are we afraid to march — if required, die — in combat for our country? America's destiny depends upon the answers we can give to these questions.

The white crosses still stand row on row in Flanders fields, and there are many other places, here and abroad, sanctified and made sacred by the blood of gallant Americans who, in the painful moment of their dying, bequeathed to us a goodly heritage of freedom. Was their dying in vain?

I have beheld motley lines of blacks and whites, unshaved, unwashed, and dirty, marching and chanting their jungle syncopation: "We shall overcome" and "freedom now." What have they done, what are they doing now, to deserve the blessings of freedom? How many of these marchers marched through the fire and hell of war to defend America and to preserve the freedom they now, and all of us, presently enjoy. Where were they when some of us were marching, and watching, while brave young men were drying to guarantee and preserve the freedom these whining, crying, pacifists now demand?

Actually, they would not be allowed to march and demonstrate if they did not now enjoy the blessings of freedom. These pacifists support the philosophy and aims of the Communists, the evil, godless power that has sworn to destroy us; they "cry peace" when their kind of peace means the enslavement of people now fighting for freedom. I am sickened when a clergyman pronounces our effort in Vietnam sinful.

Do I use this pulpit for a cause unrelated to our Christian religion? Can the church long survive in a Socialist-Communist state? I have dedicated these latter days of my life to challenge Christians and the church we love to get back to being the church. The church as a political arm cannot save the Republic, but the church returning to her pilgrim character and functioning as the church of the living God, making evil men good and leading the lost to the cleansing of the redemptive cross, can still save society, our Nation, and our free way of life. (To be continued next week)

The State Department of Industrial Relations paid more than $1.6 million in unemployment insurance claims in October.

Rep. Buchanan Views Our Great Society

U.S. Rep. John Buchanan Jr. gave his version of "The Great Society" when he addressed a recent meeting of the Women for Constitutional Government at the Birmingham Country Club.

Rep. Buchanan told the group:

"I want to ask you today to dupport our great society, yes, we have a great society, a rich heritage as free Americans. But you, like me, do not support the newly legislated program of the "Great Society". Its trend is to overide our Constiution and state's rights. This district voted 70 per cent against Mr. Johnson in the election, showing our concern over his policies.

Americans for Constitutional Action, ACA, which believes in true constitutional government, graded freshmen congressmen on their voting records concerning the great society. Four of us, one from Mississippi and three from Alabama, were graded 100 per cent. But on these same issues, the Americans for Democratic Action, ADA, graded Me zero.

"The program of the great society tends toward socialism, and is not for the good of the country. Why should we try an experiment in Socialism when it has failed in every country where it has been tried? We should preserve our Judeo-Christian religious heritage, faith our political heritage of constitutional Government, our economic heritage of free and private enterprise, under which this country has prospered and been perserved, for we are truly the greatest nation the world has ever known.

"We need to oppose groups who use terror as a weapon. They have given this nation and the world a distorted image of the South. This is not good. When legislation comes up in Congress, we find we have very few friends voting with us. Many want to punish us. Take the voting Rights Act of 1965; it is unjust, discriminatory, punitive, and sets up a double standard. An illiterate person is allowed to vote here, but suppose he moves up North. Because he is illiterate, he would there become dis-enfranchised. This points up the injustice of this law. We need to fight such discrimination the way Chrisitians fight, the way Americans fight to combat our problems the way we know to be right-liberty under law.

"Recently, I offered a resolution asking Congress to reaffirm our belief in the 10th Amendment to the Constitution. This amendment guarantees states rights not specifically reserved to the Federal Government. It seems that Congress nowadays has turned this around to say all powers not specificially reserved to the states, should be given to the Federal Government.

"We need to strengthen our government by investigating groups who take the law into their own hands, resulting it incidents, such as the riot in Los Angeles. We must all start obeying the law, beginning with the President, on down.

"At the time Karl Marx lived, it seemed to him all right to advocate socialism for there was so much povety and oppression of theworking people. Today under our free enterprise system, our working class is the most prosperous in the world. We are living at a time when the Caucasian citizen has the world's highest standard of living. The Negro has the fourth highest standard in the world. The United States keeps producing surplus food and fiber. No other country can measure up to our standards for the average citizen. Socialist countries is and always has been a failure. The program of the Great Society is pure socialism and bad legislation. When I study a proposed bill, I analyze it by three standards: Is it morally right, is it constitutionally right is it best for our country? Iam working in Washington to preserve and conserve what I consider to be a great society in which I was fortunate enough to be born."

In keeping with the Thanksgiving theme the community service committee of the Pilot Club of Birmingham held a special program for the dinner meeting las week at the YWCA honoring agencies and institutions in the area sponsored by the club's projects.

A musical invocation, "The Lord's Prayer", was given by Miss Margaret Heath, president of the Pilot Club, accompanied by Mrs. June Goodman.

A story, "Memories of Thanksgiving", was given by Mrs. Harry Osborne.

Miss Vera Key, co-chariman of the community service committee, introduced the special guests who gave a brief resume of activities under their direction: Dr A. J. Viehman, medical director, YWCA Captain W.K. Matthews Spuperintendent Salavation Army Home and hospital Mrs. Dorothy Weiss, executive director, state girls training school; Mrs. Walker Madison, president of the Birmingham Girls Club.

A feature of the program was the presentation of checks to the honorees.

Miss Nell Sugg, Chairman of the community service committee had charge o f the program, assisted by committee members; Mrs. Grace Biyce Miss Martha Bunch, Mrs. Margaret Camp, Mrs. Lena Cavett Mrs. Katherine Davies, Mrs. Essie Westbrook, Mrs. Minnie Lee Dorrough, Mrs. Hattie Lee Gavin.

The average unemployment insurance payment by the State Department of Industrial Relations is $28.51.

Cont'd from page 1

us by our government, and economic in that the right to life necessarily carries with it the private property concept."

Mallick declared that the constitution and Bill of Rights as established were basically prohibitions against extended government.

"In the days when our federal government was established, it didn't have anything to give away except freedom. And in the absence of handouts and in the atmosphere of freedom, the people became self-reliant. With no contgolhovzghpgobvovvzhog creative activites, there were no deterrents to the invention and production of material goods. People, being free to keep what they produced or earned, had a greater incentive to produce. And produce they did, like no place else on earth."

But unfortunately, attitudes of many Americans are changing and many people are coming to believe that it is the proper role of government to fix wages and prices take care of the needy and generally look after the welfare of the citizens.

Calling attention to a survey recently made among high school studnets feel that consumers don't have much influence on prices and that price controls would'nt affect the average man's personal freedom; and that over half of those interviewed in one survey feel that owners of companies get too much compared with the employees, and believe in government ownership of some segments of industry and commerce, such as banks, railroads, utilities and steel companies."

Thus, said Mallick, it would

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still save society, our Nation, and our free way of life. (To be continued next week)

Miss Martha Bunch, Mrs. Margaret Camp, Mrs. Lena Cavett Mrs. Katherine Davies, Mrs. Essie Westbrook, Mrs. Minnie Lee Dorrough, Mrs. Hattie Lee Gavin.

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Thus, said Mallick, it would appear that it is the people, themselves, who are largely responsible for the increasing rold of government in what formerly were the private affairs of the free people.

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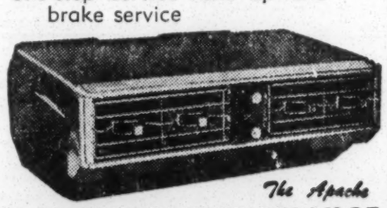
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Con't From Page 1

Mrs. Clifford Durr (Virginia), of Montgomery was another of the founding members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations:

Virginia Durr's Communist front affiliations include: Southern Conference for Human Welfare, vice president; Souther Conference Educational Fund, ember and vice chairman; National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, member of Committee; National Citizens Political Ation Committee and thers.

One of the goals of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is the smearing of local police forces. They spare no effort in the effort to ferrett out cases of "police brutality."

The "Rev." Elwanger, Rev. E. Herbert Oliver, and other members seek out persons in an effort to have them sign affidavits charging local police with acts of brutality. This past spring, members were given a number of these signed affidavits charging "police brutality" and asked to write letters to local papers, when possible, charging police with brutality.

The use of "front" organizations is an important part in the work of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. ACHR members devise cover names for their organization when pushing some particular political philosophy.

Former leader in the ACHR, Rev. Alfred Hobart, then pastor of the Unitarian Chruch, used such an operation in demanding that federal troops be sent to Birmingham. Hobart, and other ACHR members mailed signed telegrams to the President, the Attorney General, Mayor Boutwell, and Gov. George Wallace demanding that State Toopers (the ole meanies) be removed from Birmingham and replaced by the (more benovolent) U.S. Army.

The recent Selma march by a group of so called "Concerned White Citizens," ;ed by Elwanger, Kraus, and Ted Kilicke (the latter two men receive their salaries out of your pocekts) was another ACHR front operation. These gentlemen demonstrated support for King's invasion of our state by their march.

The January 7, 1965 Bulletin of the ACHR indicated that a strong membership drive was to be conducted this year.

The following persons were selected to head up the mebership drive: Peggy (mrs. John) Fuller, Birmingha; Father Brice Joyce and Phillip Huckaby, Florence; Dr. Ralph Lee, Huntsville; Rev. J. C. Wilson and Jerry Roden, Lee-Macon Counties; Mr. Gordon Decourdres, Talladega; Mrs. James Wood, Mobile; Mr. Moreland Smith and Mrs. A. W. West, Mont-

Persons unable to understand what Mizell really means are in need of mental therapy. Simply stated, Mizell's doubletalk means that these college chapters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will unite student revolutionaries and aid them in the overthrow of the exisiting social order.

The ACHR has already suceeded in establishing a student chapter at the University of Alabama. This operation posed no real problem with University President Frank Rose in the saddle. Ted Kilickie, a teacher in the art department is reported to be working with the University ACHR chapter. This is the same man who took part in the Selma march. Sources on the University Campus report that this group has "big plans" for the future.

The Alabama Committee to Preserve the Peace has in its files a large amount of information on the Alabama Council on Human Relations, including the membership list.

This information should be made available to the general public. The ACHR is a festering boil in the flesh of the State of Alabama. Only public exposure of the members, goals, and past actions of this outfit can remove this stigma. No state educator should be kept on the payroll if he is a member of this organization.

All parents should write the Alabama Committee to Preserve the Peace and ask for a membership list of the ACHR.

If your child's teacher is a member of this organization you have the right to demand his dismissal.

--Continued from P-4

Communist nations. Russia and Red China may spat between themselves over who is going to be 'top dog' in the Communist world; but, at the final countdown, neighter of them can hardly afford the luxury of letting fellow Communists go down in defeat to the U.S. or any freedom-type nation without a hard try.

It seems possible that our high government officials are just keeping the Vietnames war going in the hope that some miracle will bring Russia to its senses since Red China is conceded by many reasonable Western minds to be completely hopeless in this aspect. The hope is that Russiand the the U.S. can eventually team-up and put down Red China and the Communist in Southeast Asia.

This is probably the most wishful thinking of the 20th Century. No more than Red China can Russia afford to let a comrad-in-arms lose a war for "liberation" without exerting every

Continued from p-2

expressed our attitude and our position on Viet Nam.

Our position is that we must be in Viet Nam. We must be there to win, not merely to appease Communism or to contain it. We believe that some of these cries for Peace, etc., that they are using — are merely clouding the issue. Well, what are we going to do? Are we going to let the Communists take over Viet Nam as they mean to do, and as they certainly will if we leave? We are confronted with a situation of international power politics. On one side of Viet Nam is the International Communist conspiracy and on the other side is the United States of America. With us are many anti-Communist Asian allies.

Young Americans for Freedom believes that the United States should ask more of these Asian allies to participate in this thing: Korea, Free China, the Philippines and others. Let's take Chiang Kai-shek's forces, for instance. Our National YAF chairman, Tom Huston, has just finished a 21-day tour of Southeast Asia where he met many anti-Communist leaders, including Chiang Kai-shek, and discussed these things with them. And it's our position that we must win in Viet Nam, and we must stay there until we do win.

DEAN MANION: How strong is the Young Americans for Freedom Organization? I asked Cox, the California State Chairman, to explain this.

MR. COX: I think YAF has grown terrifically in the United States over the past several years. I think throughout the country we really have responsible, well-organized young people in great numbers. California is probably one of the most active States in the Union for Young Americans for Freedom, but New York is also very active. So are many of our chapters in the Midwest. Over-all, we've grown tremendously. We have well over 500 chapters all around the Nation.

The Students for a dEmocratic Society has only 30 or 40, but the thing to remember is that some of these chapters of the SDS are very well-organized and they are very well financed. Some of the budgets of these organizations, these Left Wing organizations are tremendous. I am informed that a year and a half ago the ultra-Left, along with the Communist Party itself, raised $300,000 in Los Angeles County alone to finance Left Wing causes and to finance their publication, "The People's World."

DEAN MANION: Personally, I have often wondered where all of this Left Wing money comes from. I ad ked Cox for his opinion.

know that there is such an active organization of patriotic young people which is striving to counter and oppose the Communist inspired organizations that have suddenly been spawned on the campuses of our American universities — particularly the big ones. These young patriots are fighting hard and effectively to keep our student bodies from being taken in and taken over by the pompous preachments and crocodile tears of the Intellectual Left Wing.

But, whereas, the Left Wingers have limitless resources, patriots like the Young Americans for Freedom are living and working on very short rations and under very severe handicaps. In most instances the official campus publications and campus radio stations are Socialist oriented and under the influence of Liberal faculty advisors who think that American patriotism is an atavistic vulgarity and that academic freedom should protest everything from filthy free speech to unlimited free love.

For many years American taxpayers and American philanthropists have made a fetish of education and demi-gods of eductors. If the big college campuses are to become breeding grounds for Socialist subversion, now would seem to be the time for the involved universities to make a moral accounting to the people of the United States.

FBI & Cops Net Pacifist

Murphy Dowouis, 24, a folk-singing pacifist from Louisiana, was outmaneuvered by FBI men and the cops yesterday. They intercepted him before what was to have been, for him, a shining hour.

Reporters, alerted that Dowduis was to give himself up to the FBI, with flourishes, on a charge of draft-dodging, stationed themselves in front of Catholic Worker Movement heaquarters at 175 Chrystie St. to await the big moment.

They Close In

But the FBI men wanted to avoid any chance of a pacifist demonstration.

They closed in on him a block and a half from the Catholic Worker headquarters, as he walked from his lodgings at 58 Kenmare St. The FBI men were accompanied by a couple of uniformed cops.

Dowouis went limp and was carried to a waiting auto which took him to the Federal Building in Foley Square.

There, he was held in $2,500 bail for hearing Nov. 24 on a move to remove him to Louisiana. Dowouis said he would not try to make bail and would not fight the removal proceedings.

SELMA is Bouncing Back!

and other ACHR members mailed signed telegrams to the President, the Attorney General, Mayor Boutwell, and Gov. George Wallace demanding that State Toopers (the ole meanies) be removed from Birmingham and replaced by the (more benovolent) U.S. Army.

The recent Selma march by a group of so called "Concerned White Citizens," ;ed by Elwanger, Kraus, and Ted Kilicke (the latter two men receive their salaries out of your pocekts) was another ACHR front operation. These gentlemen demonstrated support for King's invasion of our state by their march.

The January 7, 1965 Bulletin of the ACHR indicated that a strong membership drive was to be conducted this year.

The following persons were selected to head up the mebership drive: Peggy (mrs. John) Fuller, Birmingha; Father Brice Joyce and Phillip Huckaby, Florence; Dr. Ralph Lee, Huntsville; Rev. J. C. Wilson and Jerry Roden, Lee-Macon Counties; Mr. Gordon Decourdres, Talladega; Mrs. James Wood, Mobile; Mr. Moreland Smith and Mrs. A. W. West, Montgomery and Dr. Ray Fowler in Tuscaloosa. Virginia Durr is also actively recruiting new members for the ACHR.

The Jan. 7, 1965 Bulletin of the Alabama Council on Human Relations stressed the formation of "Student Human Relations Groups" on colleges campuses. An article by Hayes Mizell of Atlanta indicated that these college organizations would play an important part in future operations of the ACHR.

According to Mizell, these college chapter units would "be affiliated with the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The chapters would give radical students "an opportunity to meet other students of like mind so they can band together to solve problems." Mizell said that these chapters would also give students "an opportunity to broaden their horizons by holding state conferences where they can discover new ideas and new personalities, as well as learn new dimensions of old problems."

--Continued from P-4

Communist nations. Russia and Red China may spat between themselves over who is going to be 'top dog' in the Communist world; but, at the final countdown, neighter of them can hardly afford the luxury of letting fellow Communists go down in defeat to the U.S. or any freedom-type nation without a hard try.

It seems possible that our high government officials are just keeping the Vietnames war going in the hope that some miracle will bring Russia to its senses since Red China is conceded by many reasonable Western minds to be completely hopeless in this aspect. The hope is that Russiand the the U.S. can eventually team-up and put down Red China and the Communist in Southeast Asia.

This is probably the most wishful thinking of the 20th Century. No more than Red China can Russia afford to let a comrad-in-arms lose a war for "liberation" without exerting every effort to prevent it. For Russia to do this would be letting a fellow Communist country down; it would demoralize every Communist satellite, contemporary or potential. Further, Red China could seize upon such an action by Russia as a tremendous propaganda weapon to propel itself into No. I position in the Communist World.

The United States can allow this war to drag on for ten or more years (as some reports are now estimating it will do), hoping for a better day for negotiations, continuously losing American men and youth in a war being fought on the enemy's terms. At the end of such time, we may very well be brought up short to realize that Red China has had ample time to build up a nuclear delivery system which can be turned on her next door neighbor, Russia, or any part of Southeast Asia.

Therefore, unless we have the courage to see our duty and the boldness to carry it out, more and more South Viet Nams may be compelled ultimately to live in darkness rather than FREEDOM and INDEPENDENCE.

Most state employment service offices of the State Department of Industrial Relations maintain an active list of workers with special and unique skills.

With the exception of July, nonfarm employment in Alabama each month has been higher than for the previous period, said Governor George C. Wallace.

Current nonagricultural employment of 878,000 is a new high for Alabama, according to estimates by the State Department of Industrial Relations.

have responsible, well-organized young people in great numbers. California is probably one of the most active States in the Union for Young Americans for Freedom, but New York is also very active. So are many of our chapters in the Midwest. Over-all, we've grown tremendously. We have well over 500 chapters all around the Nation.

The Students for a dEmocratic Society has only 30 or 40, but the thing to remember is that some of these chapters of the SDS are very well-organized and they are very well financed. Some of the budgets of these organizations, these Left Wing organizations are tremendous. I am informed that a year and a half ago the ultra-Left, along with the Communist Party itself, raised $300,000 in Los Angeles County alone to finance Left Wing causes and to finance their publication, "The People's World."

DEAN MANION: Personally, I have often wondered where all of this Left Wing money comes from. I adked Cox for his opinion.

MR. COX: We too wonder sometimes just where this money comes from. I wouldn't venture a guess as to say specifically, but I am sure that it comes from many areas and many individuals who are not dedicated to the well-being of the United States of America.

DEAN MANION: That is all from Jack Cox, the dyxamic California President of Young Americans for Freedom. It is encouraging to

yesterday. They intercepted him before what was to have been, for him, a shining hour.

Reporters, alerted that Dowduis was to give himself up to the FBI, with flourishes, on a charge of draft-dodging, stationed themselves in front of Catholic Worker Movement heaquarters at 175 Chrystie St. to await the big moment.

They Close In

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Smoking Ban On At Plant

DENVER —A complete ban on smoking went into effect at Samsonite Corp. Monday. The United Rubber Workers Union filed a formal grievance.

Jesse Shwayder, chairman of the board, had "No Smoking" signs posted throughout the luggage company's offices and factory.

"I want it clearly understood by all employes that there will be no smoking on the premises and in the factory and cafeteria during working hours," Shwayder said. "This includes break and lunh periods."

Local 724 of the Rubber Workers, which represents 2,300 production employes, filed a grievance. Under the contract with the company, Samsonite will have five days to answer. If the petition is denied, the union can askfor arbitration.

Alabama unemployment is 3.0 per cent of the total civilian labor force. This rate is one of the lowest in the South and far below the national average, according to Governor George C. Wallace.

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Black Strike Effort Falters In Rhodesia

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A government official said the strike call went unheeded and a full work force turned out. Armed officers stationed themselves aboard buses, he said, to protect the workers from "agitators."

Ten Africans charged with hurling gasoline bottles at two factories were arrested Sunday night and the officers were reported rounding up other such activists.

No Immediate Reaction

There was no immediate

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You don't have to travel far to get the very finest in Christmas values. Local merchants this year are offering a marvelous array of gift ideas.

Nothing gladdens the appetite more than new food adventures starting with the holidays. You can give that enjoyment to the family with a two-in-one grill and waffle baker that comes to the dining table in sleek style. Everyone, including teenagers, will be able to plan parties around the versatile, portable unit. Decorative touches on the chrome-plated steel shell make it "at home" with formal or informal table settings.

Starting with a breakfast menu, the Teflon-coated grid surface is perfect for cooking bacon and eggs, pancakes and sausages—even French toast. For lunch or a light supper, hamburgers, chops, steaks and sandwiches come from the closed grill piping hot.

With the flick of a finger, the grids that form the cooking surface of the grill can be lifted up and reversed. Each grid has a flat, smooth grilling surface on one side and a waffle-patterned grid on the other side. The non-stick Teflon coating assures easy clean-up and prevents foods from sticking.

For teenagers who plan slumber parties, here are some waffle variations from the General Electric housewares kitchens: Blueberry—to a batter recipe for four waffles, add 1/4 teaspoon cinnamon and 1 cup fresh or thawed frozen blueberries sweetened to taste; Pecan — to dry ingredients, add 1 cup finely chopped pecans; Sundae Waffles—top hot waffles with ice cream and butterscotch sauce.

Another good idea is to freeze left-over waffles. Later reheat in a toaster!

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Ten Africans charged with hurling gasoline bottles at two factories were arrested Sunday night and the officers were reported rounding up other such activists.

No Immediate Reaction

There was no immediate reaction, meantime, to disclosures from London that Britain would send a Royal Air Force Zambia.

A government spokesman said Smith will appear on television Tuesday night and might comment on the British decision then.

(Smith was quoted in a German news magazine as saying he would not hesitate to order his forces to fire on British paratroopers if they were dropped into Rhodesia. "Anyone who enters this country without the right to come will see what happens to him," Der Spiegel quoted him as saying.

slumber parties, here are some waffle variations from the General Electric housewares kitchens: Blueberry—to a batter recipe for four waffles, add 1/4 teaspoon cinnamon and 1 cup fresh or thawed frozen blueberries sweetened to taste; Pecan — to dry ingredients, add 1 cup finely chopped pecans; Sundae Waffles—top hot waffles with ice cream and butterscotch sauce.

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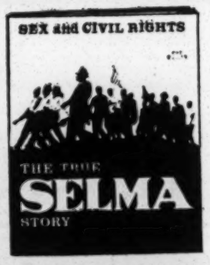

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Fairmont Foundry Co., McQueen Foundry & Supply Co., (Irondale), Bush Manufacturing Co., Production Supply Co., Lawlers Machine & Foundry, Dixie Pattern Works, T. H. Benners & Co.

HARDWARE & PAINTS
Morgan Rogers Paints, Western Auto (Tarrant), Western Auto Associate Store, (Alabaster)

HOTELS — MOTELS
Holiday Host, (Gadsden), Graystone Motel, (Selma), The Town House, Shangri-La Motel, (Tuscaloosa), Selma Motel, (Selma).

INSURANCE
The Connecticut Mutual, The Equitable Life Assurance Society, Travelers Insurance Co., Employers Insurance; Co., Doug Jinks Insurance Center (Bessemer), Bill Peeples Agency, Woodmen of the World Life Insurance (Columbiana)

LAWN MOWERS & BICYCLES
West End Mower & Cycle

LOAN COMPANIES
Interstate Mortgage & Leasing Corporation

MILK AND DAIRY PRODUCTS
Consolidated Dairies, Inc.

MOBILE HOMES
Farris Mobile Homes (Calera)

OFFICE EQUIPMENT
Slone Office Machine Co. (Selma), Southern Typewriter.

OPTOMETRISTS & OPTICIANS
Daniels Opticians

PEST CONTROL
ABC Pest Control, Abbott Termite Co., Dexter Pest Control.

PRINTING, PAPER & FRAMING
Alabama Paper Co., Inc., Alert Printing Co., (Hueytown), Dewberry Engraving, The Advance Co., Dunn Distributing Co., Coffee Printing, (Selma), Selma Printing Co., (Selma).

RECREATION & HOBBIES
Waters Theaters, Em El Ceramics, Bama Gardens & Beach,

RESTAURANTS
Jack's Hamburgers, (Alabaster), Johnnie Ray's, The Fox, E & L Country Kitchens, Mrs. Todd's, El Charro's, Plantation Inn Restaurant (Selma), Selma Del, (Selma), Greystone Restaurant, (Selma), (Pig Trail Inn, Gulas Restaurants, Billy Boy Drive In, (Gadsden), Mangolds Restaurant, (Selma).

SCHOOLS & CHURCHES
Southern Methodist Church of Birmingham, Dallas County Private School Foundation, (Selma), Sunny K. Aero Corp., Mrs. G. E. Ash Private School, Alliance Christian Day School, Alabama Academy

SERVICE STATIONS
Works Sinclair Service Station, J. C. Acton, American Service Station, (Helena), Bills Standard Service Station (Montevallo), Allen's Gulf Service, (Selma), Brasher's Service Station, Fargo Oil Company, (Anniston)

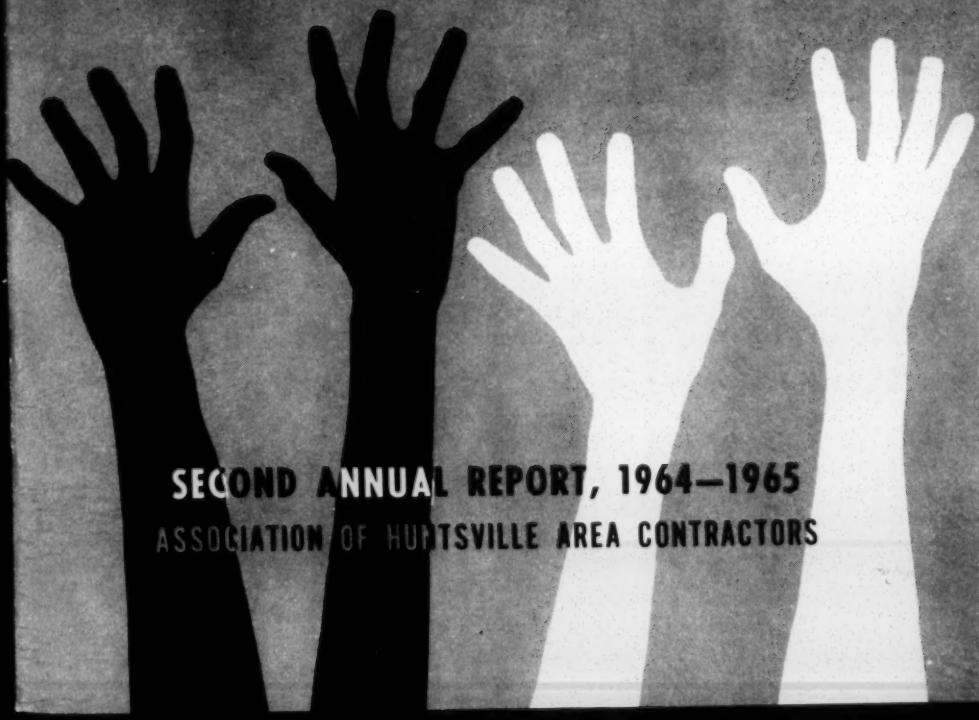
UNIFORM RENTAL
Howards Uniform Rental Service

MISCELLANEOUS:
Bruce Jones Oil Equipment, (Tuscaloosa), Tom Nelson Church Furniture, Birmingham Salvage Co., Faust Grocery, (Alabaster) Rosco's Super-SAVER, (Columbiana) Waste Disposal Service, Inc., Columbiana Quick Freeze, Harpersville Co-Op Grain Asso., (Harpersville), Shelby Gas Co., (Columbiana) Dyms Cab Co., (Columbiana), ABC Day Nursery, Sanders Truck Rental.

BETTER EDUCATION / BETTER JOBS / BETTER HOUSING

Ala. "Dope"

COMMUNITY GROWTH THROUGH A TOTAL RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM



SECOND ANNUAL REPORT, 1964—1965

ASSOCIATION OF HUNTSVILLE AREA CONTRACTORS

"Alabama Dope"

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama 35805

January 5, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Pat Watters

From : Bob Valder

Subject: Conditions in Alabama during the last quarter

POVERTY

October 1 — Dr. Raymond Christian, Superintendent of Huntsville City Schools, was informed by Senators Sparkman and Hill, and Representative Jones that the Huntsville City School System and the Limestone and Mobile County Boards of Education would be paid in full for Head Start projects they sponsored last summer. Funds had been withheld pending an investigation of alleged discrimination in the operation of these projects.

At last report--The Southern Courier of December 18-19--Selma has two anti-poverty committees, but no money or program. One is the Mayor's committee organized on November 2; the other was organized by Negro ministers in September. The Mayor has agreed to talk to Selma Negroes who come to him in "good faith."

Less than ten of Alabama's twenty-six anti-poverty districts have received grants to begin Community Action Programs.

POLITICS AND VOTING

October 2 — The ACHR sponsored a one-day conference in Montgomery on the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

October 22 — Governor Wallace lost his succession amendment by a vote of 18 state senators for and 14 against (two-thirds or 21 votes were needed as this was a constitutional amendment). Most persons credited the backers of former Governor Patterson, who is a candidate for governor again this year, with the defeat.

November 6-7 — The Alabama Democratic Conference, Inc. held its semi-annual convention in Mobile. Attorney General Flowers, a featured speaker, was warmly received by the predominately Negro audience of about 400. Attorney Orzell Billingsley, ADCI chairman, stressed the need to remove the white supremacy trademark from the official emblem of the Alabama Democratic Party.

November 21 — In a dispute between Senator Sparkman and U. S. Representative James Martin of Gadsden over whether or not the new rent subsidy law will help integrate neighborhoods, Sparkman claims it won't. The Birmingham News on 11-21-65 said, "Local FHA offices have veto over loans for projects which might be integrated, he (Sparkman) says. Sparkman says this is a safeguard he wrote into the bill."

December 15 — SNCC announced plans for a new party, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization to be known as the "Black Panther" party. Rufus Lewis, Montgomery Negro long active in voter registration and political action, opposed such a move because it might divide rather than unite Negro voters. Richmond Flowers said on December 16, the third party movement will fail if the "white supremacy" emblem is removed.

Former U. S. Congressman Elliott has announced his candidacy for governor; former Revenue Commissioner, Attorney Guy Sparks of Anniston, is an unannounced candidate for Attorney General; Flowers may run for governor. All are considered moderates or liberals--Elliott's chances are dim (especially if Flowers runs); Sparks' chances are said to be good; Flowers' chances are not excellent.

Birmingham elections--see enclosed clipping of editorial.

Speculation over Wallace's future plans still runs rampant. He may (1) run for Senator Sparkman's post, or (2) run his wife, Lurleen, for governor, in which case he would become top advisor to the governor, or (3) run for the U. S. House, thereby keeping his machinery oiled for future campaigns including the U. S. presidency, or (4) temporary retirement. In mid-November, a Third Party for America was announced; its avowed purpose is to get Wallace elected president in 1968.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

October 25 — Attorney General Katzenbach announced that the Department of Justice would cooperate in a move against exclusion of Negroes from Southern juries. The Department intervened in a case brought by five Lowndes County Negroes who said they have been systematically excluded from jury duty.

November 5 — Seven organizations announced plans from Atlanta for demonstrations in Alabama protesting "segregated justice" and calling for additional Federal action and legislation against it. (The protests were sporadic, almost from the start--some civil rights workers and leaders have expressed doubt about the wisdom and timing of these protests).

Dec. 2 Hubert Damon Strange was sentenced to 10 years in jail on a second degree murder chage by an Anniston jury for the killing of Willie Brewster. (I don't believe it was reported in the papers but I know for a fact that some whites, KKK members or NSRP members perhaps, were ready to tear Anniston up--they were assuming a not guilty verdict. They had much dynamite, ammunition, etc., etc. ready. Their preparations were prompted in part because they knew SCLC was all set to come into Anniston with demonstrations protesting segregated justice. And SCLC was all set for massive demonstrations.

Dec. 3 Collie Leroy Wilkins, Eugene Thomas and William Orville Eaton were convicted of criminal conspiracy and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

Dec. 10 William Stanley Hoggle, Namon O'Neal Hoggle and Elmer Cook were acquited of the murder of the Rev. James Reeb.

AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE ELECTIONS

Nov. 12 Following a months long campaign by SNCC the returns from the ASCS elections showed: (1) one community committee in Lowndes County was all Negro and three other such committees there had Negro alternate members; (2) twelve regular or alternate Negro members on community committees in Wilcox County; (3) one alternate Negro community committee member in Greene County. Many cases of intimidation, economic reprisals and violence occured which may help to explain why so few Negroes were elected to positions in counties where the number of eligible Negro voters for this election is very high.

INDUSTRY

Nov. 8 Sources said that the MacMillan, Bloedel and Powell River Limited of Vancouver, British Columbia will begin construction soon on a new $60 million paper plant in Wilcox County.

Nov. 30 Gov. Wallace speaking to the annual meeting of the Dallas County Citizens Council (1) threatened to expel students attending state-supported colleges and universities who protested U.S. policies in Vietnam and (2) announced that the Hammermill Paper Co. will make Selma its southern regional headquarters, thus bringing many millions of dollars into Atlanta.

CONDITIONS IN GENERAL

CONDITIONS IN GENERAL

Ed - I had to use this somewhere

Oct. 2 — Winton M. Blount, chairman of the Montgomery City Commissioners' Committees (plural because there is a Negro committee and a white committee which, when considered together, are referred to as "Montgomery's bi-racial committee"--thus Montgomery is probably unique in that it has a segregated, bi-racial committee) on Community Affairs wired Attorney General Katzenbahh that the sending of Federal examiners to Montgomery County would "set back the true and deserved progress of the Negroes of this community." He later called the action "undeserved," "outrageous" and "an insult to the citizens of this county."

Mid-Oct. — Bernard De Turenne, head of public relations for the Montgomery United Appeal, said that seven agencies who have not signed statements of non-discrimination will be given money from the United Appeal's reserve funds. This money will be equal to the money received by the other twenty agencies who have signed such statements. Funds to the twenty agencies will come in part from money reaked from federal employes and military personnel.

Oct. 6 — In Birmingham a driver for a white ambulance company refused to help a Negro who had been critically injured in an accident. The injured man died while being taken to a hospital by a Negro ambulance which arrived 15 to 20 minutes after the first ambulance left. The driver was later dismissed from his job.

After months of effort and meetings the city of Birmingham still has no Negro on its police force.

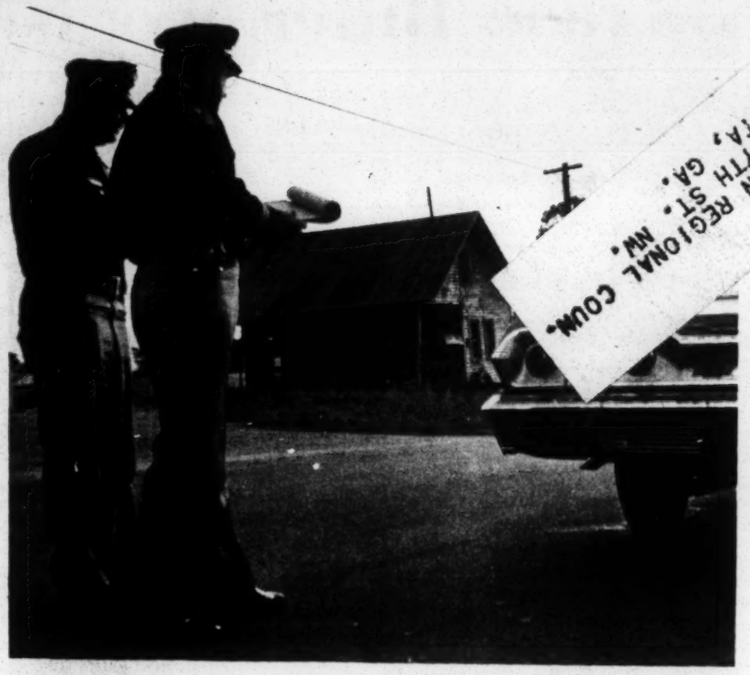
A new $1 million H. Councill Tranholm state vocational school will soon open in Montgomery. According to the principal of the new school and the director of the state division of vocational education, J. F. Ingram, it is intended for Negroes. John M. Patterson Sc-hool which is almost all white is filled to capacity says Ingram so it is logical to build a second school as good as the Patterson school. (It might be noted that the names of the schools are for a former governor--white--and a former college president of Alabama State College--Negro.

SAMPLE COPY

Ala-Dope

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, No. 5 | Weekend Edition: January 29-30, 1966 | TEN CENTS



STATE TROOPERS INSPECT THE DEAD MAN'S CAR AT THE PLACE WHERE DAVID COLSTON WAS SHOT DOWN SUNDAY IN FRONT OF A CAMDEN CHURCH.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUN.
52 FORSYTH ST. NW.
ATLANTA, GA.

All Quiet in Camden After Negro Killed, White Man Arrested

BY EDWARD M. RUDD

CAMDEN--A violent killing that brought angered Negroes to the streets shattered the quiet of a Sunday afternoon here.

Within 24 hours, however, leaders had called off further protest marches saying the sheriff had done all he could.

Early last Sunday afternoon a 40-year-old Negro slowly drew up to the curb at Antioch Baptist Church where people were waiting for a funeral to start, and was shot to death by a white man.

David Colston, a carpenter and father of a 13-year-old boy, was shot through the head a few moments after he stepped out of his car to see whether James T. Reaves, the driver of the car behind, had hit and dented the car.

"Reaves held his hand up--I knew then that he had fired the shot," said Colston's widow.

"My husband slumped to the ground, and didn't say another word."

Although Colston had been one of the first Negroes to run in the ASCS farm elections last fall, he was not a man who would have been singled out as a civil

In This Week's Southern Courier

Negro Leaders Reveal How They Worked Strategy With Democrats

BY ROBERT E. SMITH AND STEPHEN E. COTTON

Negro political leaders admitted this week that they are not sure where they would have gone if the Democratic Party had rejected their latest demands to abolish the "white supremacy" label.

Members of the Alabama Democratic Conference, Inc., a mainly Negro political action group, revealed how they "put it on the line" to "loyalist" Democrats: get rid of the rooster or forget about the Negro vote.

What was never "put on the line" was just what Negro voters would have done if the "white supremacy" party slogan had stayed. "It was sort of a gamble," admitted James Kolb, ADCI delegate from Crenshaw County and one of a dozen Negroes to attend a secret meeting with Democratic loyalists last month.

"Negroes actually did not want to leave the Democratic Party," said Kolb this week. "If the white supremacy label had been kept, there was the threat of a third party, a few votes might have gone Republican, some would have stayed home. . . ."

But the Democratic Conference leaders never had a concrete plan in mind--except for their long-standing public vow to get rid of the "white supremacy" line.

"I don't believe in burning your brains before you have to," said Orzell Billingsley Jr., of Birmingham, conference chairman.

Some Alabama Democratic Conference members, notably Arthur Shores of the Jefferson County Progressive Democratic Conference, thought that Negroes should vote Democratic, label or no label. And, according to another ADCI member, Shores was ready to assure the loyalists of this.

The loyalist members from Jefferson County got together before Christmas with Negro political leaders in the county and heard the Negroes' complaints. At the end of the meeting, it was decided to call a larger gathering of a dozen loyalist Democrats and an equal number of influential Negro leaders from around

PARTY 'LOYALISTS' ERASE WHITE SUPREMACY TAG

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

BIRMINGHAM--"This is something like a sore tooth," a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee warned his colleagues last Saturday. "It hurts when you get it removed, but removed it must be."

Eleven minutes later the operation was over. Gone were the words "white supremacy" from the old party motto, "White Supremacy For The Right."

The party's official emblem still bears the traditional Rooster, but now its slogan is "Democrats for the Right."

There were 170,000 reasons for giving the 62-year-old bird something new to crow about; that's how many Negroes are expected to register in Alabama in time for the general election in November.

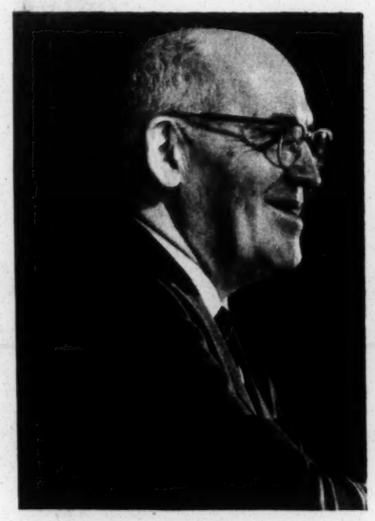
Leaders of the Alabama Democratic Conference, a state-wide Negro political organization, had threatened to campaign against all Democratic candidates unless the label was changed.

And even without massive Negro opposition, many Democratic candidates would have an uphill fight against Republicans.

"We can not afford to take a stick and run off 150,000 to 170,000 people who might vote for us," argued Charles McKay of Sylacauga, who made the motion to change the label.

It was a battle between "loyalist" Democrats, who support the national Democratic Party, and "states rights" Democrats, who support Governor George Wallace and oppose the national party leadership.

A majority of the committee mem-



ROY MAYHALL
Democratic Committee Chairman

ORZELL BILLINGSLEY JR.
Democratic Conference Chairman

Tuskegee Council Passes Local Desegregation Law

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Near the end of an explosive meeting in a jammed courtroom, the city council this week passed a strongly worded ordinance outlawing segregation in public places.

The vote was 5 to 1.

tion, or punishment--to segregate a public place. Violators may be fined not more than $100 and jailed for not more than 90 days.

The ordinance will take effect in the city and its police jurisdiction around Mar. 1, 30 days after publication.

Negro leaders from Tuskegee Insti

After Negro Killed, White Man Arrested

BY EDWARD M. RUDD

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Although Colston had been one of the first Negroes to run in the ASCS farm elections last fall, he was not a man who would have been singled out as a civil rights leader.

The mayor of Camden was lying in bed recovering from a week in the hospital when he heard the news.

"It was something we had fought and hoped wouldn't come about," said Mayor Reginald Albritton. "It came at the most unexpected time and place."

Barely two hours after the shooting many of the people at the funeral were facing Mayor Albritton and 20 armed police in the street outside the church. The policemen were armed with high-powered, automatic carbines and sawed-off shotguns.

The mayor was not going to let the 100 Negro men and women march downtown.

"The only way you're going to march down there is with the federal government leading it," he told the march leaders angrily.

It wasn't the first time Albritton had faced marchers in Camden. Last spring, at the time of the Selma marches, he had permitted large daily marches of Camden school children. But on this day he wasn't going to let them march.

"I didn't know the situation," said Mayor Albritton later. "Nobody else did. It was so unexpected--I just wanted time."

Negroes went home angry that night.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 5)

In This Week's Southern Courier

A MOBILE MAN WHO WAS 'DROWNED' ONCE AND SHIPWRECKED TWICE IN A SINGLE WEEK, WHO SAVED A SHIPMATE FROM A MONSTROUS SHARK, AND HAS HAD AS MUCH EXCITEMENT SINCE THEN ON LAND. See Page Four.

HOW DOES A RADIO STATION OPERATE, FROM THE TIME THE DISC JOCKEY SELECTS A RECORD TO THE TIME YOU HEAR IT OVER THE AIR? See Page Three.

GOVERNOR WALLACE WRITES A LETTER ABOUT VOTING. See Page Two.

FIFTY POUNDS OF FISH LEAD TO A PRE-SCHOOL NURSERY FOR MACON COUNTY YOUNGSTERS. See Page Five.

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It was a battle between "loyalist" Democrats, who support the national Democratic Party, and "states rights" Democrats, who support Governor George Wallace and oppose the national party leadership.

A majority of the committee members agreed that Negro voters may be important in the next election. But just to play safe, they shouted through a resolution for a secret ballot on McKay's motion.

States righters on the committee were enraged.

"Any member of this committee who isn't willing to show the people of this state how he stands on the nigger question isn't fit to serve on this committee," bellowed Leonard Wilson executive secretary of the Citizens Council of Alabama.

The states rights members did manage to have one roll call vote. It appealed the decision to have the final vote by secret ballot.

The roll call was the decisive test on the whole issue, and the states rights forces lost it, 39-32. But they kept

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 3)

ROY MAYHALL
Democratic Committee Chairman

ORZELL BILLINGSLEY JR.
Democratic Conference Chairman

Tuskegee Council Passes Local Desegregation Law

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--Near the end of an explosive meeting in a jammed courtroom, the city council this week passed a strongly worded ordinance outlawing segregation in public places.

The vote was 5 to 1.

Both Negro councilmen, two of the three white councilmen, and Mayor Charles M. Keever voted for the controversial law. Only John Sides voted against it.

"All persons shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of any place of public accommodation ... without discrimination or segregation on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin," the ordinance declares.

It defines as public places all entertainment and recreational areas, restaurants, gas stations, and bus terminals; hospitals, nursing homes, and similar facilities; and commercial lodgings except for homes which are also small boarding houses.

The ordinance outlaws any effort--direct or indirect, by denial, intimidation, or punishment--to segregate a public place. Violators may be fined not more than $100 and jailed for not more than 90 days.

The ordinance will take effect in the city and its police jurisdiction around Mar. 1, 30 days after publication.

Negro leaders from Tuskegee Institute demanded a city desegregation law after the murder of Samuel L. Younge, a student civil rights leader, early this month. Local whites opposed the idea at a council meeting two weeks ago.

But the council had evidently worked out an agreement with both sides in marathon private sessions. At Tuesday night's open meeting, the ordinance passed without public discussion or protest.

In fact, by the time it came up for consideration, the ordinance was almost an anti-climax.

From start to finish, the hour-long council meeting simmered with tension and disorder. Several councilmen lost their tempers. Angry spectators sometimes outshouted the mayor. Many of the 150 visitors applauded their friends and jeered their opponents.

A petition signed by more than 200 Tuskegee residents warned that "certain recent events....will lead to breakdown of law and order in the community."

The signers requested fair enforcement of the laws for governing public demonstrations "against all persons, regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin."

The petition was apparently aimed at limiting student demonstrations.

Groups of students have marched or

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 1)

of a third party, a few votes might have gone Republican, some would have stayed home. . . ."

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The loyalist members from Jefferson County got together before Christmas with Negro political leaders in the county and heard the Negroes' complaints. At the end of the meeting, it was decided to call a larger gathering of a dozen loyalist Democrats and an equal number of influential Negro leaders from around the state.

After that closed meeting--held two weeks later in the plush Parliament House Motor Hotel in Birmingham--Democratic Party loyalists were convinced that the "white supremacy" label had to go if the party hoped to win over the 170,000 to 200,000 Negroes who are expected to be qualified to vote in Alabama.

Judge Roy Mayhall, chairman of the state Democratic executive committee, presided at the meeting, at which the Negroes were asked about the attitudes of their people about the label.

The Negro leaders argued that colored people would not vote under the white supremacy label.

Billingsley, in an earlier letter to all 172 members of the executive committee, had called the slogan "insulting and slanderous, offensive and vicious."

But his only threat of a revolt by Negro voters was to say, as he said publicly in Mobile last fall, "Our war on this white supremacy label might have to be carried into the general election of 1966.

Some white Democrats asked the Democratic Conference people to vote under the "white supremacy" label one more year. ADCI leaders silenced their members who were inclined to go along with that. The leaders had decided not to

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 1)

'What County Are You From, Sir?'

Farm Folks Full of Questions

FARMERS WANT TO LEARN FROM GOVERNMENT AGENTS HOW TO BENEFIT FROM PROGRAMS FOR POOR PEOPLE

BY GAIL FALK

MONTGOMERY--"I'm losing a day's work because I want to find out how I can get down here what they got up there. They crowd my mailbox up telling me about the programs the government's got, but if I go down to the post office and ask the man how I can get some of those programs, that man's not gonna tell me nuthin' because my skin is black."

Eugene Hardy from Autauga County and about 300 other people from rural areas of the state had this problem on their minds when they came to Montgomery last weekend for a "Statewide Conference on Governmental Anti-poverty and Other Programs to Aid Low-Income Rural People."

They listened while state and federal officials of the Farmers Home Administration (FHA), Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS), Federal Extension Service, Farmers Cooperative Service and Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) told the two-day meeting about government programs that could help farmers.

And then they started to ask questions.

"The Negro still doesn't have any representation on the ASCS committees in my area," said a Black Belt farmer. "I want to know how we can get some Negroes on the ballot."

"It is now mandatory," answered an ASCS representative, "to have the same percentage of Negro candidates on ASCS ballots as there are Negro farmers in the county."

"And you can put the name of anyone you want on that ballot," he said, "if you have a petition signed by six people."

"What county are you from, sir?" Ernest Essex, head of a vegetable coop-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4, Col. 3)

Eye-Witnesses Give Account

CAMDEN--Eye-witnesses gave this account of the shooting here:

About 2:00 p.m., David Colston's car arrived in front of the Antioch Baptist Church on State Route 11. Colston was driving, his wife Cassie sat beside him. Three relatives rode in the back seat.

Colston pulled to the curb to park, and the left rear corner of his car was hit lightly from behind by another car.

The sheriff later identified the driver of the other car as James T. Reaves, 46, a Wilcox County farmer. He was alone in the car.

Colston stopped, and Reaves drove up alongside. Both men rolled down their windows and asked each other what had happened.

Colston got out of his car, walked to the rear and bent over to look at his bumper. Finding no damage, he walked forward between the cars and spoke to Reaves through the righthand window of Reaves' car.

According to the same witness, Reaves asked, "What are you hunting, trouble?"

"No, I just wanted to see what damage done to my car." Colston answered.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col 5)

Barbour Anti-Poverty Planners Told, 'Can't Do Without Them'

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

COMER -- "You have to have them because you can't get a Barbour County poverty program without them," B. D. Mayberry told the monthly PTA meeting at all-Negro Comer Vocational High School.

Then Mayberry, dean of Tuskegee Institute's agriculture school and a planner of several anti-poverty programs, turned around and pointed.

Everybody looked at three men sitting behind him on the stage. They happened to be the only three white men in the big, cold high school auditorium.

They were Raymond E. Faught, superintendent of Barbour County schools; John M. Dismukes, chairman of the county Board of Revenue; and Charlie Weston, chairman of the anti-poverty program for Barbour, Henry, and Dale counties.

They all looked just a little startled.

"The federal government puts up 90 per cent of the money for your projects, but you have to put up ten per cent. Where are you going to get it? You can't--not without their help," Mayberry continued.

"If you ask them, they'll participate. They probably promised it when they were running for office."

The three men smiled three separate smiles without showing any teeth at all.

"There is no such thing as an honest, sincere government that will not participate in a poverty program," Mayberry said. "Because if it does, everybody wins."

The county officials looked solemn. After Mayberry sat down, Superintendent Faught stood up. He smiled benevolently at his audience of 100, mostly farmers.

"I like to work with people in rural sections," he said. "Most progress in any country or for any people is derived from the soil."

"Maybe we haven't solved our problems, but we hope to take advantage of the poverty program just as fast as we can qualify for the money." Then he sat down.

"Everything is going to work out mighty well," Dismukes promised. "Anything the Board of Revenue can do to help, we will."

"The best friend the Negro race has

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

THE SOUTHERN COURIER is published weekly by a non-profit, non-share education corporation, for the study and dissemination of accurate information about events and affairs in the field of human relations.

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Editor: Robert E. Smith
Executive Editor: Gail Falk
Photography Editor: James H. Peppler
Lay-out Editor: Amy Peppler

Vol. II, No. 5 Jan. 29-30, 1966

Editorial Opinion

The Antique

That roar you heard this week was from Birmingham officials after the Department of Justice sent federal voting examiners there.

Jefferson County registrars claim that they have been available at their scheduled times to register anyone who came along. In addition, they say there have been times when no one came along.

Any Negro knows why federal examiners are necessary. He knows of the constant doubt at the court house over whether he has done everything properly and indeed whether he is truly qualified to vote once he leaves the local registrars' office.

But beyond that, there is a mechanical reason for federal examiners. At their present pace, the registrars could never register all the people who want to vote in the May primary election.

The system of voter registration in Alabama, as in just about every other state, is an antique in an age of computers and rapid communications.

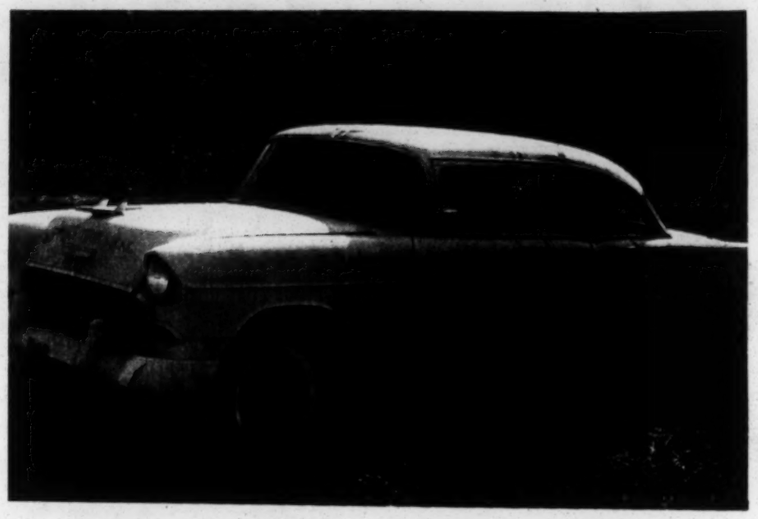
Voting is so important that all citizens ought to be able to vote at a time when they are not at work, at a place they can easily reach and in a way that takes only a few seconds.

Since August, 200 white people have gone to federal examiners to qualify to vote. Most of them were college students who found the local registrars closed whenever they were home. The others were workers who could not leave their jobs to register during the day. They went to the federal examiners after 5 p.m. or on Saturdays.

Local registration officials should view the Voting Rights Act of 1965 as more than a crash program to register every Negro in sight. It could be used to speed up and simplify the system of registering all citizens.

Instead of bellyaching about federal invasions and the loss of free elections, whites should see to it that citizens of both races take advantage of the presence of federal examiners in their county.

Instead of competing to claim credit for getting federal examiners, Negro leaders must make sure that the examiners are kept busy day and night.



Which Side Are You On ?

If you happen to collect painted cars, you can take your pick. The one above, which says on the right side HELP GET U.S. OUT OF U.N. and on the front SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE, is on the side of the road north of Mobile. The car below has been used to taxi people to federal examiners at the Post Office in Montgomery. Besides attracting attention, painting old cars is a way to defy President Johnson's policies against auto junkyards and against highway billboards.

On Civil Rights Work:

Episcopal Churchmen Trade Bitter Words

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

BIRMINGHAM--The Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Alabama said last week that normal growth of the church in 1965 was "seriously interrupted" by outside Episcopalians who came to the state for civil rights activities.

Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter's remarks, made in his annual report to the church's state convention here, were aimed at, among others, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU), a group of Episcopal clergymen and laymen based in Atlanta.

The group attempts to reform the church so that it abides by its code of racial equality.

Just days before the bishop's charges, ESCRU voted to write a detailed report of what it calls "the church's failure in Alabama."

ESCRU's executive director, the Rev. John B. Morris, this week called Bishop Carpenter "a chaplain to the dying order of the confederacy."

This name-calling among the Episcopal church people has gone on since ESCRU rounded up 500 Episcopal ministers for the Selma-to-Montgomery march.

Bishop Carpenter said last week, "Our normal growth in accordance with the tenor of the times was seriously interrupted by the crowd of visitors whose presence, motivated by various objectives, caused us much difficulty and brought unwarranted confusion and tragic consequences."

He told the "unwanted interlopers" to go back where they came from.

Mr. Morris quarrels with the bishop on four points:

Bishop Carpenter has supported the right of church ushers in white churches to seat Negro visitors in rear pews.

The Bishop has not licensed ESCRU's Rev. Francis Walter since he began work with the Selma Interreligious Project, a civil rights effort.

The Bishop has not attempted to combine Negro and white parishes in four cities in the diocese.

Bishop Carpenter has not commented on the refusal of the white Church of the Good Shepherd in Mobile to admit Negroes and on the killing of Jonathan M. Daniels, an Episcopal student and ESCRU member in Hayneville last August.

The day before Bishop Carpenter's speech last week, the guest speaker at the convention was the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, the Right Rev. John E. Hines. Bishop Hines was one of the clergymen who came to Alabama for the Selma-to-Montgomery march last year.

At the convention Bishop Hines urged the church to "confront the current dilemmas with courage, humility and zeal."

He said that the church should be ashamed of "the silence of Christ's people in this day of revolution."

Williams Fined

BIRMINGHAM -- Hosea Williams, leader of SCLC's voter registration demonstrations here, was found guilty of reckless driving in Recorder's Court Monday night.

He was fined $100 and given a 30-day suspended sentenced.

Marches Cease In Hattiesburg

BY DAVID EMMONS

HATTIESBURG, Miss.--A bulldozer has begun to clear away the remains of the burned-out home of Vernon Dahmer, the NAACP local voter registration chairman who died when fire destroyed his home and grocery store Jan. 9.

His daughter Betty, 10, remains hospitalized.

Police still have found no suspect in what they said was a deliberate fire

Federal Judge Orders Macon To Desegregate its Jury Lists

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--The Macon County Jury Commission was keeping its plans to itself after a federal court order to desegregate--completely and immediately--the county jury rolls.

U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. last week found the jury commission guilty of discrimination against

Judge Johnson's injunction is the first court decision outlawing general racial discrimination in the selection of Alabama juries. Similar suits have been filed in several counties.

Because Negroes outnumber whites in Macon County by more than four to one, the ruling is almost certain to produce Alabama's first jury with more

that Alabama law requires them to maintain a jury roll containing the name of every qualified male citizen and also to place the names on separate cards in a jury box. Names of jurors are drawn from the box at the start of each term of court.

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Spread the Word

In a letter that cost taxpayers of both races $3,300, Governor Wallace sent a message to the state's 600,000 white school children.

The Governor's message is a timely and important one for the parents of all children--Negro and white--and so we reprint it here.

Dear Student:

It is a great privilege to help protect our nation and our freedoms by voting.

Please ask members of your family 21 years of age or older if they are registered to vote and if they have paid their poll tax.

In order to vote this year a citizen must be registered and must have paid his poll tax. Would you please take this message home to your parents.

Sincerely yours,

George C. Wallace
Governor

Political Meeting

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

hint at any compromise.

"We made a power play and we won it," said one Negro political leader.

Negro leaders urged the loyalists to speak out against the "white supremacy" label "as Richmond Flowers has done."

"There were eight or ten gulps in the room," said a person in attendance, "and they went on as if they never heard the question."

In any case, the stage was now set for the meeting of the white state executive committee of the Democratic Party last Saturday in Birmingham.

As late as Saturday morning, newspaper stories said that the label would not be removed, and Governor George C. Wallace must have thought he had enough votes in the committee to keep it.

Wallace went to Birmingham last weekend, but he soon got wind of the loyalists' determination, and he never attempted to put his own prestige on the line with a personal appearance before the executive committee.

Mayhall was in charge of this meeting, as well; he saw to it that the vote was short and sweet--and victorious for the loyalists.

One threat the white Democrats felt was "that third party down in the Black Belt."

The Alabama Democratic Conference people never played down the threat but privately they thought it would attract only a few votes away from a "white supremacy" Democratic Party.

But Stokely Carmichael of SNCC said, "I contend that if Lowndes County had not put up a black panther, the question of the white rooster would never have come up."

TUSKEGEE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

picketed downtown almost daily since Younge's death.

But Miss Gwendolyn Patton, Tuskegee Institute student body president, suggested that "persons who carry guns and taunt demonstrators are the real source of danger." She asked the council to outlaw deadly weapons in the downtown area during demonstrations.

Council members said that they would have to study the request and angrily refused to give a date for their answer.

Paul L. Puryear, a professor and co-chairman of the faculty-based Ad Hoc Committee for Justice in Macon County, presented detailed proposals to oust the commissioner of public safety and create a civilian review board to oversee the police department.

Councilman Stanley Smith, a Negro, instantly rose to denounce the suggestion as "premature."

He revealed that the council had voted unanimously to ask the federal Community Relations Service to study the police department and "recommend improvement." The council tabled both Ad Hoc Committee proposals until after the Community Relations Service study is completed.

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Police still have found no suspect in what they said was a deliberate fire bombing of the Dahmer home.

The Hattiesburg Chamber of Commerce raised money to build a new house on the site, and the Delta Ministry, a Mississippi civil rights group, collected funds for the education of the Dahmer children. The NAACP raised money, as well.

Dahmer's death brought Charles Evers, state field secretary of the NAACP, to Hattiesburg to lead a drive for concessions from local businesses and the city government, much as he did in Natchez last fall.

But after a week of nightly marches and mass meetings, Evers left town and what was once called "Evers' army" dwindled in size.

Evers' departure left J.C. Fairley, local NAACP president, in charge as leader. People began drifting away from the cause and Fairley called off the nightly marches after city officials agreed to meet with NAACP officials this week and talk about a list of demands.

Federal Judge Orders Macon To Desegregate its Jury Lists

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--The Macon County Jury Commission was keeping its plans to itself after a federal court order to desegregate--completely and immediately--the county jury rolls.

U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. last week found the jury commission guilty of discrimination against Negroes.

He declared the present method of selecting jurors "illegal and violative of the Constitutional rights . . . of Negro citizens of Macon County."

The judge found that the county jury list contained the names of "almost all eligible whites," but only one of every ten eligible Negroes.

He ordered the jury commission to throw out the list and make a new one within 30 days. He directed the commission to refill the jury box before the spring term of court.

In making the new list and refilling the box, the commissioners were enjoined from any action "which involves or results in discrimination by reason of race or color in the selection of jurors."

Although the order takes effect immediately, the commissioners have until Feb. 17 to appeal. Edgar T. Johnson, chairman of the jury commission, said the group would meet "soon" to decide whether to appeal or to comply.

Judge Johnson's injunction is the first court decision outlawing general racial discrimination in the selection of Alabama juries. Similar suits have been filed in several counties.

Because Negroes outnumber whites in Macon County by more than four to one, the ruling is almost certain to produce Alabama's first jury with more than token Negro membership.

The spring grand jury will meet April 18. Among the cases it will consider is that of Marvin Segrest, a white service station attendant charged with murdering Samuel L. Younge, a civil rights worker and Tuskegee Institute student.

Judge Johnson ruled against the jury commission on a civil suit filed 18 months ago by William O. Mitchell, executive secretary of the Tuskegee Civic Association, and other TCA members.

Johnson cited the "wide disproportions between the number of qualified Negroes placed on the jury rolls and in the jury box" as sufficient evidence that the Tuskegee citizens' constitutional rights had been denied.

He reminded the jury commissioners that Alabama law requires them to maintain a jury roll containing the name of every qualified male citizen and also to place the names on separate cards in a jury box. Names of jurors are drawn from the box at the start of each term of court.

Under Johnson's order, the jury commission clerk must use the current voters list, tax assessors' list and telephone directory to make a full jury list. The jury commissioners must then meet regularly to select names from the full list for the jury roll.

In selecting names, Johnson said, the commissioners may apply such state qualifications for jury service as "good character" and ability to read English. But he warned that the requirements "must be imposed fairly and objectively . . . . regardless of race."

"The qualified Negro citizen," he wrote, "has a right not to be denied participation in the democratic institutions by which all citizens become most directly involved in the administration of justice."

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I wish you could visit the Mobile General Hospital. The patients out there are treated just like animals. Those nurses treat the patients just like dogs and hogs.

Some have had serious operations and are in serious pain. They call for the nurses, and the nurses ignore them. Those colored people are suffering because they are not getting any attention.

The visitors go to get the nurses and they laugh at them. All the nurses for the colored do that.

The patients don't get attention at all at night. They just have to suffer until the next day. It is just regular slaughter pen at the General Hospital.

The manager must not know anything. They don't seem to have any inspector there. It needs to be closed down or someone take over that will treat all patients alike.

The clinic down there is just a devils den. You can go down there at 7 a.m. and it will be 4 p.m. before you see a doctor and you're still treated like a hog. They put all the peckerwoods ahead of the colored. That is all right. We're going to work on it.

If it isn't straightened out, it will be bent very badly. You talk about segregation--but General Hospital is very segregated.

(Name withheld)
Mobile General Hospital
Mobile

* * * *

To the Editor:

A magazine was placed on the stands some months ago called "The True Selma Story," which was supposedly written by one Albert C. (Buck) Persons of Birmingham, Alabama. To date I have not been able to find out who Mr. Persons is.

The only reputation which is given in the publication is the one he gives himself. The magazine has as a full title "Sex and Civil Rights, The True Selma Story." What he has tried to prove has been discredited by numerous reliable people who were present.

What can you tell me about Mr. Persons? Is this typical of his journalism? Does the Courier support his point of view?

G. W. Bumgarner
Lincolnton, N.C.

(Editor's note: The publisher of the Selma magazine reports that Persons was editor of the Examiner, a Birmingham paper that died a couple of years ago, and a local writer for Time and Life magazines before the Selma magazine appeared. He has written a similar magazine about riots in the North and is working on a third magazine, called "The Jim Clark Story."

The Southern Courier thinks that Persons in his book assumes that Communists control the civil rights movement and its leaders and then he tries to prove his point. This newspaper does not support his point of view.)

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

BY MARY MOULTRIE

TV, one of the world's most modern means of communication, is also one of the most highly criticized.

Some critics believe that there should be more educational and cultural shows, to heighten the standards of all Americans.

However, the average man and woman are not looking for anything that requires the exertion of their minds during their leisure. To this average American the TV set is his best friend, because it is his escape from modern day life and its problems.

Of the shows coming up this week, which of these do you think will get the highest ratings?

SUNDAY, JAN. 30

MY FAVORITE MARTIAN--Uncle Martin and Tim stage a confidence game in an effort to out-con a bogus scientist who has sold Mrs. Brown a phoney goldbrick, 6:30 p.m. Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 13 in Birmingham, Channel 19 in Huntsville and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

BONANZA--A dim-witted man loses all sense of reality when he sees his friend killed, in "Destiny's Child," 8 p.m. Channel 10 in Mobile, Channel 12 in Montgomery, Channel 13 in Birmingham and Channel 15 in Florence.

MONDAY, JAN. 31

ART CITIES OF THE WORLD--Theodore Klitzke of the University of Alabama shows a collection of great Spanish paintings in Madrid, 7:30 p.m. Channel 2 in Andalusia, Channel 7 in Anniston, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville, Channel 26 in Montgomery and Channel 42 in Mobile (ETV).

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 2

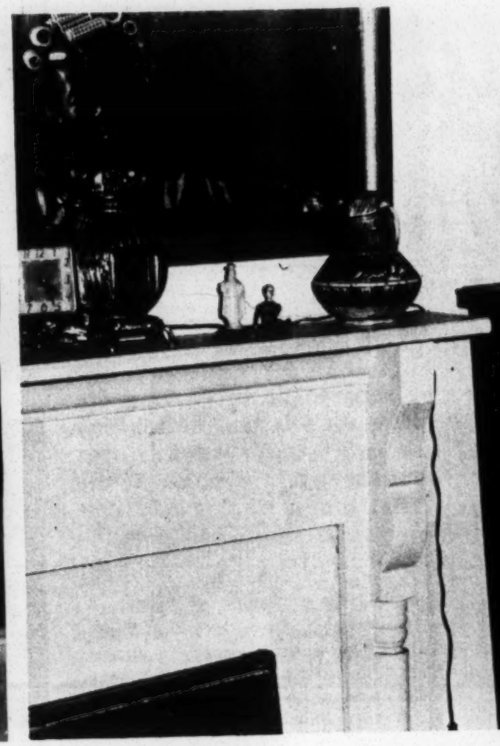
BEVERLY HILLBILLIES -- Granny mistakes an ostrich gulping tomatoes in the Clampetts' garden for a giant chicken, 7:30 p.m. Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 19 in Huntsville and Channel 20 in Montgomery.

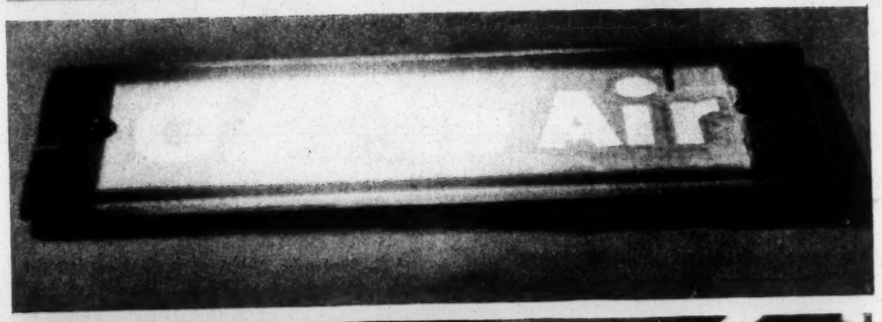
THURSDAY, FEB. 3

BEWITCHED--Fastest gun on Madison Ave., Samantha helps Darrin to KO a flirt, and Darrin almost ends up in the ring with the heavyweight champ, 8 p.m. Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla., Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, Channel 13 in Mobile and Channel 32 in Montgomery.

FRIDAY, FEB. 1

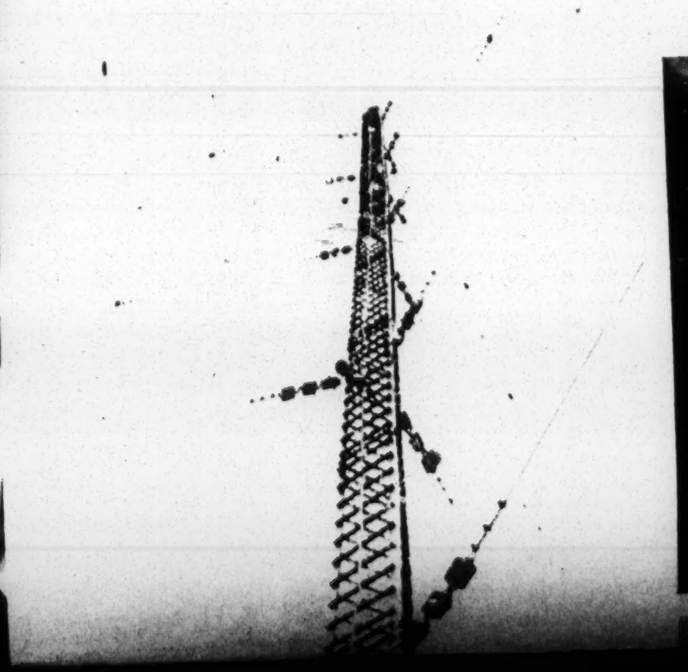
ART FESTIVAL--A public square in Naples is the setting for a three-act farce by Moliere, the comical escapades of Scapin, a valet to an Italian nobleman, 8:30 p.m. Channel 2 in Andalusia, Channel 7 in Anniston, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville, Channel 26 in Montgomery and Channel 42 in Mobile.

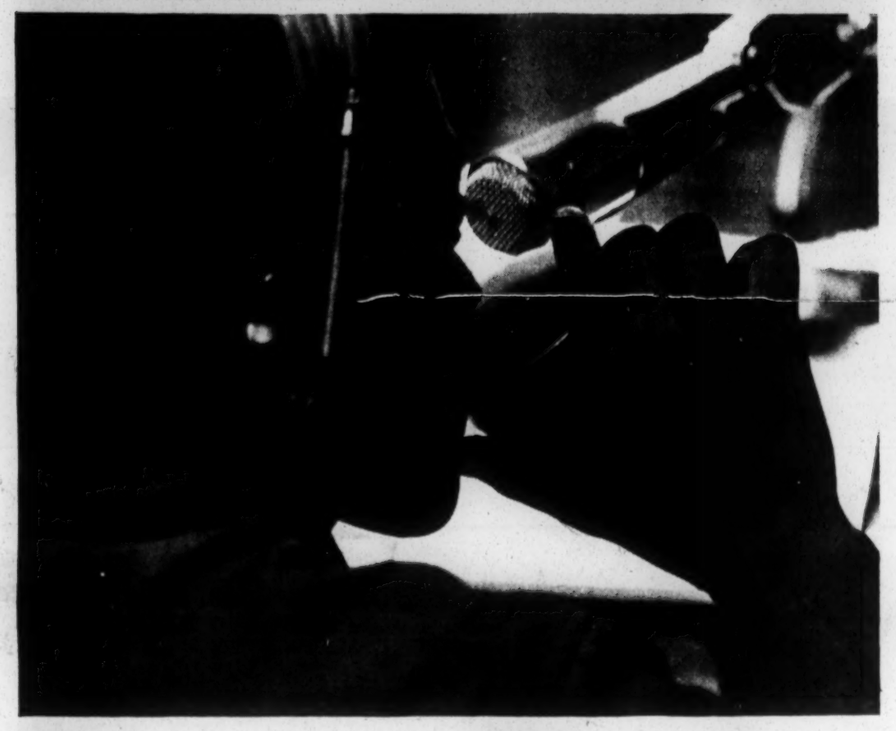




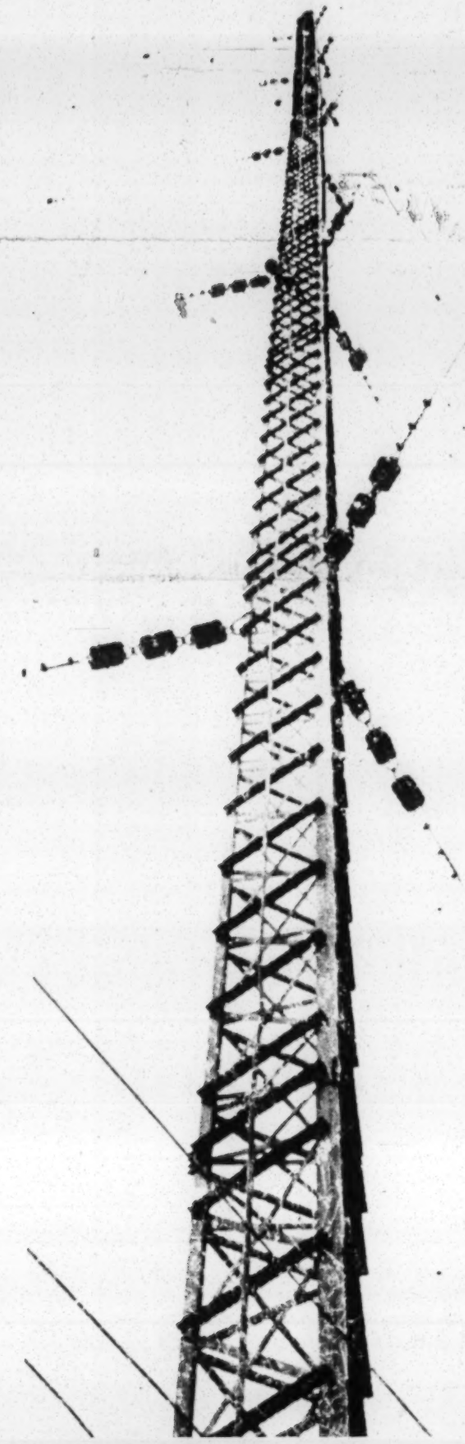
The World of Radio

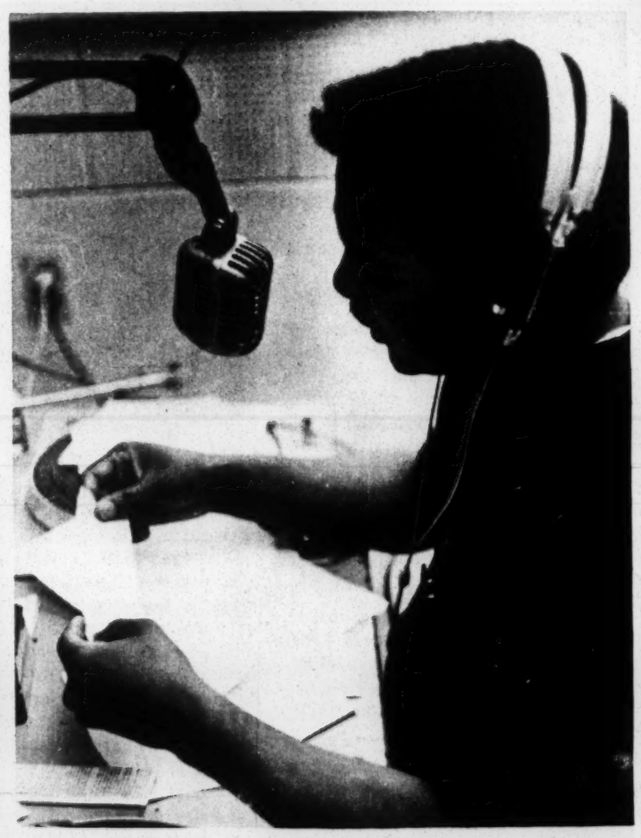
PHOTOGRAPHY BY JAMES H. PEPPLER

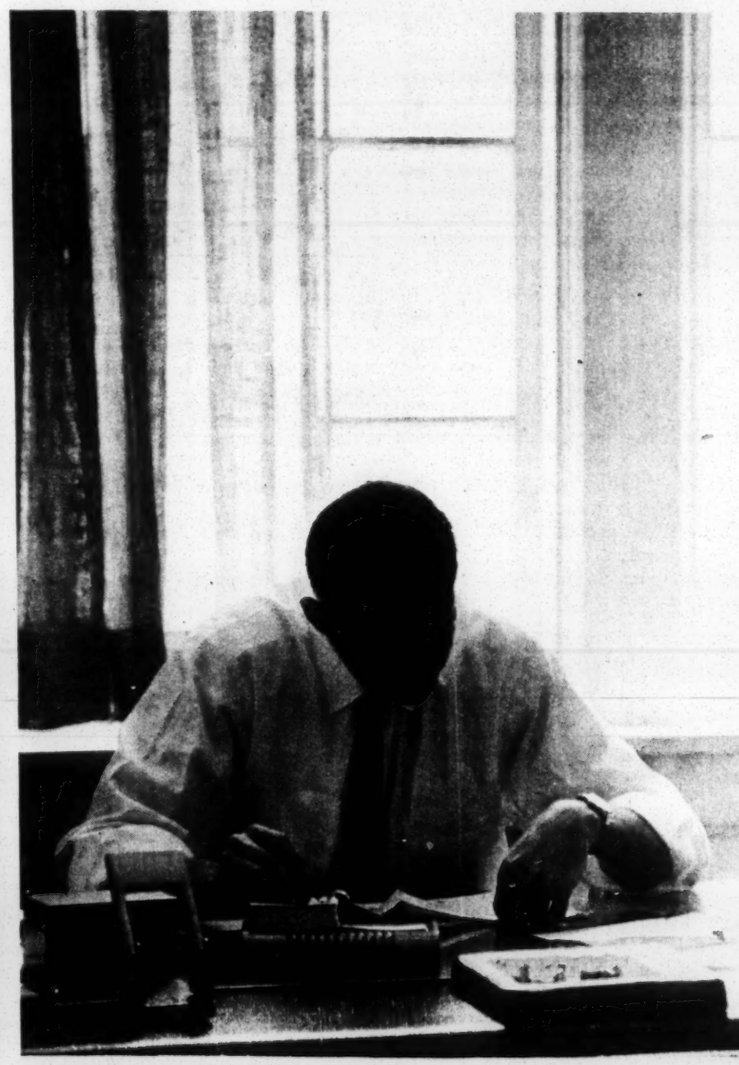




I'M NOT HARD OF
HEARING
I'm Just Ignoring You







Of Ships and Sharks and Sailing Days

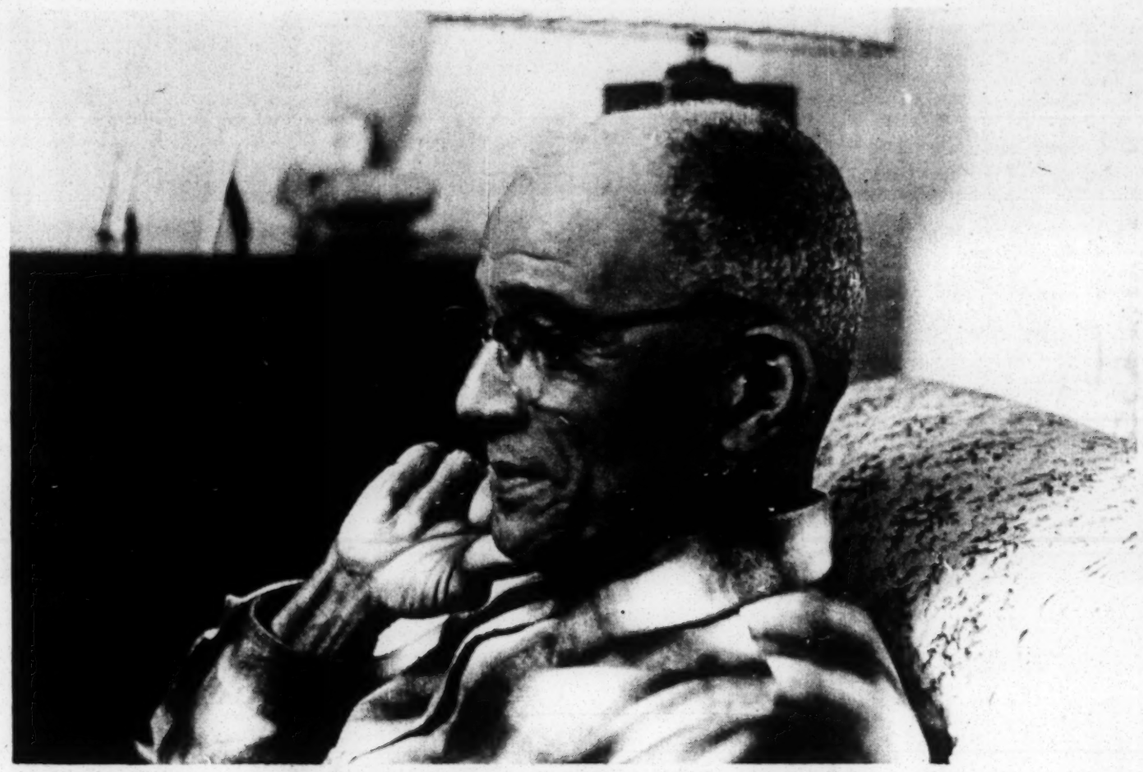
--Also Strikes and Riots

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--If you ever want to meet an Alabama Negro who speaks with a half-Irish accent, you can find him in an old Spanish Colonial style house on South Bayou Street in Mobile.

And you can go to the same house if you ever want to hear tales of sailing the seas when ships had sails instead of engines, of saving men from monstrous sharks or of being shipwrecked twice and drowned once in a single week.

Conrad Deane had done all these things by the time he arrived in Mobile at the age of 24, in 1920. But he didn't decide this was enough excitement for a lifetime and settle down. His stories about the years since then are filled with as much drama, excitement, and danger as the stories about his years at sea.



THE TALES CONRAD DEANE TELLS COVER HALF THE WORLD

If you passed him on the street or saw him working in his yard, you'd think he was an ordinary middle-aged man. You'd never guess he was 69 or that he could tell you stories which would keep you listening for hours.

But you don't have to guess. All you have to say is, "Good evening," and then everything happens automatically:

Deane smiles, and then he replies in an accent you've never heard before.

It isn't a strong accent, like a foreigner who had learned English in school might have. It might be Irish, except that Negro Irishmen are as rare as Eskimos in the Congo. And it isn't a perfect Irish accent anyway.

There's only one way to find out, so you start a conversation, which is easy with Deane. Very soon you feel friends enough with him to ask him where he's from. He answers, "St. Vincent," and smiles because he knows what's coming next.

"Where's that?" you ask, just as almost everybody else has for the past 50 years.

"It's an island 96 miles off the coast of South America, in the British West Indies," he says.

That explains why Deane sounds a little like Harry Belafonte. It doesn't explain why he sounds a little like an Irishman too, but by that time you've hooked yourself.

A few hours later you've heard a tale that covers half the world and stretches from British King George III's reign a century and a half ago to the civil rights movement.

Around 1800, an Irishman named Frederick Snagg bought the whole of St. Vincent from King George. He also

dos a bigger schooner came in from Canada with its first mate too sick to make the return voyage. Deane got his job and sailed off the second in command of the ship at the age of 21.

When they docked at Halifax, in the Canadian province of Nova Scotia, "World War I was just talking about coming to an end." But the Canadian Navy still needed men and Deane was told he'd be drafted if he stayed in port more than 15 days.

"Luck came again," Deane says. He was hired as a seaman on a 400-ton American brigantine bound for Britain. They docked near Liverpool and stayed there 45 days unloading the cargo and fixing up the ship.

"On a sailing ship, everything has to be done with ropes and wires," Deane explains. During a voyage, lots of them got worn or broken, and there was always painting to do.

When they'd finished the job, "she was a beautiful thing," Deane remembers. "She looked like a piece of jewelry layin' up beside the wharf."

The captain, however, was no jewel. He was "one of these guys who thought he knew. He wouldn't take no advice from nobody. He was bull-headed. He like to get us all killed."

The ship was supposed to sail empty

hanging from was too loose when Deane's turn came. After they pulled him off the ship, he dropped right down into the sea and they started dragging him in under water.

"You're just like a fish in a net. They drag you in dead or alive." When he got to shore, he was dead, for all he knew.

That was the last thing he remembered until he woke up eight hours later, next to a big tub of water they had pumped out of him.

Drowning didn't stop him. He got right on another ship in New York, and before that voyage ended he had saved one of his mates from a shark.

They sailed to Europe and then headed back to Gulf Shores, Ala. Near Cuba, the wind died, and one of the sailors decided to go for a swim while the ship was just sitting there. He had jumped off the bow, swum back to the stern, and climbed on board twice before Deane happened to come up on deck and see what he was doing.

"Let me show you something," Deane said, picking up an empty wooden barrel and tossing it off the bow right where the man was about to jump again. "It floated there about half a second. Then this monster shark's mouth came up out of the sea and crushed it like a paper sack, and they both disappeared.

"The first time he hit the water it was like a telephone ringing," Deane explains. "Those monsters heard it and started coming. He was lucky they were a long way off."

When the wind came up again, the ship sailed on again into Gulf Shores. Deane got his pay and came over to Mobile.

He shipped out of here for a while mostly to the Caribbean and South America. "You get paid off on one ship and then catch you another," he said. But in 1926, the seamen's union started refusing to let Negroes take any jobs except as cooks and cabin boys.

So Deane went to work at the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company (ADDSCO) here. He became an American citizen in 1936, registered to vote, and made huge headlines in the Mobile paper by trying to vote in the primary election the next year. "Negro Invades White Primary" said the headline.

Deane was in the news often after that. He and two white men organized an integrated union at ADDSCO, beat the old segregated union in an election among the workers, and then beat the company in 1941 in "the first successful strike in Alabama history."

Deane says the union "had one principle--working people." This included integration, because otherwise the employers would "pit the black workers against each other."

"An employer welcomed the strike. He'd hire Negroes for a lot less than he'd been paying the white strikers. When the strikers came to negotiate, he'd say, 'I'm gettin' my work done now just as well for 20¢ an hour less. If you want to come back, I'll split the difference with you--you'll have to take a 10¢ cut.'

"Those hungry birds didn't have any choice. They'd come back for less than they made before, and the Negroes would be out of a job again."

Negro on the committee had to climb the fire escape to get into the meeting.

Even many of the workers resented integration. When Deane spoke during the strike at a rally that filled Bienville Square downtown, "a couple white fellows at the rally wanted to lynch me." And there was a race riot at ADDSCO in 1943.

That didn't convince Deane integration was wrong. He believed the company and some workers wanted a riot so they could then say that integration was impossible. This only made Deane decide he had to work harder. He became a full-time union organizer for the next five years.

After that, he went back on a regular job at ADDSCO, but continued to work part-time for the union, until he retired in 1962.

Deane still thinks the union did as much as anyone could have hoped.

Old-timers around Mobile disagree about what Deane accomplished, but everyone agrees that much of what Deane accomplished has disappeared since he retired. The union's grievance committee at ADDSCO is all-white this year for the first time. Deane says

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That explains why Deane sounds a little like Harry Belafonte. It doesn't explain why he sounds a little like an Irishman too, but by that time you've hooked yourself.

A few hours later you've heard a tale that covers half the world and stretches from British King George III's reign a century and a half ago to the civil rights movement.

Around 1800, an Irishman named Frederick Snagg bought the whole of St. Vincent from King George. He also bought a lot of slaves to turn his 18-mile long island into a plantation. Many of them began to pick up an Irish accent from him. And some of the slave women's children even began to look a little like Irishmen, like Irishman Snagg in particular. Snagg and one of these women were greatgrandparents of Deane, who was born in 1896.

He grew up and went to school on St. Vincent. At the end of school he took an exam, and a few months later he got a big, official envelope marked "On His Majesty's Service." Deane opened it and discovered that he had been appointed a teacher at $4.80 a month on a tiny island near St. Vincent.

He did the only sensible thing. He decided that "since I've got to do that if I stay here, I might as well go to sea." A little two-masted schooner captained by a Negro Sanctified preacher sailed into St. Vincent about that time, and Deane hired on as the cabin boy. That was in 1917.

The boat was bound for Barbados, a bigger island in the West Indies. But right after they left St. Vincent the winds died and the schooner started drifting in the ocean currents. The captain decided that a sail rigged at the top of the high mast might catch enough wind to keep them on course. So he called out the five-man crew and asked who would do it. Only the cabin boy spoke up.

Deane put a rope in his teeth, climbed to the top of the mast, and rigged the sail. When he got back down on deck, he was a seaman instead of just a cabin boy.

He easily got a better job on a bigger ship, a three-masted 100-ton schooner that had once been a whaling boat. Deane made $17 a month and says, "Nobody could tell me I wasn't rich."

But the money didn't satisfy him. "I'd read about so many things I'd like to see," he explains, and he didn't see them working on the schooner. It carried passenger and cargo only around the West Indies.

One day when his ship was in Barba-

"On a sailing ship, everything has to be done with ropes and wires," Deane explains. During a voyage, lots of them got worn or broken, and there was always painting to do.

When they'd finished the job, "she was a beautiful thing," Deane remembers. "She looked like a piece of jewelry layin' up beside the wharf."

The captain, however, was no jewel. He was "one of these guys who thought he knew. He wouldn't take no advice from nobody. He was bull-headed. He like to get us all killed."

The ship was supposed to sail empty

the wind died, and one of the sailors decided to go for a swim while the ship was just sitting there. He had jumped off the bow, swum back to the stern, and climbed on board twice before Deane happened to come up on deck and see what he was doing.

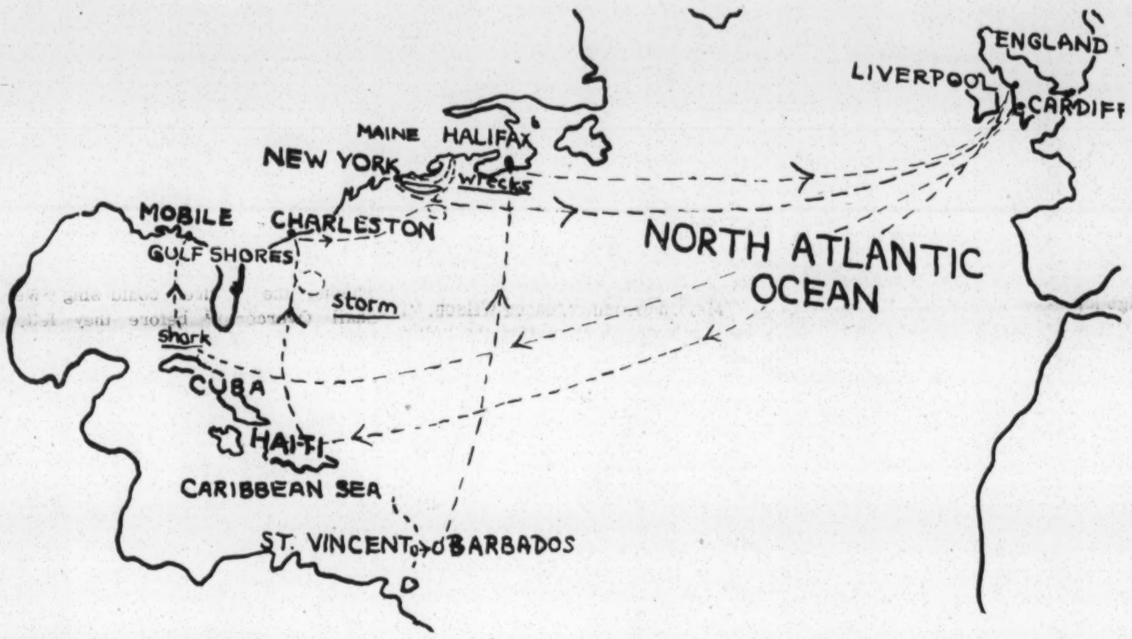
"Let me show you something," Deane said, picking up an empty wooden barrel and tossing it off the bow right where the man was about to jump again. "It floated there about half a second. Then this monster shark's mouth came up out of the sea and crushed it like a paper sack, and they both disappeared.

started coming. He was lucky they were a long way off."

When the wind came up again, the ship sailed on again into Gulf Shores. Deane got his pay and came over to Mobile.

He shipped out of here for a while mostly to the Caribbean and South America. "You get paid off on one ship and then catch you another," he said. But in 1926, the seamen's union started refusing to let Negroes take any jobs except as cooks and cabin boys.

So Deane went to work at the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company (ADDSCO) here. He became an



to Haiti in the Caribbean and take on a cargo there for New York. "I hate to think about that," Deane says, frowning. It took them almost seven months to get to New York.

They didn't have any trouble getting to Haiti, but on the way to New York the captain got them off course and into a storm that "blew every piece of sail she had right off of her. We was all adrift."

A rescue tug from Charleston, S.C. finally towed them in. They got the ship repaired and sailed again. But "we got blowed off again," and ended up in Maine.

They tried to go ashore in a motor launch they had on board but ran on to a reef. "All our names went into the paper in New York. We were supposed to have been drowned or something," Deane says with a small smile.

But they rescued themselves instead, got the ship turned around, and finally headed into Long Island Sound toward New York. They were almost there when the captain ran the ship aground on a sand bar.

"It was our second wreck in one week" -- and then Deane "drowned" while he was being rescued. A New York rescue team hooked a rope from the ship to the shore and hung a breeches buoy on it. This is a big pair of pants that a sailor on a stranded ship laces himself into. There's a line attached to it, and men or a horse on shore pull him to safety.

The rope that the breeches were

mary election the next year. "Negro Invades White Primary" said the headline.

Deane was in the news often after that. He and two white men organized an integrated union at ADDSCO, beat the old segregated union in an election among the workers, and then beat the company in 1941 in "the first successful strike in Alabama history."

Deane says the union "had one principle--working people." This included integration, because otherwise the employers would "pit the black workers against each other."

"An employer welcomed the strike. He'd hire Negroes for a lot less than he'd been paying the white strikers. When the strikers came to negotiate, he'd say, 'I'm gettin' my work done now just as well for 20¢ an hour less. If you want to come back, I'll split the difference with you--you'll have to take a 10¢ cut.'

"Those hungry birds didn't have any choice. They'd come back for less than they made before, and the Negroes would be out of a job again."

But in the 1941 strike, "we had Negro and white together on the picket line, and we won."

Such a crowd gathered in the courthouse and in the streets for the signing of the new contract that the police had to clear away a path for Deane and the rest of the negotiating committee to get in.

It didn't always work like that. During a dispute a couple years later, some of the negotiations were held in the Admiral Semmes Hotel. Negroes couldn't ride the elevator, so Deane and another

tegration. When Deane spoke during the strike at a rally that filled Bienville Square downtown, "a couple white fellows at the rally wanted to lynch me." And there was a race riot at ADDSCO in 1943.

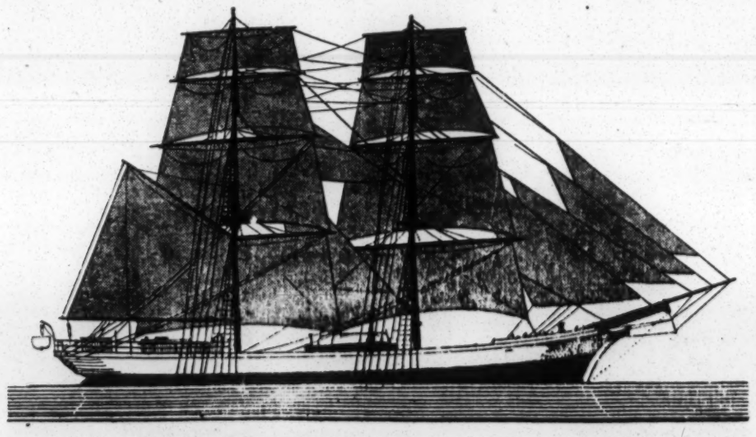
That didn't convince Deane integration was wrong. He believed the company and some workers wanted a riot so they could then say that integration was impossible. This only made Deane decide he had to work harder. He became a full-time union organizer for the next five years.

After that, he went back on a regular job at ADDSCO, but continued to work part-time for the union, until he retired in 1962.

Deane still thinks the union did as much as anyone could have hoped.

Old-timers around Mobile disagree about what Deane accomplished, but everyone agrees that much of what Deane accomplished has disappeared since he retired. The union's grievance committee at ADDSCO is all-white this year for the first time. Deane says "hardly any of the Negroes go to the union meetings any more. They don't give a damn. That's the whole thing."

But Deane still gives a damn. He's on the Democratic Party Executive Committee in Mobile County, and he may try in this year's election to add a public office to all the things he's done. A victory would give him a chance to do even more and a lot more stories to tell. But it wouldn't change his opinion of what he's done: "It's nothing to brag about. I wasn't that smart or that good. It's just an example of what people can do if they're determined."



DEANE SAILED TO LIVERPOOL ON A SHIP LIKE THIS

Rural People Ask Government Officials For Farm Agents with 'Stuff' in Them

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

erative in Demopolis, asked from the audience.

"I'm from Washington."

"Oh . . . .

"Well, I'm from Marengo County," said Essex. "I'm supposed to represent my cooperative and I went down to the county office to ask them what my job is.

"They wouldn't tell me a thing, so I went home. And yesterday I got a letter from the ASCS in my mailbox saying, 'We have done a good job.'

"I want to know who 'we' is!"

Victor Phillips, the ASCS representative, agreed that ASCS committees in some counties had neglected to invite Negro members to meetings or inform them about their duties.

The Rev. Daniel Harrell, SCLC organizer in Wilcox County, asked whether the local committee was the final authority on who could get loans from FHA.

Orville O'Shields, state Economic Opportunities officer for the FHA answered that a person turned down for a loan could appeal to the state office. "We could look into it and make recommendations to the local committee."

"The local committee are the people with all the land and the collateral in the county," said Mr. Harrell. "You mean to tell me you're going to send us back to them?"

Mrs. Lillian McGill from Lowndes County had another question about loans. She said people had been turned down for FHA loans because they had been offered a private loan at 10 per cent or 12 per cent interest.

O'Shields explained that the FHA made loans only to people unable to get loans locally at a reasonable rate. "It's

"I USED TO WONDER HOW ALL MY WHITE NEIGHBORS GOT SUCH FINE COWS AND FINE PASTURES AND FINE TRACTORS . . . ." SAID ONE SPEAKER.

not for us to say that 10 per cent is not a reasonable rate."

Near the end of Friday's session, the Rev. Solomon Seay from Montgomery raised a question echoed by many delegates to the meeting.

"We need a farm agency that will get down to us like this white agency with these white agents is getting down to white people--We need people who can speak in a language we can understand," he said.

"I used to wonder how all my white neighbors got such fine cows and fine pastures and fine tractors. I kept snooping around and I found out my white neighbors were getting loans from the government. My agent hadn't told me that!"

Mr. Seay said it wasn't enough just to move Negro agents into the white county agent's office. "I'm concerned about giving that agent some stuff so he can be a man rather than an errand boy."

Negroes are being hired for vacancies in ASCS jobs, said state ASCS director B. L. Collins. "Our goal," he said, "is to have the same ratio of Negro to white in the county office as in the county's farm population.

"In the next month we need to employ additional people. If you know any young person who would be interested, let the state ASCS office know and tell them to fill out an employment application at the county office."

Nine ASCS county offices in Alabama now employ a Negro, said Collins.

Several speakers said farm people should organize to bring federal programs to Alabama. At Saturday's session, the delegates did just that.

They set up the Alabama Rural Areas Development Council, and elected Lewis Black, of Greensboro, president; Charles Cheatham, of Selma, vice president; Rufus Lewis, of Montgomery, second vice-president; Mrs. Rosa Story, of Tuskegee, secretary; Mrs. Ernestine McCurley, of Greensboro, assistant secretary; J.B. Newman, of Clopton, treasurer; the Rev. Francis McCord, parliamentarian, and the Rev. Solomon Seay, chaplain.

The delegates agreed to have the new organization ask President Johnson to send food, shelter and housing to evicted sharecroppers as if they were victims of a natural disaster like a flood or hurricane.

President's Proposal To Help Rural Poor

WASHINGTON -- President Johnson asked Congress Tuesday to make plans for a broad program to fight poverty in rural areas.

His proposal stressed the need for more planning to develop poor rural communities.

Johnson said the labor, welfare and agriculture departments of the government must work with private groups on local projects.

Anti-Poverty Plans Made In Barbour

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

had, does have, or ever will have is the people of the South," said Weston, newly elected chairman of the Community Action Program for Barbour, Henry, and Dale counties. "We're going to show the rest of the country something about progress together."

Then Weston told the citizens that the three-county anti-poverty program was finally ready to roll after several months of delay. He said he expected the first federal money to come in early February.

"Just a little waiting period, that's all," he said.

But Mayberry jumped up and told the people not to wait.

"Now that they're with you," he said, nodding at the county officials, "it isn't 'what are they going to do?' any more. It's we. It's you. Ask yourself--do you need child care centers, legal aid, welfare services, small loans to farmers and businessmen? Find out what you need and how to get it. Act now. This program really begins and ends at home."

There were murmurs of "yes, yes," and "all right."

And after the county officials had left, one lady revealed that the Barbour County citizens had already taken a hand in the anti-poverty program.

"You know why it was delayed?" she asked. "Because it wasn't fair. We wrote to Washington and blocked it. We made them set it up again. This time it is just. This way, we can make it work to help everybody."

Examiners in 11 Counties

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

BIRMINGHAM -- Jefferson County becomes the eleventh Alabama county to get federal voting examiners.

The examiners are open for business six days a week now in Autauga, Elmore, Greene, Jefferson (Birmingham, Bessemer, and Fairfield), Lowndes (Hayneville), and Montgomery counties.

They are open in Dallas County every day also, and in Hale, Lowndes (Fort Deposit), Marengo, Perry and Wilcox one Saturday a month.

Since the Voting Rights Act was passed last July, more than 37,000 Negroes have been qualified to vote by federal examiners in Alabama.

The examiners send their collection of names to county probate judges to be added to the official voting lists.

Every one of the counties except Jefferson and Marengo have reported back to the federal Civil Service Commission that the Negroes' names have been added to the voting lists. Jefferson has not had time to compile a list yet, and Marengo requested a duplicate list after a fire in its court house destroyed the originals.

County voting officials are allowed to challenge any names on the examiners' list. The law requires that people challenged must be notified.

However, many challenge notices have been returned unopened by the Post Office, according to Joseph Justin, who is head of the Alabama federal examiners.

Many people do not have regular mail delivery, even in the cities, he said. In addition, some people's houses do not have proper numbers or mail boxes.

Those people who never receive notices, he said, are not defended against the local registrars' challenges and so are not added to the voting lists.

OPEN 3 JEFFERSON OFFICES

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

BIRMINGHAM--"We've split right down the middle," sighed one influential Negro minister early this week. "I guess it was true before, but now it's out in the open."

The racial situation in Birmingham has changed just about that much during the last month--from quiet fighting among Negro leaders to noisier public disputes.

But the people responsible for turning the volume up didn't seem to care. They were the SCLC workers who came here just before Christmas to start a voter registration drive.

After two weeks of knocking on doors, they decided that federal examiners would be helpful.

Twenty-seven demonstrations later, U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach announced that examiners would be sent to Jefferson County. Twenty-three examiners opened shop in three offices in the county Monday.

Katzenbach's orders came last Thursday. He said that the demonstrations did not play "any part" in his decision, but neither local officials nor SCLC would believe him.

Labeling the action an "insult" and a "travesty," district attorney Earl Morgan blamed it on "a bunch of Martin Luther King hoodlums."

And SCLC's Hosea Williams called it a "victory" for his group. "It's been a great fight," he said. "I wouldn't have missed it for the world."

A number of local Negro leaders weren't quite as happy about it all as Williams.

There was those, like millionaire A. G. Gaston, who didn't like the demonstrations in the first place and said so publicly. Williams then called for a boycott of Gaston's businesses.

And there were others, including a dozen members of the "Committee of Citizens," who thought that there were more important things to demonstrate about in Birmingham.

At Williams' urging, several of the people on that committee ended up demanding that Gaston come out in favor of the demonstrations.

Whether or not that public argument with Gaston solved anything, the Committee of Citizens became more convinced than ever that demonstrations had a use.

On Thursday, just after Katzenbach's order was announced, Mayor Albert Boutwell hauled the committee in to talk over racial problems with the city council.

"My community feels that you demonstrate or you don't get anything," one of the Negroes explained to the city official. The other Negroes at the meeting nodded their heads.

The meeting didn't come to any conclusion, but the demonstrations did. SCLC called them off after a small "victory march" Friday and went back to persuading Negroes to register to vote.

"Don't worry about those things," Williams told a mass meeting Friday night. "Baby, you get your hands on that ballot and watch them walls come tumbling down."

U.S. Court Pushes Macon Registration

TUSKEGEE -- The Macon County Board of Registrars has registered hundreds of Negro voters in the past two weeks under a federal court order.

U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. told the registrars to obey the Voting Rights Act of 1965. He ordered them to stop giving a literacy test that they had argued was permissible under an order he issued in 1961.

Nearly 1400 Negroes and a scattering of whites registered in the first eight days of the ten-day session. But Jimmy Rogers of SNCC, a leader of the voter registration drive, wasn't satisfied.

"Maybe we'll have 2,000 by the end of the week," he said. "But some people can't come to the courthouse weekdays. With night and Saturday registration, we could get 3,000 easy."

But W. P. Mangham, chairman of the board of registrars, said he wouldn't schedule extra hours.

Folks Get Headstart, Can't Wait for U.S.

AFTER THE KILLING IN CAMDEN LAST SUNDAY AFTERNOON, THE REV. DANIEL HARRELL ADDRESSED A MEETING OF FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS.

Sheriff Talks to Marchers After Killing of Negro

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

"Teachers, ministers, and everybody else--we have done our share," said Albert Gordon, president of the Wilcox County Alabama Democratic Conference.

"What have we gotten since we demonstrated last year--not nothing."

It was decided to march again the next morning, and keep marching.

The morning of the march passed away with only a handful of adults waiting in the church. They stood hunched over the four gas heaters around the walls of the church.

It was a children's march that started at one in the afternoon. They hadn't marched since last year, and they headed off towards town skipping, laughing, and clapping.

They kept up a brisk pace. No police were in sight.

There weren't any police on the town square either. Just Sheriff P. C. Jenkins. As the children gathered around him, he began addressing them as if they were his Sunday School class.

"The man was arrested and he's in jail now," said Sherrif Jenkins. "That's all we can do at this point," he said, shrugging his shoulders.

At this, the leader of the march, the Rev. Daniel Harrell asked the sheriff whether the children could sing "We

they took it.

Later, the mayor said that he had covered the march out of sight.

"They weren't alone as much as they thought they were," he said. "I counted 63 children coming out of that church.

"That's when I decided to let them go into town. I realized the tension was gone in town. I thought it would be a good thing to let them get it out of their system.

"It was a gamble. Maybe it paid off."

Back at the church, Mr. Harrell and Albert Gordon decided to call off marches because it seemed the sheriff had said everything that could be said.

"He's done justice," said Mr. Harrell. "He's done all he can do--he's arrested the man. Marching up there now would be just jumping up in the air."

It was just a little over 24 hours since David Colston had been shot. The mood of anger had subsided.

WITNESSES

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

As the Negro turned back toward his car, a shot was fired.

The .32 calibre pistol shot hit Colston near his right ear, and he fell dead at the feet of his sister-in-law.

Reaves jarned his car around, drove

'Loyalists' Beat Wallace Forces In Dems' Great 'Rooster' Battle

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

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"The man was arrested and he's in jail now," said Sherrif Jenkins. "That's all we can do at this point," he said, shrugging his shoulders.

At this, the leader of the march, the Rev. Daniel Harrell asked the sheriff whether the children could sing "We Shall Overcome" before they left. "Yes, yes," said the sheriff. "Go right ahead. That would be very nice."

When the children turned to go, they saw that the square had been surrounded by 20 armed police. Even Mayor Albritton had an automatic carbine in his hand.

But it seemed he wanted only to shoot their pictures. The way was open for the children to go back to the church, and

"That's when I decided to let them go into town. I realized the tension was gone in town. I thought it would be a good thing to let them get it out of their system.

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Folks Get Headstart, Can't Wait for U.S.

AT NEW SCHOOL IN MACON COUNTY CHILDREN LEARN TO PLAY TOGETHER.

BY PAT PRANDINI

SHORTER--What do you do when Project Head Start doesn't come to your town? You could buy 50 pounds of fish, sell it and use the money to start a project of your own.

That was the answer people in this area came up with. And the results have brought hopes for a brighter future for 40 or more pre-school children in Shorter and nearby Tysonville, halfway between Tuskegee and Montgomery.

Shorter had tried to get a Head Start project last summer but could not meet the federal government's requirements.

So third grade teacher Mrs. Consuella Harper and some other local people sold fish one Friday night at a camp meeting. They made $18 and opened their school the next Monday.

That was last Oct. 4, and the Children's Educational Center has been running ever since.

The first location of the center was New Hope Church No. 1. But the church was cold and not equipped for teaching, so Mrs. Harper, her friends Mr. and Mrs. Leon Lumpkin, Mr. and Mrs. Nimrod Harris, James Lumpkin and others looked around for a better building.

Mrs. Rosa W. Banks agreed to lend them a house on her property. There's a kitchen where they fix lunch for the tots and an indoor bathroom, which they hope to have repaired so the children may be taught proper toilet habits. There are few indoor bathrooms in this section of Macon County.

According to Mrs. Harper, the Macon County Board of Education has given desks and chairs and bulletin boards to the Educational Center. The board of education is trying to get federal aid for the project.

A social is planned for Saturday at the Children's Educational Center to raise funds to keep the school going. Transportation for the children is the biggest

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

'Loyalists' Beat Wallace Forces In Dems' Great 'Rooster' Battle

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

fighting.

"You are destroying the Democratic Party of Alabama today," declared Henry Sweet of Bessemer, a leader of the states righters.

"I hope you will not let Flowers, Katzenbach, Johnson and that element control our party," he said.

Sweet added that it was "a sad time" to change the party label "under pressure from radicals, and anarchists, and street walkers."

But Sweet was fighting a losing battle Saturday. He drew his loudest applause when he said, "I may never run for another office again."

Another experienced politician had already given up. Governor Wallace, who flew here Saturday morning to give support to the states righters' side, never made it into the meeting room.

He stayed in his room in the hotel where the meeting was held, then left for Montgomery as soon as it became clear that he was on the losing side.

Minutes later the states righters forces lost the secret balloting. But after 71 votes had been counted--there were 71 members at the meeting--two members said they had not yet voted.

"Mr. Chairman, "roared Wilson, "I want to know who's stuffed the ballot box."

The chairman, Judge Ray Mayhall, shot back, "It might have been you," and ruled the vote official. One member resigned in protest and walked out.

There were two more voice votes and the Democratic Party had a new label.

"Are you running for anything?" one committee member asked another as they walked out of the hotel.

"Yeah," he answered, "the state line."

WITNESSES

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

As the Negro turned back toward his car, a shot was fired.

The .32 calibre pistol shot hit Colston near his right ear, and he fell dead at the feet of his sister-in-law.

Reaves turned his car around, drove back toward the center of town, where he turned himself in to a policeman.

Wilcox County Sheriff P.C. Jenkins said Reaves was jailed and charged with murder. No bail or hearing date had been set Wednesday.

Jenkins reported that Colston and Reaves had argued before the shot was fired. But a witness said that Colston "didn't even raise his voice."

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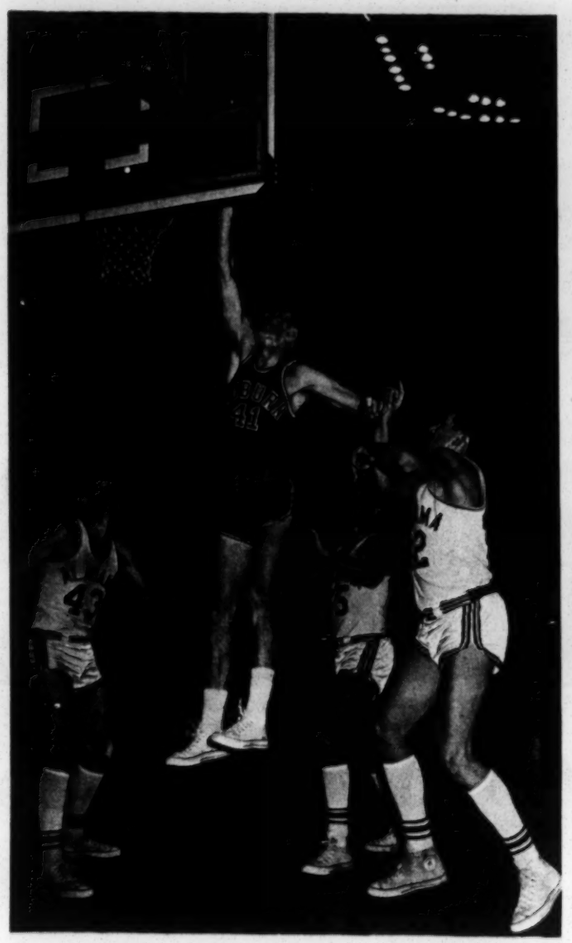

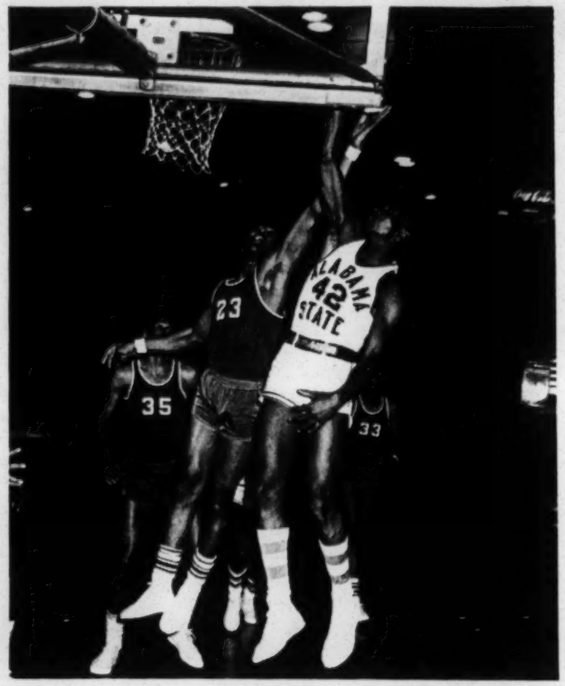

MONTGOMERY--The state capital was full of college basketball action in the past week. Auburn was in complete control last Saturday night in defeating its Southeastern Conference neighbor, Alabama, 90-71. At left, Auburn's Ronnie Quick goes up for a shot in the game at the Coliseum. Above Everett Moncur, No. 42 for Alabama State College, battles for a rebound with Livingstone Sykes of Florida A&M. Moncur's 33 points led State's Hornets to a 98-89 victory Tuesday over its Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference rival.

Wilcox County Teachers Claim They Deserve Their Jobs Back

CAMDEN -- Four Wilcox County teachers fired last August want their jobs back.

The teachers--all Negro--say they should not have been fired because they had tenure, and they may take their case to court.

Under Alabama's tenure law, a teacher who has held a position satisfactorily more than three years cannot be fired unless he is guilty of gross misconduct. He is entitled to a "legal hearing" before he is fired.

Guy Kelly, superintendent of education in Wilcox County, says he had to cut down the number of teachers in the county from 196 to 187 because the State Department of Education cut down on the funds to the school system. The amount of state funds to pay teachers depends on the number of students, and the Department of Education says Wilcox County had a decrease in enrollment last year.

Kelly says Wilcox Negro schools average about 26 Negro students per teacher now.

Joe Reed, executive secretary of the Alabama State Teachers Association, says that classes in some Negro schools in Wilcox have 40 to 81 students.

Mrs. David Colston has 84 pupils in her third-grade class at Camden Academy.

Recently the teachers appealed their case to the state Tenure Commission, a group appointed by the governor, state superintendent of education, president of the Alabama Education Association and president of the PTA councils.

The Wilcox teachers said their hearings had not measured up to the tenure law, and they claimed that teachers without tenure were still working.

After hearing their case, the tenure commission agreed that the board of education had not followed the tenure law when it dismissed them, but the commission has no power to enforce its findings.

The teachers have not charged that race had anything to do with losing their jobs, but some Negro leaders think racial discrimination was one reason.

Reed of the Teachers Association says the teachers who were dismissed were "sympathetic" to the civil rights movement.

The National Education Association has reported a large number of teacher firings this fall in which race was a factor. They claim 452 Negro teachers in the South lost jobs for racial rather than professional reasons this school year.

Human Relations Council to Meet

HUNTSVILLE--The bi-racial Alabama Council on Human Relations will hold its annual meeting at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery Saturday, Feb. 5.

Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, a member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, will be the main speaker. Beginning at 9:30 a.m. there will be separate "workshops" on community organization, education, jobs, federal programs, health and hospitals, housing and voter registration and education.

Adams Found Innocent in Anniston

BY ALAN BAUGHMAN

ANNISTON--A jury in federal court decided after 13 hours of debate that the local National States Rights Party leader here was not guilty of receiving stolen explosives from Fort McClellan.

Three boxes of .50 calibre ammunition, 98 sticks of dynamite, 31 blocks of TNT, and several hand grenades were missing from the nearby Army base last April.

Kenneth L. Adams, 45, who was cleared of charges of "concealing and receiving" the arsenal, is Calhoun County chairman of the anti-Negro National States Rights Party. He was charged last August by a federal grand jury in Birmingham.

James Willie Roberts pleaded guilty to the charge of stealing the explosives and received five years probation from Federal Judge Clarence Allgood, who presided at Adams' trial.

Adams testified himself in the trial last week and said that he didn't know anything about any explosives. The stolen property was discovered by FBI agents who searched a building on White's Gap Road near Jacksonville, in the northeast part of the state.

Several people told the court that Adams' character was good. U.S. District Attorney Macy Taylor challenged the witnesses with mention of Adams' arrest record for assault, bootlegging and other offenses.

Taylor said that Adams was charged several years ago with assaulting Negro singer Nat King Cole on a concert stage in Birmingham.

The federal jury of 11 men and one woman first voted eight to three with one undecided, that Adams was innocent, reported jury foreman Coolidge Hatton of Russellville. He said the jury found "a conflict in the testimony of several of the government's witnesses." All 12 voted later "not guilty."

Upon hearing the decision, Adams turned to his lawyer, R.B. Jones of Birmingham, and grinned. Adams' wife grabbed their son and began sobbing.

Adams said after the trial, "I told you I'd sleep at home tonight.

He said, "Any fair jury would have found me not guilty."

'HEADSTART'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

need.

But the most important contribution to the school has been volunteer labor and time.

James Williams, a neighbor, helped with the original hard task of getting the house painted and cleaned up. All the

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Alabama Democratic Conference

507 Gallatin Street S.W.,
Huntsville, Alabama 35801

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(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

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But the most important contribution to the school has been volunteer labor and time.

James Williams, a neighbor, helped with the original hard task of getting the house painted and cleaned up. All the painting supplies were gathered by James Lumpkin.

Nimrod Harris comes in nearly every morning to clean up and heat the rooms. And Mrs. Lumpkin, Mrs. Harris and Mrs. Inez Ellis teach a daily lesson plan outlined by Mrs. Harper.

The children's day, which lasts from 9 a.m. until noon, consists of learning letters, numbers, colors, table manners, sharing and getting along with other children.

Many of the children had never seen books before, or coloring crayons. They had not even held pencils and scribbled.

Hot meals and warm rooms are rare for the poor families in this area, and, if only because of these two "luxuries," the children love school.

Mrs. Harper feels that if the children are interested in school when they're young, they may stay in school long enough to get a good education. Then maybe when they are grown, their children won't need a Head Start program.

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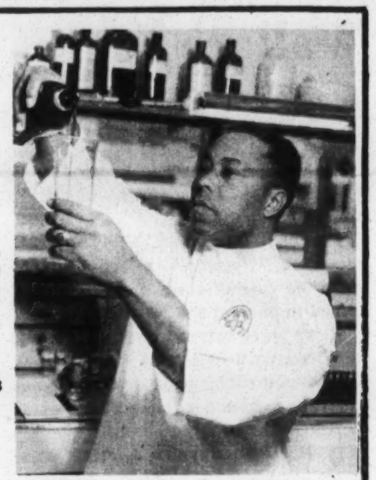

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 28 | WEEKEND EDITION: JULY 9-10, 1966 | TEN CENTS

Greensboro Marchers Ask County Judge to Appr[illegible] Distribution of Fr[illegible]

IN STANFIELD
CRESS COUNCIL INC
FORSYTH ST. N.W.
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BY WILLIAM W. ROBINSON

GREENSBORO--"For the first time [illegible] story of Alabama, people have got in the stree[illegible] [illegible]ay they are hungry," SCLC field worker John Re[illegible]olds said here Wednesday.

Fifty Hale County Negroes led by Lewis Black, president of Hale County Improvement Association, marched to the county courthouse last Tuesday and Wednesday to protest Probate Judge Harold Knight's refusal to approve distribution of $540,000 in federal surplus food. Wednesday's march, which began at St. Luke AME Church, was intended to get the judge's signature on a form approving the distribution.

"I know we need this food. Got to pay the rent, got to pay the insurance, what have I got left for food?" said Mrs. Florence Benn, one of the marchers who is presently unemployed.

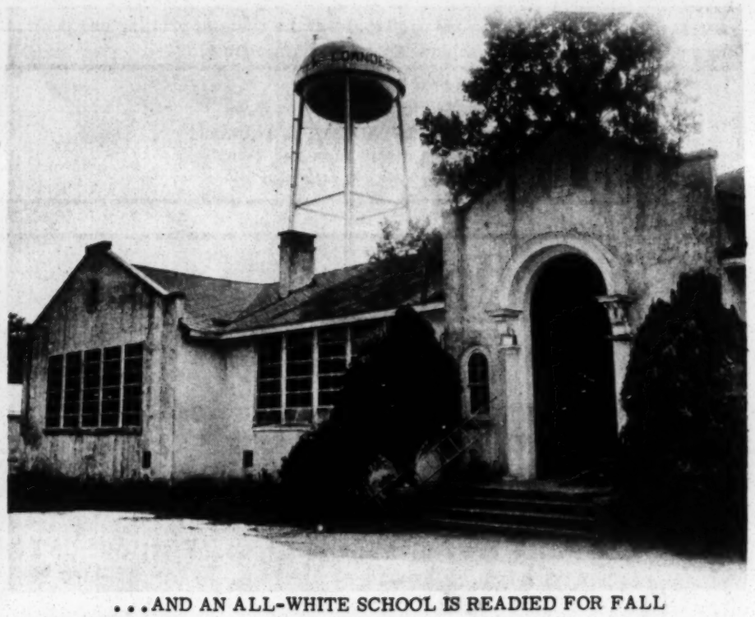
The marches were the latest in a series of attempts made by Hale County residents to obtain food from the Federal Surplus Food Commodity Program sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

In January, 1965, Black began steps to secure government approval of the Hale County Improvement Association as a distributor of the surplus food. He received this approval, and in May of this year he applied for the food. His application was accepted and sent to the Department of Agriculture, which issues the food for distribution to poor people.

The Department of Agriculture, however, said the distribution had to be cleared through Judge Knight.

According to Black, when a committee of four local Negroes talked to Knight in May, he said he wouldn't sign an approval form because he didn't approve of

AUDIENCE HEARS ABOUT "BLACK POWER"...



...AND AN ALL-WHITE SCHOOL IS READIED FOR FALL

In Lowndes County

Black, White Go Separate Ways

NEW PRIVATE SCHOOL

BY NELSON LICHTENSTEIN

HAYNEVILLE--White people, like Negroes, have taken steps to "go it alone" in Lowndes County. The best example is the group of white residents, headed by Ray Bass of Hayneville, who plan to open a private school this fall.

The reason for the private school? "I'm not set to have my kids be guinea pigs in a social experiment carried out by the federal government," said Bass.

The "social experiment" Bass was talking about is public school integration in Lowndes County, ordered by a federal court.

Bass and other white residents organized the Lowndes County Private School Foundation two years ago to keep their children in an all-white school.

They plan to open the school this fall in Lowndesboro with about 190 students, four teachers, and an athletic coach.

The coach is Mac Champion, who kept Hayneville High School's football team at the top of its class in the state. He has a career record of 38 victories and one loss.

Champion has given ten acres of his land for the school's sports fields.

Bass, who is president of the foundation, is against sending his children to desegregated schools because he doesn't think "we'll have a proper aca-

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

'BLACK POWER'

BY WAYNE HURDER

HAYNEVILLE -- The man who started the cry that Negroes should go on their own to develop "black power" returned to Lowndes County this week and explained what he means.

Until he was elected chairman of SNCC last May, Stokely Carmichael was organizing an independent third party of Negro candidates in Lowndes County.

At the Friendship Baptist Church near here Sunday, Carmichael called for Negroes to form independent parties even in areas where they are a minority. In these places Negroes shouldn't seek the white liberals' vote, he said, "because the blacks should learn their own strength."

"Black power is when we pick the person we want to represent us," the 24-year-old Student Non-violent Co-

5 Mississippians Beaten On Kemper County Road

food for distribution to poor people.

The Department of Agriculture, however, said the distribution had to be cleared through Judge Knight.

According to Black, when a committee of four local Negroes talked to Knight in May, he said he wouldn't sign an approval form because he didn't approve of the anti-poverty program. When it was explained to Knight that the food would be distributed to the poor whites and Negroes in the area, Black said, the judge argued that if people got something for nothing, this would encourage them not to work.

On Wednesday, after criticizing Black and the march and accusing the marchers of looking for trouble, Knight said he would meet with the Hale County Revenue Board (which he heads) next Monday morning to consider approving the food distribution.

Judge Knight refused to comment to reporters about his refusal to sign, or about the marches.

At a meeting held in St. Luke Church after Wednesday's march, a committee was formed to ask for permission to meet with the revenue board next Monday, and to report the board's decision back to the other residents of the county. Mrs. Elizabeth Bradley, Mrs. Teresa Burroughs, T.B. Hicks, and the Rev. L.A. Lee were named to the committee.

"Many people are unemployed here for the reason that mechanized farms and industries have taken away their jobs," Black explained. "Many try for jobs in other parts of the state, but most end up just going North. Hale County is mostly composed of children and old people on welfare, and the welfare just doesn't pay."

Reynolds said he may try to get the white population of the county to participate in the marches. "We've got to educate the poor white folks that they're hungry, too," he said. "One of the things I hope this march shows is that poor whites have got to join in this thing, too. It's hard to talk to whites in Hale County, but I have to try."

Asked before Wednesday's march how he thought it would come out, an elderly marcher said, "If we can't get what we want today, we'll just have to march tomorrow and the next day until we get the food and make the judge and the people here understand that we have problems. It may be hard, but we're going to try."

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Champion has given ten acres of his land for the school's sports fields.

Bass, who is president of the foundation, is against sending his children to desegregated schools because he doesn't think "we'll have a proper academic atmosphere in the public school system during the social revolution."

John Hulett, head of the Lowndes County civil rights movement and father of a son who attends a previously all-white school in Hayneville, said, "They are free to set up any kind of schools they want as long as they don't use our money."

Another Negro active in Lowndes County civil rights work and politics, William Cosby, said he felt the private school would make the public school system less crowded as Negroes enter formerly all-white schools.

According to Bass, the foundation has not tried to get any money from local or state public tax funds.

Miss Hulda Coleman, superintendent of education in Lowndes' system of 660 white pupils and 3,800 Negro pupils, indicated that she had had no contact with the private school foundation.

More than $150,000 has been contributed to the school for a permanent building in Hayneville. Part of the money came from parents who are paying $30 per month for their first child enrolled, $20 for the second child in the family, and $10 for the third child.

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"Black power is when we pick the person we want to represent us," the 24-year-old Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee chairman said.

The slogan "black power" has been the center of a dispute since Carmichael used it in the Mississippi march to replace the traditional cry of "freedom."

(While Carmichael was in Lowndes County Sunday, the Congress of Racial Equality agreed at its national convention in Baltimore, Maryland, that it supports the drive for black power.)

There is no real misunderstanding about black power, Carmichael told 100 members of the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights.

White people really know what is meant by black power, he said, but they distort it and call it "black supremacy," because "they know what they did when they had power."

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

5 Mississippians Beaten On Kemper County Road

BY GAIL FALK

DEKALB, Miss.--Five men were beaten here last Saturday evening after their Cadillac passed a pickup truck driven by a white man.

The men--Lonnie Chamberlain, 14, Ted Coleman, 39, Eugene Griffin, 16, and Renea Johnson, 15, of Preston, Miss., and R.G. Grady, 25, of Memphis, Tenn.--said the truck trailed them along the highway into DeKalb, where they stopped for sandwiches.

"When we were on our way home," said Coleman, "this same truck... came out of a side road, and blocked the path of our car. Two men jumped out. Each one had a pistol and a blackjack."

"The younger white man pointed his gun at the driver, Mr. Grady, and pulled him out of the car," said Johnson. "He started to beat on Mr. Grady with the blackjack many times till Mr. Grady fell to the ground. He picked Mr. Grady up and then beat him back down again."

Coleman said that when the man had finished beating Grady, he "pointed his gun at me and told me to get out. When I did, he hit me twice in the head with his blackjack. . . .It knocked me out, and I fell to the ground."

Chamberlain and Johnson said they too were knocked unconscious. Griffin also was beaten, and a sixth passenger escaped into the bushes.

The five injured men were treated at Kemper County Hospital, and then released.

The men think they were mistaken for civil rights workers. Their car had a Tennessee tag, and they said they heard the white men call them "freedom riders."

Justice of the Peace R.M. Harmon said Grady and Griffin filled out warrants Monday, charging Levon and Herman Breckenridge with assault with a dangerous weapon.

Law Almost Sinks the Alabama

MOBILE -- No one is going to sell the battleship Alabama.

Probably no one ever really wanted to, but for a while last week the historic ship seemed to be headed for the auction block.

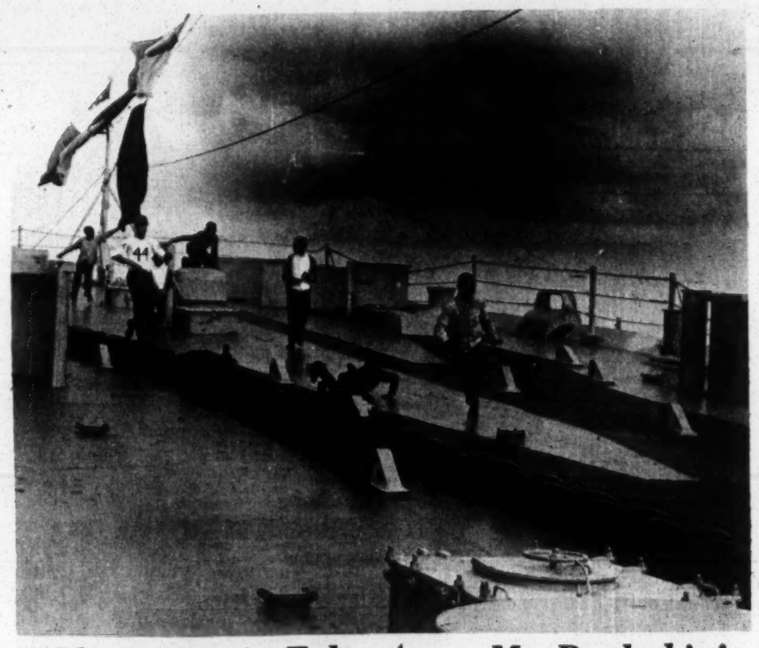
Circuit Judge Daniel T. McCall put an end to the legal "joke" just six days before the Alabama was to be sold.

General Sessions Court Judge Warren C. Finch unknowingly ordered the sale earlier--to pay off $416 owed to a loan company by a state battleship commission employee.

Judge Finch was acting under Alabama's garnishment law. Under this law, an employer can be forced to withhold part of a worker's wages when the worker owes money to another person or company (called a creditor). The money withheld is used to pay the worker's debts.

But when the loan company tried to get the battleship commission to withhold $416 owed by an employee, the commission refused. Its lawyers said the commission was "an arm of the state," and therefore could not be sued.

This point came up before Judge Finch last January. He ruled that the commission was not an arm of the state, and that it should withhold the money from its employee's paycheck.



'Please Don't Take Away My Battleship'

But there is more to Alabama's garnishment law. If an employer refuses to cooperate, the creditor can forget about the worker and sue the employer instead.

The state battleship commission was created back when thousands of Alabamians gave their dimes and dollars to bring the Alabama from the state of Washington to Mobile Bay. The only thing the commission has that is worth anything is the old World War II battleship.

So the loan company decided to force the commission to sell the battleship in order to pay the $416.

This kind of proceeding is routine when, as usual, battleships aren't involved. Such cases are handled mechanically by the staff of Judge Finch's court.

So one day Judge Finch read in the newspapers that his court had ordered a sale of the battleship Alabama. A lot of people had a lot to say about THAT.

They asked Sheriff Ray Bridges, who would have been in charge of the auction: "What the hell are you doing selling a battleship?"

Finally, Judge McCall ruled that the battleship commission was, after all, an arm of the state. So it didn't have to withhold the $416. And it didn't have to sell its battleship.

But legal experts see two serious points in the daffy case. First, they say, it shows how rough the state's garnishment law can be.

Second, they say, it means that if a tourist slipped and broke a leg while on the battleship--something that really might happen--he probably couldn't sue anybody. It would just be his tough luck.

LEWIS QUITS SNCC

ATLANTA, Ga. -- John Lewis, former SNCC head, quit SNCC last week. His resignation becomes effective later this month. Lewis, 26, from Troy, Ala., was SNCC chairman for three years until Stokely Carmichael replaced him in May.

Bombs Over Selma

SELMA--The Edmund Pettus Bridge was the site of a spectacular Fourth of July fireworks display. No doubt every Selma resident at the historic bridge was thinking to himself: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

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MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA 36104
PHONE: (205) 262-3572

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Associate Editor: Michael S. Lottman
Photography Editor: James H. Peppler
Layout Editor: Amy R. Peppler

Vol. II, No. 28 July 9-10, 1966

Editorial Opinion

In the Mail

Things an editor learns when he reads his mail: At least 70 out of 100 white workers have jobs within the present minimum wage law coverage; less than 50 out of 100 non-whites are covered.

Four out of 100 white men are unemployed; eight out of 100 non-white men are unemployed. Fifty out of 100 white men are high school graduates; 25 out of 100 Negro men are high school graduates.

Education isn't the whole answer: Ten out of 100 unemployed Negro men have less than eight years of school; even more--11 out of 100--of the unemployed Negroes have some high school training.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I find nothing noble or good about narrowness of mind or the unfounded contempt which reduces any man to less than a human being because of the color of his skin, or his creed... it is wrong, wrong, wrong. And I can't understand the shallowness of a person who believes otherwise. I am unable to comprehend how any person could justify such belief unless he lives in complete conflict with the values upon which reason and decency are based.

For America's greatness comes not from the hate or narrowness of little minds. Rather is America herself a dream, a land where more than just lip service is paid to the dignity of man, and men are free to achieve through ability and merit, not contact or color. To deny that fact would be to deny the Declaration of Independence, to betray at the same time America herself. That is a tragedy I do not care to see.

Yet it is a tragedy I see here. And I am shamed by the denials and restrictions and problems that trouble them... and this nation.

Yet it is different here. These things are reduced to facade, to a lie. That is what is so unfathomable, to have people say they are American, yet know these same people will not live by the things for which America stands.

Why? Why are human rights and human feeling segregated and narrowed to fit the color schemes of myopic minds? I have no answer. Certainly there can be no justification. When a man for association, for a choice of friends must fear not only social ostracism but social violence... what mockery of this land of the free? What disdain for the right and the just?

Our rights must be inviolable. If you can deprive a person of his rights because you disagree with him, or because the color of his skin happens not to be the same as yours, you may someday be deprived of your rights for like reason. That is why the just and the

Teachers, Aides 'Sell' Head Start In Birmingham

BY DON GREGG

BIRMINGHAM--When a businessman comes out with a new product, he lets the public know about it. He uses billboards, newspapers, and television to advertise the product.

It may be difficult to think of the U.S. Government using mass advertising. But now the government must tell millions of Americans about the new anti-poverty programs in their communities.

And telling about the programs is not enough. The government must get people involved. It has to "sell" its anti-poverty programs.

Operation Head Start is such a program. It is a pre-school orientation for six-year-olds who are starting school this fall. Head Start was operating in Birmingham last summer, but it still took door-to-door selling to get enough kids to fill up this year's program.

The Jefferson County Committee for Economic Opportunity is the local anti-poverty organization. Teachers hired for Head Start by this committee were the door-to-door salesmen for the program. For three days before classes began, these teachers and their aides systematically scoured Birmingham neighborhoods for pre-schoolers to participate in the program.

One teacher, who asked that her name be withheld, said that one-third of the people she interviewed had never heard of Head Start, and only one in 20 understood what it was all about:

"I hate to sell, and that's what we were doing a lot of the time. Some of the parents wouldn't give us a definite answer until we told them about the free dental and medical care their children would get. If they understood the program, this wouldn't be necessary."

Though she resented this "sales" approach, the teacher added that she didn't care why parents enroll their children in Head Start because they will benefit regardless of their parents' motives for sending them.

Gray, Bullock Negro Candidates Ask U.S. Court for New Election

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY--Five Negro candidates who didn't like the taste of their defeat last week asked federal court to order them a new election. They said the old one had a flavoring of conspiracy.

Some white officials this week replied to the candidates. The officials suggested that the bad taste was only sour grapes.

The election they all were talking about was the May 31 Democratic primary run-off in the 31st house district (Bullock, Barbour, and Macon counties).

One of the losing candidates was Fred D. Gray, the attorney who came within 600 votes of being the first Negro elected to the state House since Reconstruction. The others were Bullock County candidates Henry O. Williams, who ran for sheriff; Rufus Huffman, who ran for tax assessor; and Ben McGhee and Alonza Ellis, who ran for the court of county commissioners.

They asked U.S. District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. to throw out the results of the run-off in Bullock County and to order a new election there.

They charged that election officials and boards of registrars in all three counties "conspired to. . . . dissipate the voting strength of the Negro communities in Barbour, Bullock, and Macon counties and in Alabama house district 31."

In a 23-page suit, the losing candidates said that many white people in all three counties were allowed to cast illegal ballots to keep Negroes out of office "because of their race and color."

But election officials in Barbour and Bullock counties said the only thing that kept Negroes out of office was their failure to get enough votes.

"They don't have a leg to stand on," said Tom Parish, chairman of the Barbour County Democratic Executive Committee. "I've read the whole thing from one page to another, and I don't see where they have any justifiable complaint."

Gray was the only Negro candidate on the run-off ballot in Barbour County. A record number of voters there gave his opponent, Bill Neville Jr., a two-to-one majority in the county.

"Folks turned out to beat that nigger," Parish said, "and they just beat the slop out of him."

He said Gray should blame Negro instead of white voters for his defeat:

"A lot of nigras didn't vote for him here--or in Bullock County either. They said they didn't want no nigger representing them in the legislature."

The Negro candidates' suit charged that registrars in all three counties deliberately failed to purge their voters lists, in order to provide a method "whereby numerous illegal votes of white persons were received..."

Officials in Bullock and Barbour counties said their lists had been purged.

The suit singled out Bullock County because "attempts of poll watchers to perform their lawful tasks were uniformly resisted."

Bullock County election officials threatened poll watchers with arrest, kept them out of polling places, denied them the use of paper and pencil, prevented them from properly observing the election, and denied them the use of public bathrooms and drinking fountains, the suit said.

A hearing on the suit will be scheduled after the defendant county officials have time to make written replies.

John Allen Crook, chairman of the Bullock County Democratic Executive Committee, this week indicated the tone the replies will take.

"We tried to conduct the election in a fair and impartial manner," he said. "We tried, but we couldn't please anybody."

No Macon County official had any public comment. But one white Democrat pointed out that all three Negro candidates in the run-off for Macon County offices won.

"If we were trying to dissipate the Negro voting strength," he said, "we certainly did a poor job of it."

Russell Negro Deputy?

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

PHENIX CITY--"I'm not being pressured into this thing," said Russell County Sheriff M. Lamar Murphy. "I've been planning and wanting to do it for a long time."

He looked sternly at Nathaniel Gosha and Arthur Sumbry, leaders of the Phenix City-Russell County Betterment Association, a Negro group. Gosha and Sumbry looked sternly back at the sheriff.

"You can march in the morning if you want to," Sheriff Murphy said. "You won't hurry me at all."

But before the conference was over, Murphy had promised Gosha and Sumbry that he would hire a Negro as a full-time deputy sheriff "very soon."

"This man will be in uniform as quick as possible," Murphy told the Negro leaders. He smiled and shook their hands as they left his office Wednesday afternoon.

Half an hour earlier Gosha and Sumbry had left another conference--with the Russell County commissioners and county attorney Roy M. Greene. But nobody was smiling then.

At the earlier meeting, Greene broke in as soon as Sumbry had asked the Greene said. "You're a month late."

"You're talking about unpaid part-time men who wear suits and drive around on the weekend," Gosha replied. "We don't mean that. We want a man in uniform. We want everyone who sees him to know he's a deputy."

"This county is employing more colored people than white, two to one," said O.W. Taff, chairman of the county commission. Commissioner G.W. Mitchell began reading a list of county employees by race.

"I don't doubt you have more Negroes than whites in subservient positions," interrupted Vernon Mitchell, editor of the Columbus (Ga.) News, a Negro weekly. "We want to know if you will pay a Negro deputy if the sheriff hires one."

"The law only authorizes us to pay the four deputies we have," replied attorney Greene. "We can't change the law. The state legislature has to do that."

"Laws can be changed," Mitchell said. "That's why we're here-because the laws are excluding our people."

But Greene and the commissioners said they couldn't do anything unless the law is changed.

"Y'all came to the wrong place."

Sermon of the Week

Priest Links Christ, Freedom In Independence Day Sermon

BY PHILIP SAYRE

people are being massed together, the church is realizing the need for per-

To the Editor:

I find nothing noble or good about narrowness of mind or the unfounded contempt which reduces any man to less than a human being because of the color of his skin, or his creed... it is wrong, wrong, wrong. And I can't understand the shallowness of a person who believes otherwise. I am unable to comprehend how any person could justify such belief unless he lives in complete conflict with the values upon which reason and decency are based.

For America's greatness comes not from the hate or narrowness of little minds. Rather is America herself a dream, a land where more than just lip service is paid to the dignity of man, and men are free to achieve through ability and merit, not contact or color. To deny that fact would be to deny the Declaration of Independence, to betray at the same time America herself. That is a tragedy I do not care to see.

Yet it is a tragedy I see here. And I am shamed by the denials and restrictions, by the contempt for equal treatment under law and the disdain for the just and good that here make mockery of this nation's greatness. It troubles me to know that shallow minds find here fertile ground for their narrowness. The traditions and controls they have managed to establish do indeed make mockery of the American dream; that is perhaps the ultimate tragedy of the South. For America is a land of dreams, a land of freedom. And freedom is not a word to pay lip service to, a facade or lie that really has no meaning or reality, an attitude or equality and closeness that "should" exist between people. It is something very real. It has to be, no less than as an applied ideal freedom's scope must include everyone. For freedom is itself an attitude. It is a way of approaching life and therefore people. It is a way of living with people, sharing with them things common to all men: the worries, the fears, the tears. It embodies compassion, integrity, includes also concern for others and the problems that trouble them... and this nation.

Yet it is different here. These things are reduced to facade, to a lie. That is what is so unfathomable, to have people say they are American, yet know these same people will not live by the things for which America stands.

Why? Why are human rights and human feeling segregated and narrowed to fit the color schemes of myopic minds? I have no answer. Certainly there can be no justification. When a man for association, for a choice of friends must fear not only social ostracism but social violence... what mockery of this land of the free? What disdain for the right and the just?

Our rights must be inviolable. If you can deprive a person of his rights because you disagree with him, or because the color of his skin happens not to be the same as yours, you may someday be deprived of your rights for like reason. That is why the just and the right must prevail regardless of race, color, creed, belief; why I cannot condone the very real and very tangible violations of our sense of right and wrong; indeed, our very concept of freedom and justice, that I find here.

I want an America free and just, for all men. I want never to fear because the beliefs I hold are unpopular, or friendships I cherish condemned because they're not "white." Nor do I wish to see an America overshadowed by narrowness or hate, by injustice or ostracism against any portion of American society. America is not white. She is not black. Her strength, her greatness, her future lies in one person: The American. That's you, and I, and every other American, black or white. Deny this, deny any person for any reason his right to be an American, to vote, to dissent, to choose his own friends, equality, justice. . . and you deny America.

William Heter
Montgomery, Ala.

people she interviewed had never heard of Head Start, and only one in 20 understood what it was all about:

"I hate to sell, and that's what we were doing a lot of the time. Some of the parents wouldn't give us a definite answer until we told them about the free dental and medical care their children would get. If they understood the program, this wouldn't be necessary."

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But Greene and the commissioners said they couldn't do anything unless the law is changed.

"Y'all came to the wrong place," said Commissioner M. M. Dudley. "Go see the sheriff." So Gosha and Sumbry did.

Sermon of the Week

Priest Links Christ, Freedom In Independence Day Sermon

BY PHILIP SAYRE

HUNTSVILLE--"If we are to undergo the renewal which is demanded by Jesus Christ, we must search for what we are today; and if we are to recapture the world of Jesus Christ, then we must start by being free men," Father Brice Joyce said here Sunday.

Father Joyce, pastor of Our Lady of Grace Church in Sheffield, delivered the Independence Day sermon at the Redstone Arsenal Post Chapel.

All too often, he said, the church has been a strict, authoritarian institution which has identified with the things it should be reforming. For example, he said, it took the Catholic Church many years to recognize the Declaration of Independence.

"The only reason authority is coming into question in the church is because the authority has been misused," said the priest. He cited Saint Peter's misuse of authority, when Peter became "un-Christ-like." It was Paul who "told him off" for such behavior.

Today, though, "as the world is becoming smaller and smaller, and as people are being massed together, the church is realizing the need for personal freedom . . . . In the future, we as Christians must serve both Christ and one another," said Father Joyce.

"Some say that the Church is not a free society; some go so far as to say that the church is not a democracy. That, I challenge. Jesus Christ came to tell us to be free. He did not come to say, 'I teach you to be Christians,' but he came to say, 'I give you life, to be active and living with me.'"

Father Joyce cited Christ's rebuke to the scribes and Pharisees for their love of power. They made rules which the people followed simply because they were told to.

Too often, said Father Joyce, the modern church acts in the same way, "and to hell with Jesus Christ. But whether or not we like it, Jesus Christ is going to count in the future. It is He, our brother, who made us free."

Father Joyce closed the sermon reminding the congregation of each individual's commitment to Christ and to freedom: "You and I must defend our freedom at times from the church."

BY CAROL S. LOTTMAN

SATURDAY, JULY 9

THE COACHES' ALL-AMERICA FOOTBALL GAME -- Sixty of last year's outstanding college senior football players will appear in the annual hot-weather classic. The East team, coached by Michigan State's Duffy Daugherty, will have quarterback Steve Sloan of Alabama, the hero of the Crimson Tide's win over Nebraska in the Orange Bowl. At 8:30 p.m. on Channel 6 in Birmingham and Channel 31 in Huntsville.

GET SMART -- "The Dead Spy Scrawls." Agent Maxwell (86) Smart poses as a pool hustler in a billiard parlor because he thinks it's a front for a KAOS electronic brain that intercepts CONTROL messages. At 7:30 p.m. on Channel 10 in Mobile, Channel 12 in Montgomery, Channel 13 in Birmingham, and Channel 15 in Florence.

SUNDAY, JULY 10

SUNDAY NIGHT MOVIE -- "Tender Is the Night." F. Scott Fitzgerald's famous drama about a man torn between love for his wife and devotion to his career. French Riviera in the 1920's provides colorful background. Stars include Jennifer Jones, Jason Robards Jr., and Joan Fontaine. At 8 p.m. on Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla., Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma, and Channel 31 in Huntsville. At 10 p.m. on Channel 4 in Dothan.

SOMETHING SPECIAL--Pearl Bailey stars in this hour-long special, which also features Ethel Waters and the Krofft Puppets. Miss Bailey will sing many of your favorites, including "Bill Bailey" and "I'm Tired." At 9 p.m. on Channel 13 in Birmingham.

MONDAY, JULY 11

MAN CALLED SHENANDOAH -- "The Siege." When Shenandoah reclaims a bed-roll left in a hotel by a non-paying customer, the hotel owner accuses him of being the boarder who skipped out. At 8 p.m. on Channel 3 in Pensacola, Fla., Channel 6 in Birmingham, Channel 8 in Selma. Tuesday at 9:30 p.m. on Channel 12 in Jackson, Miss.

TUESDAY, JULY 12

ABOUT PETS -- Does your Rover chase cars, bite the postman, and run off when you call him home? This show, the first in a three-part series from the Huntsville Obedience Club, offers tips

ROVER

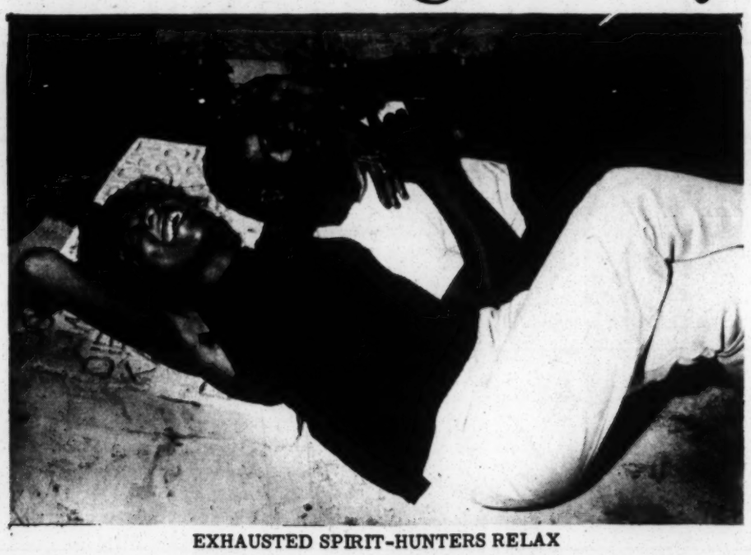
for training your dog. At 6:30 p.m. on Channel 2 in Andalusia, Channel 7 in Anniston, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville, and Channel 26 in Montgomery. The same show is repeated on Wednesday at 3:30 p.m. The other two parts of the series will be presented at the same times in the next two weeks.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 13

JOHN GARY SHOW -- New musical variety series is a treat for John Gary fans. This week's guests are Vic Damone, Tim Conway, and Joanie Sommers. At 9 p.m. on Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 13 in Birmingham, and Channel 12 in Jackson, Miss.

Snake Spirit Haunts Montgomery

ADVENTURERS INSPECT CORPSE OF SNAKE



EXHAUSTED SPIRIT-HUNTERS RELAX

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY--Two boys have told this community a puzzling and unexplained tale--that is, if this mysterious happening can be called a tale.

The boys, Casby Ingram and David Tubbs, along with Fletcher Haynes, their employer, were working in Westcott Cemetery on this particular day. As they were clearing weeds from the area, they saw a five-foot black coachwhip snake. After killing the snake, the three carried it to Casby's house.

Weird, uncanny, and unbelievable events then began to happen, according to what the boys said later.

A brick fell on Tubbs' head as he looked into a hole in a hollow tree, and Casby rushed to help him. Casby said that something grabbed them both and locked them together, but they struggled and broke loose. Then more bricks and rocks started falling.

Tubbs glanced at the tree and saw balls of fire falling from it. Then the fire started shooting all around them.

Later, strange things began to happen at Casby's home, he said--like a table turning over with no one around.

Finally Casby buried the snake in the cemetery.

Although things have been quiet for Casby since then, they haven't been for some other Montgomerians.

One boy said that "a big bird was flying around in Washington Park and he couldn't be killed." A woman was said to have been hit over the head by an invisible force while walking along the street.

The cemetery has been and still is an attraction for hundreds of people.

People dug holes to look for the buried snake, but couldn't find it. Someone said the cemetery looked like "Swiss cheese" after the spectators left.

Several people--including a group from Ramer and a few Southern Courier staff members-- went to the cemetery at midnight last Friday.

They found the tree broken down, lying over three graves. Hanging from a hole in the tree was none other than a snake himself.

A full moon put the final touch to this ghostly scenery.

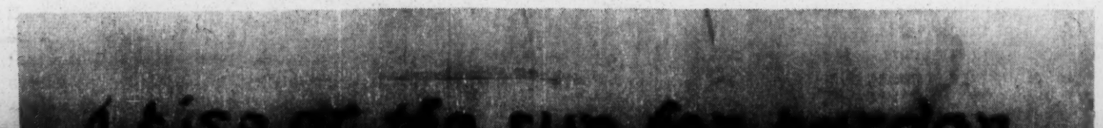
The visitors left with several questions on their minds, such as:

Was that the original snake that was killed and buried and that supposedly disappeared?

How did this snake get into the tree?

A Garden of
Sculpture, Plants, and Ponds
North of Montgomery

JASMINE HILL



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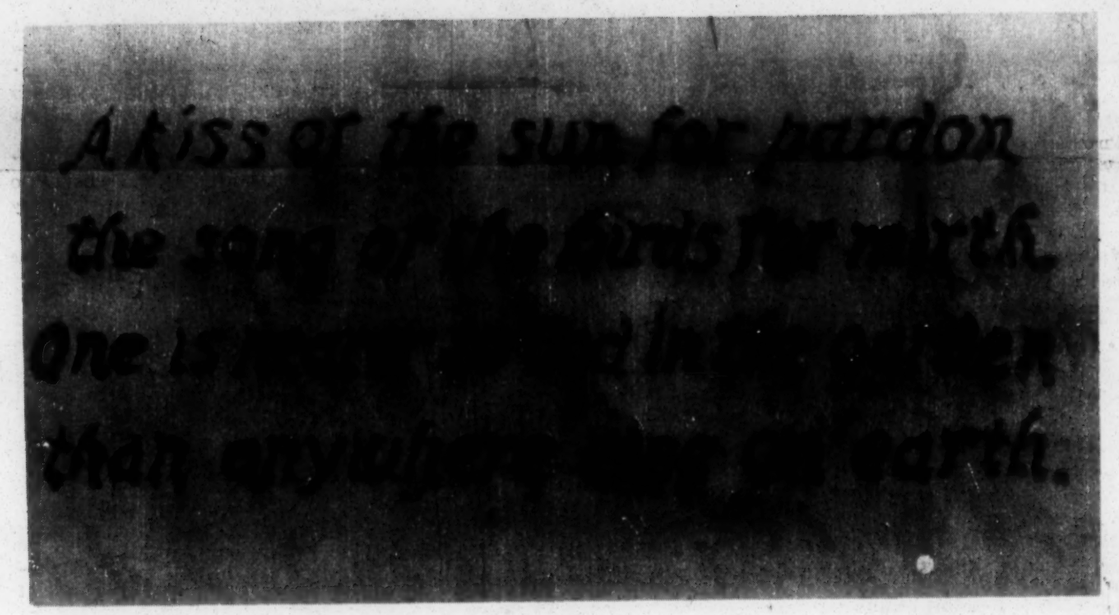
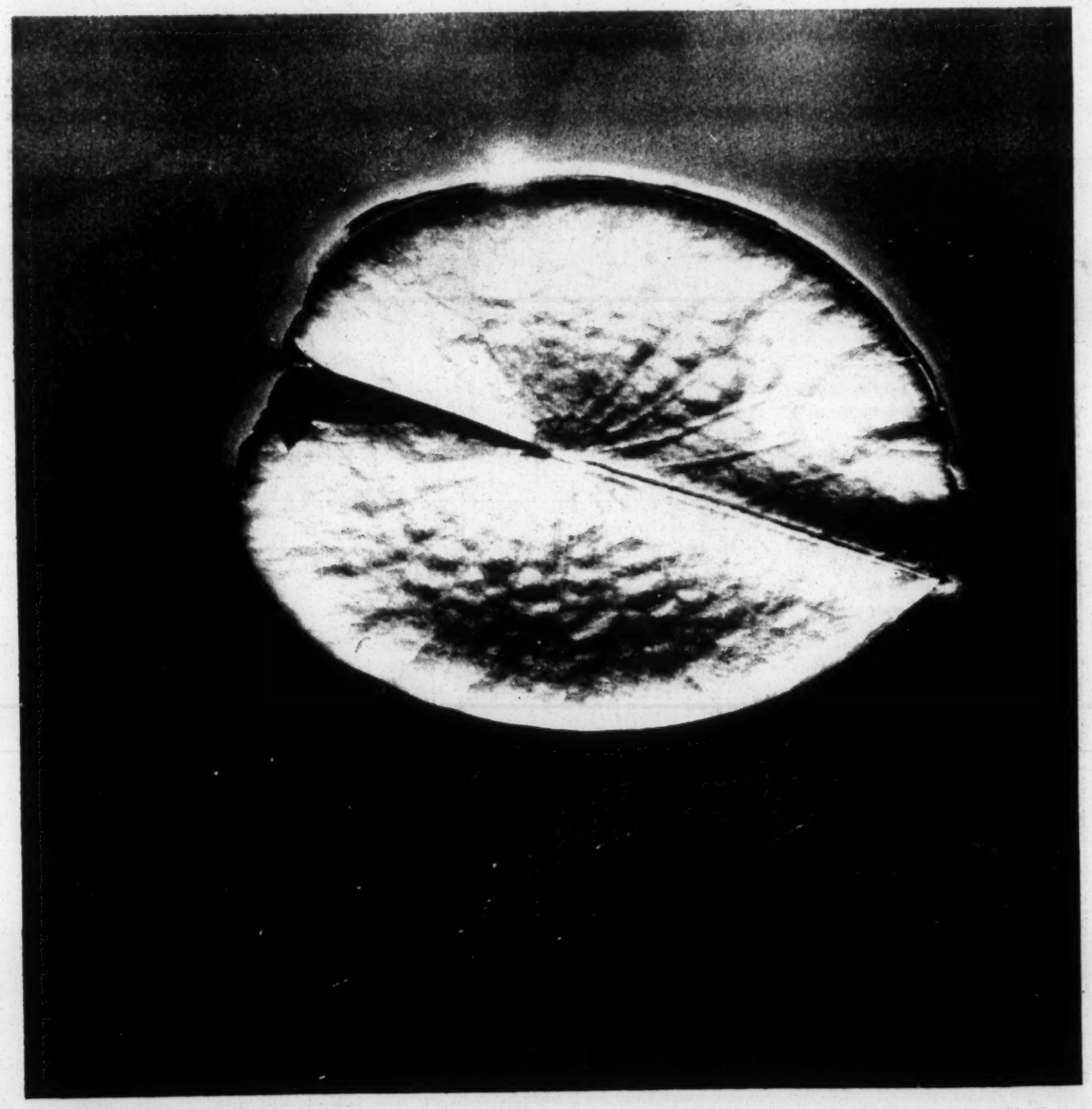


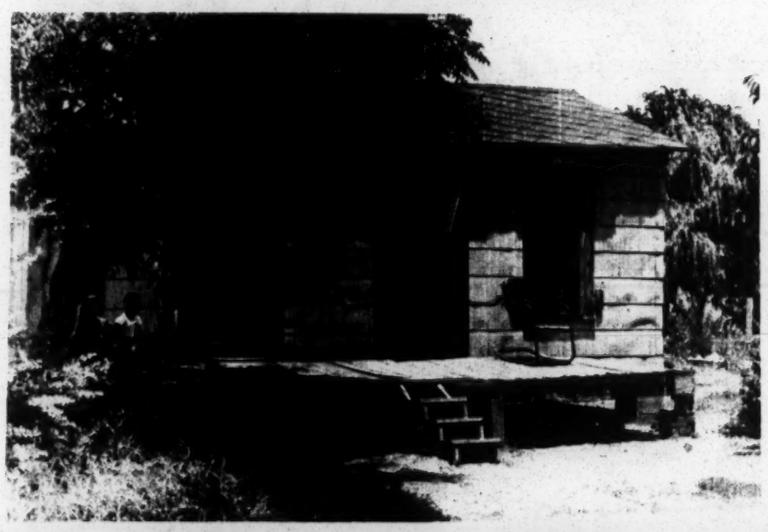
Photographs by Jim Peppler



The Other Face of Montgomery

Poor People Struggle To Improve Homes

STATE CAPITOL IN DOWNTOWN MONTGOMERY



HOME IN NORTH MONTGOMERY, A MILE AWAY

BY GLORIA GERMAN
AND PAT PRANDINI

MONTGOMERY -- Like most of the cities in the United States, Montgomery has many faces. One of them is the face you see on postcards of the state Capitol buildings and large tree-shaded homes. It is clean and rich and smiling.

Less than a mile away from the Capitol, you can see another face of Montgomery. It's a face that never shows up on postcards because its features are shacks and outhouses and unpaved roads. It is dirty and poor and sad.

Some of the houses in the slums are tumbledown shacks. Some of them are row houses of two rooms each, squeezed together along a bumpy street.

The houses don't have any indoor plumbing. Water comes from a faucet down the street that serves several families. The bathroom is an outhouse.

Most of the homes have no gas for heating or cooking. The families have only old stoves that burn wood or coal. Even when there is enough wood to keep the fire going in winter, the cold and rain come in through broken windows.

There isn't any mail delivery at the houses. In some neighborhoods, a store accepts mail for the people who live nearby.

Some houses are built low to the ground. When it rains hard, the people have to move out--or get wet. When the Alabama River overflows, the houses nearby are flooded. The people have to clean mud and sticks out of their homes before they can move back into them.

In many houses, six or more people live in one room. The living room is also the kitchen, dining room, and bedroom. Beds and chairs are crammed against the sink or the stove.

With so many people crowded into a small space, the houses don't stay clean very long. Some of the people have become too discouraged even to try to keep their houses clean any more.

The dust drifts in from the dirt roads, and the people eat dirt and sand with their meals. Some areas are infested

took the petition around to different houses in the area. When they had several names, Mrs. Fenison took the petition down to the sanitation department.

"They told us in order for us to have a sewer line, they would have to build a disposal plant and that would cost a lot of money," she said. "Now it looks like we will just have to wait to get a sewer in this neighborhood."

Mrs. Fenison said she and her neighbors would keep on petitioning the city for a sewer. She said they think they have a right to have the same facilities people have in other sections of Montgomery.

"If it had been white folks they would have put a sewer in, but since we are Negroes they just won't do it."

But O.L. Skinner, Montgomery's city engineer, said the city is putting improvements in poor neighborhoods wherever it can afford to do so. He said the city can't just decide to lay a sewer line and then do the work right away. It has to get the permission of all the property owners along the proposed sewer line.

"It's quite an involved process," he said. "Of course some people think it takes too long."

Another problem is that the city wants the people who live in a neighborhood to help pay for improvements. Jack Knight, head of the city planning commission, said the city can't use its own money to pave roads and put in sewers.

"Why should my tax dollar pay for someone else's improvement?" he asked.

Knight said that when someone buys a house in a neighborhood that already has sewer and water lines, the house costs more than it would in an area without the conveniences.

"People pay for improvements that are there when they buy the lots. Some man buys a lot on a dirt street and feels that he should have the improvements for free. Is that right?" Knight said.

Mrs. Fenison didn't answer him directly. She just frowned and shook her head and looked at the frame boards of the outhouse. "You just don't know how it feels to go in an outside toilet in the winter," she said. "And it smells bad in the summer."

There were other people in north Montgomery and on the west side who had another kind of answer for the city planners. Some sat on their rotting porches and looked blankly out at the street. Others backed away from their doors when they saw a stranger.

Often it took two or three tries to make the people understand why a newspaper reporter was there. They wanted to know why anyone was interested in what happened to them.

Outdoor Plumbing

Most of the homes along Tuttle Street near Alabama State College in Montgomery have indoor plumbing. But when the city laid a sewer line a few years ago, one white property owner didn't put in a bathroom for his Negro tenants. Instead, he installed a toilet in the outhouse.

ON A PORCH IN NORTH MONTGOMERY

HOME IN NORTH MONTGOMERY, A MILE AWAY

AT PLAY IN SHERIDAN'S ALLEY ON THE WEST SIDE

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The dust drifts in from the dirt roads, and the people eat dirt and sand with their meals. Some areas are infested with rats.

Why are these poor sections in north and west Montgomery the way they are? Don't the people care? Or can't they do anything to improve their homes?

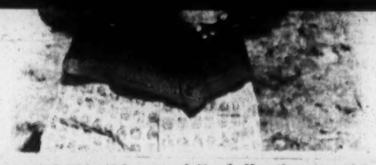
Mrs. Sylvia Johnson lives on the Jackson Ferry Road in north Montgomery. Five years ago she and a group of people in the neighborhood asked the city to install a sewer.

"Nothing came from it," she said. "So about two years ago we tried again."

Mrs. Rachel Fenison, another lady who believes in asking for what she wants, called up the city's sanitation department, which is in charge of putting in sewers.

"They told us we had to get a petition with property owners' names and the amount of land they had," Mrs. Fenison said.

She organized a committee. Mrs. Johnson and other committee members



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ON A PORCH IN NORTH MONTGOMERY

OUTHOUSES NEAR WASHINGTON PARK: IT'S COLD IN THE WINTER

Radney Makes His Own Rules In Alabama Senate Campaign

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

ALEXANDER CITY -- "I'm not an outsider," said the blond, blue-eyed young man. He settled back in the big chair in his law office. "I'm not an agitator. I'm an Alabamian who loves our people and is confident we can reason together to solve our problems."

He brought his hand down on the papers that covered most of his glass-topped desk. Tucked under one uncovered corner of the glass were a card and a letter signed with John F. Kennedy's bold scrawl.

"We aren't going to solve our problems overnight," said the young man. He clicked his ballpoint pen in and out. "As Kennedy said, not in 100 or 1,000 days--but we have begun."

It was a characteristic thing for Tom Radney to say. It was optimistic but cautious. It was full of the state-pride that Alabama requires of her politicians. And it suggested that Radney's solutions to Alabama's problems would somehow please nearly everybody who supports Governor Wallace and nearly everybody who supported President Kennedy.

It was the kind of statement that helped Tom Radney win the Democratic nomination for the State Senate in the 16th district (Macon, Tallapoosa, and Elmore counties).

Three cardboard charts on his office wall showed how Radney did it. He lost big in Elmore County, home of H.H. O'Daniel, his opponent in the run-off election May 31. But he won in Tallapoosa County, which years ago sent his great-grandfather (a Confederate warrior) and then his grandfather to the state legislature. And he won in Macon County, where two of every three voters were Negroes.

The Negro voters in all three counties didn't have much choice. O'Daniel advertised in Macon to assure the voters that "I'm your kind of guy." But in Tallapoosa and Elmore, he passed out campaign material that made it clear what kind of a guy he really was.

One leaflet, illustrated with a cannibal stirring a pot, asked, "Who's in the stew?" and compared Radney's Macon County vote to the similar vote for a Negro candidate. "Was there a deal?" asked O'Daniel. Another leaflet pictured Radney strangely darkened and smudged, apparently to persuade whites that he was a Negro.

Eleven thousand voters found one or more of O'Daniel's arguments persuasive. But 12,200 voters didn't.

"I'm proud of my victory," said Radney, not smiling. "I made the same speeches everywhere, in all three counties. I did not appeal to or ratify any emotions. I made no slanderous remarks. I sent out no smut literature."

Then he smiled, as if remembering that, after all, he won. "I have received hundreds of letters from all over the district in support of the type campaign I ran," he said.

"Now the fight is over. The family will unite. Twenty-three thousand people voted as Democrats, and I assume they are. I intend to pull one lever in November. So will they--if they believe in the Democratic Party."

Meanwhile, Radney intends to convince them--and any Republican who might plan to run against him--that the Democratic Party is an umbrella big enough to cover their disagreements. He spoke rapidly and decisively about several issues.

"Alabama's main problem is economic," he said, sounding like the city chamber of commerce director he once was. "If we can secure enough jobs, in time we can find answers to our other difficulties."

"I'm not afraid of attacking racial problems. They can be solved. They have been solved. In our district, Macon County has shown fortitude and leadership in the manner in which it has solved them."

"The federal government has helped the South in many ways, but it doesn't always understand our local problems. I believe in states' rights. So did the men who wrote this country's Constitution."

Radney paused for a minute, as if to emphasize what was coming next.

"This state and nation are big enough for us to have differences of opinion," he said, almost slowly. "The vast majority of all the people I will represent believe in law and order. If we have a rule of law and not of men, no problems are too big for us to solve."

Radney has been trying to maintain order with law in Alexander City. He has been city judge there for four years. He was 28 years old and only three years out of the University of Alabama Law School when he was appointed to the bench. He is also a part-time teacher.

Two and a half years ago he spoke to the Tallapoosa County Teachers Association as a Southern judge, lawyer, and teacher.

He quoted a couple of "young boys from good homes" who were caught stealing hub caps and gas from parked cars. "'Daddy says we don't have to obey the Supreme Court of the United States; why should I have to obey your little traffic court?'

"I wonder what would have been your reply as teachers of our children," Radney said. Then he added:

"It is time for us to take our rightful place in the days that lie ahead. It is time for us to distinguish between pride and prejudice and to become a part of the mainstream of the American system."

TOM RADNEY: ATTORNEY, CITY JUDGE, AND STATE SENATE NOMINEE

The First Day of Medicare: Business As Usual

BY JOHN SHORT

TUSCALOOSA--Druid City Hospital is the only general hospital in Tuscaloosa County. In the area it serves, there are about 9,000 people aged 65 or over.

But when Medicare went into action all over the country at 12:01 a.m. last Friday, it didn't go into effect at Druid City Hospital. A federal investigative team had refused to approve the hospital for Medicare, after it found "patterns of discrimination" in room assignments and in the cafeteria.

"I thought it was really bad that all those old people were missing out on Medicare," said Mrs. Elizabeth Daniels, a nurse's aide at the hospital.

Then, at 7:15 a.m. Friday, the administrator of Druid City Hospital, D.O. McClusky Jr., got a phone call from Atlanta. It was the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), saying that the hospital had been put on the approved list for Medicare.

"I just think that it's one of the most wonderful things that ever happened," said an elderly Tuscaloosa woman when she heard the news.

The hospital had been at odds with the government since the investigating team's visit last December. Among its other findings, the federal team reported that the hospital staff had been using the titles of "Mr." and "Mrs." for white patients only.

In order to become part of the Medicare program, hospitals must comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbids discrimination by any agency receiving federal money.

McClusky said the federal investigators "gave us a hard time on issues that with other hospitals were glossed over. Without question, hospitals in the South find it harder to satisfy them."

Since December, McClusky had been trying to win approval for his hospital by calling congressmen, HEW, and people he knew in Washington.

How did he feel after he received the call from Atlanta last Friday? "I just want to keep the people happy," he said.

After the approval came through, there wasn't the big rush of Medicare patients that some people had expected. The first person to enter Druid City Hospital under Medicare was a doctor--Dr. Maxwell Moody, Sr., who had been practicing medicine in Tuscaloosa for more than 50 years. He checked in Friday afternoon to undergo surgery.

Only three other Medicare patients had been admitted by the end of the day Friday. During the day, nurses explained the program to 85 elderly patients who had been admitted to the hospital before the program began. Many were now eligible for the program.

HUNTSVILLE--Only two Medicare patients were admitted to Huntsville Hospital during the first 12 hours of the program. Huntsville Hospital is the largest of the city's three hospitals, and

the only one to be certified for Medicare.

At least one of the two patients was admitted for "truly an emergency and not an 'elected' emergency," according to assistant administrator John E. Lee.

Lee said he expects there will be a gradual rise in the number of Medicare patients, but he doesn't foresee any big rush.

"I don't know of anyone who has truly needed help and not gotten it," he said.

MONTGOMERY--At St. Jude's Catholic Hospital here, the opening day of Medicare brought no new problems.

According to Mrs. Eunice Bayer, Medicare supervisor at St. Jude's, the only change will be in administration, where Medicare records will be filed separately.

"All the doctors on the St. Jude's staff are going to cooperate with the program," she said.

Mrs. Julia Scott, an elderly Negro woman, was the first patient admitted under Medicare. She came in shortly after midnight--just minutes after the program began.

Mrs. Bayer said more people asked about being treated for cataracts (a growth on the eye that can cause blindness) than for any other ailment.

But, she said, quite a few people did not understand that patients have to go through a doctor before they can be admitted to a hospital.

SELMA--The first day of Medicare was just another day for Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma, the only hospital in a three-county area that is eligible for the program.

By last Wednesday, said Assistant Administrator John Wright Jr., nine new patients had been admitted under Medicare and eight patients already in the hospital were transferred to the program. Wright said the hospital had a normal number of aged patients.

The two all-white hospitals in Selma--Baptist Hospital and New Vaughan Memorial Hospital--"have not chosen to be certified," according to a spokesman for one of them.

Mrs. Warren Has a Party For Pike County Transfers

BY ELLEN LAKE

TROY--Seventeen kids went to a new kind of party here Wednesday-a school integration party.

Mrs. Johnnie Mae Warren, president of the Pike County Voters League, gave the party to bring together all the Troy students who had applied to go to white schools in the fall.

She gave them ice cream, cookies, and a lot of advice. "You have to be friendly, regardless to how the other side treats you," she told the children. "If some of them act like they don't want to be with you, that don't mean you shouldn't go there, because Charles Henderson (the white school) doesn't belong to one child or one race.

"If someone calls you a name you don't like, you don't have to say nothing," Mrs. Warren continued. "But I don't go along with this non-violence--if someone hits you, hit back. Don't pick no fight, but if you have to do a job, do a good one."

But one girl who is going into her second year at a white school said she didn't think the warning was necessary. Miss Cynthia Hardimon, age 11, said, "I was real scared when I first went to Troy Junior High last year. Everyone was staring at me. Finally, some of the kids started to introduce themselves to me and we made good friends. I think my class was the friendliest one in the sixth grade."

MRS. JOHNNIE MAE WARREN

Miss Octavia Dix, also 11, said she had a rougher time: "Some of the kids in my room weren't so friendly. They called me 'brat' and 'burnt biscuit.' They think they can pick on you and you can't pick back.

"But I called them back names. I called them 'peck' and 'cracker,' and pretty soon they came real friendly."

But most of the students who applied to go to white schools for the first time didn't seem too worried about making friends. Miss Sylvia Taylor, 11, said she wanted to go to the white school because "I think it'll probably be friendlier."

Helicon Honors Graduate

HELICON--Last month, just ten people showed up to honor the first Negro student to graduate from a white high school in Crenshaw County. On the second try last Sunday, the crowd was

rights leader, urged others to continue what Miss Mitchell had begun:

"We got a job to be done. . . . It's no time to be tired, no time to be Uncle Toms or Nervous Nellies. We can't turn

Courier Newsboy of the Week

MELVIN STARKS Jr., 13, a pupil at Hillcrest High School in Brundidge, Pike County, sells 100 papers a week.

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be held Monday, July 11, at 6:30 p.m. in the New Hope Baptist Church, 1154 10th Avenue South, the Rev. H. Stone, pastor.

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Henderson (the white school) doesn't belong to one child or one race.

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Helicon Honors Graduate

HELICON--Last month, just ten people showed up to honor the first Negro student to graduate from a white high school in Crenshaw County. On the second try last Sunday, the crowd was quite a bit bigger.

About 35 people gathered in the Helicon Baptist Church to honor the graduate, Miss Effie Mae Mitchell, and to talk about getting 100 new Negro applicants into Highland Home, the high school Miss Mitchell attended.

Major Robert P. King, an instructor at the Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, spoke at the meeting.

"I wish we had a mountain out here and we could carve your face on it; I wish we had a million dollar scholarship and we could give it to you; I wish we had a plaque with your name on it," he told Miss Mitchell.

Collins Harris, a farmer and civil rights leader, urged others to continue what Miss Mitchell had begun:

"We got a job to be done. . . . It's no time to be tired, no time to be Uncle Toms or Nervous Nellies. We can't turn back, so there's no use talking about being tired," he said.

"We should be organizing tight enough so that in September, if they open the schools in Crenshaw, we all march down to Highland and be there when they open the doors."

The schools may not be open because the county may lose its federal aid for refusing to comply with the government's desegregation guidelines.

But, Harris said, "I want us to be so close together that all the drops in the river form a passage and people on the wayside say, 'That's Helicon.'"

practicing medicine in Tuscaloosa for more than 50 years. He checked in Friday afternoon to undergo surgery.

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Sunday, July 17
GREENE COUNTY
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Tuesday, July 19
DALLAS COUNTY
ELKS HALL
SELMA, ALABAMA
6:30 p.m. 50¢ donation

Wednesday, July 20
WILCOX COUNTY
NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY
CAMDEN, ALABAMA
6:30 p.m. 50¢ donation

Wednesday, July 27
MONTGOMERY COUNTY
YMCA
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
7:30 p.m. 75¢ donation

Friday, July 30
TUSCALOOSA COUNTY
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA
YMCA
6:30 p.m.

Poverty Program Poses a Tough Question

BY GAIL FALK

JACKSON, Miss.--The Hinds County Community Council last week sent three representatives to the executive board that will control anti-poverty money here.

This board, part of the Community Services Association (the local Community Action Program), has received federal approval, even though its members include more businessmen and bankers than poor people.

The community council is an organization of poor people in Hinds County who want to have a say in how anti-poverty money is spent. This spring the council complained to Frank Sloan, regional director of the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in Atlanta, that the Community Services Association was a "predominantly white, political, segregationist board."

"Mr. Sloan," asked the letter from the community council, "if you were poor and black would you be happy and co-operative and trusting with a board like the present one?"

Last week the OEO told the Community Services Association it would have to ask the Hinds County Community Council to send three people to work with the board on setting up elections to choose 12 poor people's representatives.

Colonel H.F. Frank, executive director of the Hinds County anti-poverty program, said it wasn't true that the board didn't represent poor people.

However, he and the board last week extended the invitation OEO had required, "just so we can be covered from every angle."

Last Thursday afternoon, three members of the Hinds County Community Council met with the anti-poverty board.

Thursday evening, when they reported back to the council, they were confused and discouraged.

"It was the coldest, most unfeeling meeting I've been to," said Mrs. Helen Bass Williams.

So the Hinds County Community Council faced the question that has faced poor people's organizations all over the country: Should they cooperate with an anti-poverty program that, by their standards, does not represent the interests and thinking of poor people? Or should they refuse to co-operate and block the chances for any anti-poverty program at all in the county?

At Thursday evening's meeting, James Mays reported a conversation he had with an Atlanta OEO official:

"He said, 'You're not going to get CAP (Community Action Program) boards perfect. You have to accept the best you can get, and work with it to make it how you want it as you go along.'

"I told him things should be as near right as you can get 'em when you start it.

"But I know a lot of people need money now. And the poverty program may end in a few years."

A.B. Evans told the council it had two choices: "We can stay off the board and raise hell and not get very far. Or get on the board and raise hell and not get very far, but at least let them know we know they are doing wrong."

The council voted to accept the invitation and to elect three regular representatives. R.F. Anderson of St. Thomas, and Evans and Mays of Jackson were elected.

'Black Power'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Carmichael compared the problem of the Negro with that of the Irish in Boston 100 years ago. There, he said, the Irish united to get power.

The only difference between what the Irish did and what the Negro is doing is that now everybody says the Negro is anti-white, Carmichael said.

The Lowndes County independent party is running Negro candidates for every open county office, under the emblem of the black panther. The election

Klansman Gives Evidence Against Fellow Knights

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

ATHENS, Ga.--One day a little more than two years ago, "Big Tom" Stephens joined the Ku Klux Klan. The Atlanta truck-driver, a soft-spoken giant of a man, plopped $10 in cash into the hands of Joseph Howard Sims, who swore him in at a local gas station.

It wasn't much of a ceremony. Sims handed Stephens a copy of the Klan oath, and Stephens signed. Stephens received his green and white membership card, good for six months. The gas station owner, Herbert Guest, sold him a Klan wallet--a black billfold with a "K" stamped in each corner and a torch-bearing knight on the front.

"Big Tom" was never very active in the Athens Klavern. Some of his friends were. Three of them went on trial in federal court here last week, and another three were hauled before a jury this week. The six, including Sims and Guest, may each face five years in prison and a $10,000 fine on charges of conspiring to violate the civil rights of Negroes.

The charges stem from a series of incidents in and around Athens, including a killing two years ago.

Stephens testified at both trials that on the morning of July 11, 1964, he drove into Guest's service station to pick up a boat trailer he had left there. He said Guest told him that Sims and two other Klansmen on trial had gone "chasing a car with a D.C. license with some niggers in it."

That was the morning that Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel Penn, a Negro educator from Washington, was killed by a shotgun blast as he and two Negro friends drove home from Army Reserve Officer Training camp at Fort Benning, Ga.

U.S. District Attorney Floyd M. Buford told all-white juries last week and this week that the Penn slaying was one of several acts of violence that were part of a "broad conspiracy to intimidate Negroes."

Robert Thompson, one of the two lawyers for defendant James Lackey, admitted in his opening argument Tuesday that the defendants might have "engaged in some activities that perhaps even you and I wouldn't approve of." If they had, he added, it might have been "to preserve some of the traditions of our Southland."

Jim Hudson, representing Guest and Denver W. Phillips, reflected that they may have done some "mean things" but, he pointed out, "you're not here to convict them of being mean men."

Hudson represented all three of last week's defendants--Sims, Myers, and George H. Turner. Their case went to the jury last Friday. The jury delivered its verdict the following morning. The verdict was then sealed.

Walters
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And Barber Shop

Lame Ducks to Meet in Capitol For Special Legislative Session

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--An unusual wildlife exhibition begins later this month in Montgomery. A large number of lame ducks will be on display in the Capitol building.

A "lame duck" is a politician who is nearing the end of his term in office and who already knows he is not going to be re-elected.

There are going to be a lot of them around when the state legislature begins its special session July 26--the eighth special session called by Governor George C. Wallace.

Among the lame ducks are all 14 of the state senators who voted against Governor Wallace's succession bill last fall. They either decided not to run again, or were defeated in the Democratic primaries last May.

If they want to, these 14 senators and any others who care to join them can make things tough for the governor. Last October, senators like Bob Gilchrist of Morgan County, Ed Horton of Limestone County, and John Tyson of Mobile County staged a filibuster that kept the succession bill from coming to a vote for nearly a month. When the vote finally did come, Wallace's bid for another term as governor fell short by three votes.

SEN. BOB GILCHRIST
A Lame Duck

But this session is supposed to be about another subject--education. The Wallace Administration wants to take $44,000,000 of the state's left-over school tax money, and spend it for:

1. A pay increase of about 10 percent for school teachers.

2. Salaries for new teachers, who will be hired to reduce the average class size.

3. A boost in the budgets of the state colleges and universities, the junior colleges, and the trade schools.

The governor has said these steps will bring Alabama up to the Southern average in teacher salaries, average class size, and money spent per student.

After talking to the legislators, some of the state's top educators told the governor that this program will be approved without any fuss.

If these measures are approved, there will still be $40,000,000 left in surplus school tax money. There might be an attempt to give some of this money to school districts that lost federal aid by refusing to obey the government's guidelines on desegregation. Under pressure from Wallace and other state officials, at least 35 local school districts have decided not to comply.

The Wallace Administration will also ask for two other new laws. One would extend the state's GI scholarship program to veterans of the Viet Nam war. This would mean that disabled Viet Nam veterans, their dependents, and children of soldiers killed in the war could attend state-owned colleges free of charge.

The other new law would provide payments of $10,000 to the families of law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty.

Governor Wallace has said this law was made necessary by court decisions "which have actually encouraged lawbreakers to take to the streets," and "have tied the hands of officers in enforcing the law."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER
Covering Race Relations in Alabama

cil to send three people to work with the board on setting up elections to choose 12 poor people's representatives.

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The Lowndes County independent party is running Negro candidates for every open county office, under the emblem of the black panther. The election that will decide whether there is "black power" or "white power" in the county comes on Nov. 8, which the SNCC leader calls "black folk day."

"Lowndes County is going to be very important," Carmichael said. "All over the country, they are going to try to stop Lowndes County. To do this they will use Negro leaders."

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1. A pay increase of about 10 percent for school teachers.
2. Salaries for new teachers, who will be hired to reduce the average class size.
3. A boost in the budgets of the state colleges and universities, the junior colleges, and the trade schools.

gram to veterans of the Viet Nam war. This would mean that disabled Viet Nam veterans, their dependents, and children of soldiers killed in the war could attend state-owned colleges free of charge.

The other new law would provide payments of $10,000 to the families of law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty.

Governor Wallace has said this law was made necessary by court decisions "which have actually encouraged lawbreakers to take to the streets," and "have tied the hands of officers in enforcing the law."

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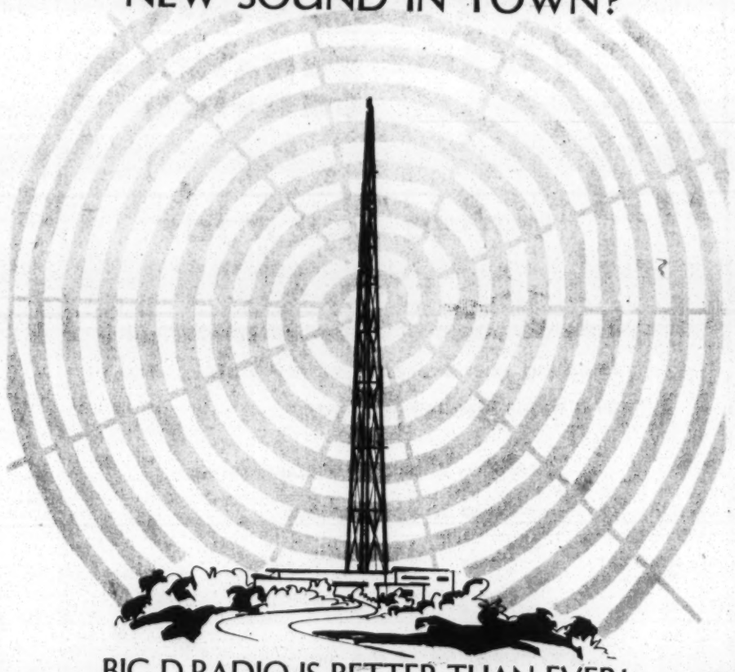

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THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, NO. 32 | WEEKEND EDITION: AUGUST 6-7, 1966 | TEN CENTS

C.R. Worker Gets 6 Mos. Hard Labor

DEMOPOLIS--Dick Reavis, a civil rights worker from Texas, was found guilty of vagrancy here last Monday. He was sentenced to six months hard labor and fined $100.

Reavis was arrested for vagrancy last September, when he was working for SCOPE in Marengo County. At that time, Reavis, his father, and Demopolis Police Chief A. E. Cooper made an agreement that if Reavis left the county and didn't come back, the charges would be dropped.

However, Reavis decided to come back to Marengo County this summer and continue his civil rights work. So Monday he had to stand trial for vagrancy.

Reavis was found guilty of breaking two vagrancy laws. The first was "leading a profligate life," and the second was having no means of support. "Leading a profligate life" means not doing anything useful.

Reavis was head of the SCOPE project in Demopolis last summer. He was fired in August, but three weeks later he was hired again. It was after he had been re-hired that he was arrested for vagrancy.

According to Jules Kirsch of the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, Reavis was usefully employed, "unless you define a profligate as a civil rights worker."

Alabama law doesn't say how much money is considered to be a means of support. Most policemen would say $5 is enough.

Reavis said he had a check for $40 at the time of his arrest. However, no record could be found of that check. And Reavis admitted during testimony Monday that after he had been arrested, he had to borrow money from Cooper.

Reavis is appealing his case to Circuit Court.

Closed in Huntsville Negro High School

HUNTSVILLE -- The city school

Floyd Rides a Train, Steffie Learns to Swim

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

AUBURN--Floyd Marshall took his first train ride and Miss Debbie Mandrake met the governor of Alabama. Bill Harlan learned to make pot-holders and Miss Steffie Taugner learned to swim.

They were among more than 50 children who attended the four-week play-school last month at the First Presbyterian Church in Auburn.

To them, the important thing about the play-school was what they did. "I like making pot-holders," said eight-year-old Bill, rubbing his freckled nose. "We took a field trip to Montgomery and saw the Capitol," said Debbie, also eight, grinning from pigtail to pigtail.

But to the sponsors, the teachers, and the parents, the important thing about the play-school was who the children were. Floyd and Debbie are Negro, Bill and Steffie are white.

One-third of all the children in the school were Negro. Some of the teachers were white; and some were Negro. It was the first integrated play-school [illegible]

wanted to come back again next summer.

Miss Julie Taugner, a blond ten-year-old, said she liked the integrated play-school better than segregated school. Why? "'Cause you make more friends," she said.

Klan's Night Out In Mt. Vernon

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MT. VERNON -- "Gene! Get some men and come quick! They're shootin' into my house."

A volley of shots fired by robed Ku Klux Klansmen had just slammed into 58-year-old Mrs. Elizabeth Chapman's small house on Highway 43 in northern Mobile County last Saturday night.

The Klansmen had come from a rally of about 250 people across the highway. Mrs. Chapman and a few others were sitting on her porch watching the rally when she first saw some Klansmen standing in a field next to her house.

GOP Ignores Negro Vote --But Martin Plays Safe

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

MONTGOMERY--If Alabama Republicans have much interest in the Negro vote, you couldn't tell from their convention last week-end.

A huge Confederate flag hung behind the delegates, a lone Negro sat among them, and the speakers who addressed them sounded pretty much like Governor George C. Wallace.

The GOP candidate for the U.S. Senate, John Grenier, took up Wallace's latest campaign against the federal government--the governor's criticism of two anti-poverty grants to civil rights groups in Lowndes and Wilcox counties.

Grenier blamed the national Democratic Party for making it possible "to give $300,000 into the hands of an employee of Dr. Martin Luther King to communize the Black Belt of Alabama."

Grenier and the other candidates spent most of their time lashing out at President Johnson and the federal government. What they said wasn't any different from what most Alabama

JAMES D. MARTIN

Democrats have been saying about the federal government--the Republicans just promised to say it louder.

As U. S. Representative Glenn Andrews, running for re-election in the Fourth Congressional District, put it, "I am already rolling up my sleeves

G. P. Parham--The Onliest One

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON

FAIRFIELD--There was one Negro among the 2,000 or so delegates at the Republican convention last week end. He was G.P. Parham, a wealthy druggist from this steel town just west of Birmingham.

Parham is no newcomer to the Republican party. He put himself down as a Republican when he registered to vote about 25 years ago.

He joined because his father and his grandfather were both Republicans. "My grand-daddy joined as an ex-slave," Parham said, as he sat in his drugstore here this week. "He was just sold on the Republican party. I used to hear him talk about what Abraham Lincoln did for the Negro."

Abraham Lincoln isn't the only reason that Parham likes the Republican party. The Democratic party, he said, is "just too wasteful" with its anti-poverty programs.

Those programs, he said, are "unfair for the people who have to work hard and be taxed to death, for someone else to set up waiting on his check."

"I work hard," said Parham. "I haven't had any hand-out. Every damned thing I have, I've worked for."

Parham has a lot. He started his drugstore in 1937, borrowing $50 and renting a shack for $2.50 a month. Ten years later, he said, he was able to pay $50,000 in cash for a new building across the street. Today he has more buildings, more businesses, and more money.

His election as a delegate to the Republican convention came as a surprise to him, he said. At a precinct meeting this year, a white man nominated him for a seat on the county Republican committee. "I never saw the man before."

Negro Deputy In Henry?

BY PETER CUMMINGS

DOTHAN--"We've got 3,500 nigger voters and I think that a nigger deputy would be a good thing for their people," said A.B. Clark.

Clark won the Democratic nomination for Houston County sheriff last May. No one seems to want to run against him in November, so last week Clark was talking about the kind of sheriff he's going to be.

Clark said he was "very much in favor" of having a Negro deputy, and promised to appoint one soon after he took office in January. He added that a Negro deputy would "work strictly with colored people. There'd be a killing in the county if he arrested a white."

At 40, Clark has the build of a sheriff--he's 6 feet, 2 inches tall and weighs 264. Born on a farm near Dothan, he

ject in Demopolis last summer. He was fired in August, but three weeks later he was hired again. It was after he had been re-hired that he was arrested for vagrancy.

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Closed in Huntsville Negro High School

HUNTSVILLE -- The city school board last Tuesday voted unanimously to close down the senior high division of all-Negro Councill School. This leaves Huntsville with no segregated high schools.

The board's decision came after 168 of the 211 students in the senior high division asked to transfer to either Butler or Huntsville High, both previously integrated but mostly white.

In asking the board to close Councill's senior high, Schools Superintendent Alton Crews reminded the members that they were required to allow the transfers under a 1964 court order. He said it would not be economical to keep the senior high open, since there would be only about 45 students for its 19 instructors to teach this fall.

Crews said the 19 Councill teachers will be offered other jobs in the Huntsville system "at the same pay and status."

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

AUBURN--Floyd Marshall took his first train ride and Miss Debbie Mandrake met the governor of Alabama. Bill Harlan learned to make pot-holders and Miss Steffie Taugner learned to swim.

They were among more than 50 children who attended the four-week play-school last month at the First Presbyterian Church in Auburn.

To them, the important thing about the play-school was what they did. "I like making pot-holders," said eight-year-old Bill, rubbing his freckled nose. "We took a field trip to Montgomery and saw the Capitol," said Debbie, also eight, grinning from pigtail to pigtail.

But to the sponsors, the teachers, and the parents, the important thing about the play-school was who the children were. Floyd and Debbie are Negro, Bill and Steffie are white.

One-third of all the children in the school were Negro. Some of the teachers were white; and some were Negro.

It was the first integrated play-school in Auburn--and the first chance for most of the children to get to know children of another race. The school was sponsored by the East Alabama Council on Human Relations and the American Ethical Union.

"Some parents were interested in getting their children in an integrated atmosphere to prepare them for school this fall," said Mrs. Barbara Thornton, the play-school director. "But unless the difference has been pointed out to the children at home, they don't see it."

The children played games, sang songs, painted pictures, and even put on short plays. They also swam in the Auburn community pool, took a train ride to Notasulga, and toured the Auburn fire station.

"It worked out beautifully," said Mrs. Thornton. The children seemed to think so, too. Most of them said they wanted to come back again next summer.

Miss Julie Taugner, a blond ten-year-old, said she liked the integrated play-school better than segregated school. Why? "'Cause you make more friends," she said.

Klan's Night Out In Mt. Vernon

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MT. VERNON -- "Gene! Get some men and come quick! They're shootin' into my house."

A volley of shots fired by robed Ku Klux Klansmen had just slammed into 58-year-old Mrs. Elizabeth Chapman's small house on Highway 43 in northern Mobile County last Saturday night.

The Klansmen had come from a rally of about 250 people across the highway. Mrs. Chapman and a few others were sitting on her porch watching the rally when she first saw some Klansmen standing in a field next to her house.

She got everyone, including a crippled son, inside. Then the shooting started. Mrs. Chapman figured that about 20 Klansmen were outside. She decided to run for help.

Her family and friends begged her not to, she said later: "They said, 'Mother, don't go. They're going to kill you if you go out there.' I told them I'd just as soon die one way as die another."

Mrs. Chapman jumped out of the house, got by the Klansmen, and ran about three-fourths of a mile down a dark dirt road to the nearest phone.

She called the sheriff's office in Mobile, and then she called Minnie Smith's Bayou Inn a few miles up the highway.

Eugene Garner, of Sunflower, was at the inn because he'd had a feeling some trouble might come from the rally. He and two other men grabbed their guns

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 1)

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His election as a delegate to the Republican convention came as a surprise to him, he said. At a precinct meeting this year, a white man nominated him for a seat on the county Republican committee. "I never saw the man before," said Parham. The mostly-white group elected him.

The same thing happened at the county committee meeting when it came time to choose delegates to the convention--he was nominated by someone he didn't know, and the committee elected him.

"I don't believe that would have hap-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 2)

POW!

STONEWALL, Miss.--Don Manson, a member of the Law Students Civil Rights Coordinating Committee, received a blow on the back of his head as he left the Stonewall Post Office Monday.

Manson says he cannot identify the man who beat him because when he turned to look, the man socked him in the eye.

BY PETER CUMMINGS

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At 40, Clark has the build of a sheriff--he's 6 feet, 2 inches tall and weighs 264. Born on a farm near Dothan, he

A. B. CLARK

now owns the Clark Logging Company. But he said that by January, when he'll take office if elected, he'll have to find someone to manage the company for him, or else sell out. "I'd sure hate to sell those trucks," he said. "They bought the groceries and fed my family."

Clark feels strongly about recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions that prevent police officers from questioning people who are arrested: "The way I see it, a law enforcement officer don't stand a dog of a chance." But, he added, he would obey the court's rulings as well as other laws. "Sometimes your personal friends violate a small law," Clark said, "but you have to arrest them."

The nominee said he felt all people are entitled to their civil rights, but he added, "There's nobody against the niggers here. They're going to hurt themselves by pushing and marching... But I just want to be neutral on this issue."

Teen-agers, Clark said, deserve special attention from the sheriff's office: "I don't know exactly what we're going to do, but we're going to let these teen-agers know that we're for 'em rather than against 'em." It's a shame, he said, that "people have taught kids to be afraid of the law." Clark hopes he can change this attitude.

School Bill Passes

MONTGOMERY--Governor George C. Wallace's $44,000,000 aid-to-education bills were on their way to final approval this week. Both houses of the Legislature passed versions of the bills. One new law would provide $31,700,000 for teachers' salaries. Another bill would spend $900,000 for a library at Alabama A&M College in Huntsville.

State Senator Ed Horton of Limestone County--who led the fight against Governor Wallace's succession bill last summer--introduced a bill this week that would allow future governors (and other officials) to have two terms in a row.

JAMES D. MARTIN

Democrats have been saying about the federal government--the Republicans just promised to say it louder.

As U. S. Representative Glenn Andrews, running for re-election in the Fourth Congressional District, put it, "I am already rolling up my sleeves to fight anyone who thinks he can fight the Great Society better than I can."

Even U.S. Representative James D. Martin, the GOP candidate for governor, is running harder against President Johnson than against his real opponent, Mrs. Lurleen Wallace.

Martin's campaign slogan is "Beat LBJ the Jim Martin Way." He told the convention that Wallace wants to start his own third party and run for President. Wallace could never win, said Martin, but he could pick up a lot of Southern votes that might otherwise go to a conservative Republican candidate.

So the only way to beat the national Democrats, according to Martin, is to put an end to the political career of George Wallace.

Martin will have a tough time doing that. He didn't really want to try in the first place. He decided to run for governor because he thought Wallace would be running for the Senate.

But now that he's running against a Wallace anyway, Martin has promised to make a hard fight of it.

At the convention, he walked into a meeting of delegates from his own Seventh Congressional District and announced, "I'm going up to the Capitol to tell Lurleen we're moving in."

Martin pulled up to the Capitol in his red, white, and blue air-conditioned campaign bus, band music blaring from four loudspeakers. He led about 50 supporters up the steps to the Captiol, after pasting a Martin bumper sticker on the front of the huge building.

That sort of stunt is good for publicity, but votes are another matter. Martin needs every one he can get, and that certainly includes most of Alabama's 250,000 Negro votes.

But Martin doesn't think he can get them. He told reporters that Mrs. Wallace got "a little over 40,000" Negro votes last May. That estimate is probably far too high, but it means Martin isn't going to spend much time wooing Negro voters.

He told one group of delegates at the Convention that the civil rights bill now before Congress is "one of the worst bills this country has ever seen." And he said flatly, "I'm not going to seek any bloc vote."

But in Martin's televised acceptance speech, he carefully avoided attacking civil rights bills or groups.

Instead, he blasted national Democrats and promised 100,000 new jobs in Alabama. He said he would work for a state law to lower the voting age to 18, and he criticized Wallace for stirring up racial fears.

It was the kind of speech that any Negro there could have applauded--if any had been there. But there weren't any. The one Negro delegate had driven home to Fairfield after the first day and was too tired to make it back to Montgomery for the final event of the convention.

In Forkland's Tent City

One Man, One Vote--and No Land

MANCE BELL

BY JOHN SHORT

FORKLAND -- For Mance Bell, tomorrow means another day of picking his way through the litter of broken glass, empty oil cans, garbage, and plastic bleach bottles between his tent and the nearest shady tree.

Bell and his family live in "Tent City" here, in a one-room tent almost filled up by three beds. They have a rusty, wood-burning stove, a kerosene lamp, an electric fan, a wash basin, and just a few other odds and ends.

They also have a large, black-and-white poster tacked to the stovepipe. It says, "One Man, One Vote."

Up until last October, Bell lived in the house on Tishabee Road where he had been born and raised--the same house his father and grandfather had grown up in.

But last September, Bell and several of his neighbors who had been active in local SNCC activities went up to the county courthouse and registered to vote.

"Every man's got a right to vote," he explained. "If someone is in office you don't like, you got a right to vote him out. If you got someone you want, you got a right to vote him in."

In October, time came for Bell to renew the lease on his land. But, he said, the landlord told him he could no longer live on the land that "Bells had farmed for as long as I knew."

Without his land, Bell didn't have any way to make a living. "There were plenty of jobs about," he said, but "they just didn't seem to be available" for him and several other tenant farmers who had also been evicted.

After October, said one of Bell's friends, Bell lived in "a shack. When it rained, it rained on him. When the wind blew, it blew on him."

SNCC came back into Forkland in March. With an emergency fund, SNCC set up Tent City, a group of four tents raised on the land of Joseph Yubanks. Bell moved his family into the last tent, at the end of the row.

But aside from helping out at Yubanks' mechanic shop, he still couldn't find a paying job. "I couldn't say it's anything to live on, just a couple of days one week, the next week nothing," he said. "Mostly gathering hay or mechanical work--it ain't nothing to depend on."

Last May, Bell's only daughter died while giving birth to her second child, Julie Ann. Bell and his wife took over the care of their two grand-daughters.

Since last spring, SNCC has been trying to start a third-party movement in Greene County, which is 82% Negro. But local leaders like the Rev. Peter J. Kirksey, the Democratic nominee for the Greene County school board, have opposed the black panther movement.

Finally, it was learned last month that SNCC--one of Tent City's only friends--is planning to move out of the county.

As Bell talked about his life since he registered to vote, Tent City's wash hung off a line of barbed wire, drying in the dusty breeze blowing off a cornfield. From a TV set in one of the tents came the theme music from "Batman."

In the dust on the ground nearby, a crumpled leaflet read: "Citizens of Greene County, the battle is not yet won! Vote for Peter J. Kirksey for Board of Education in the May 31st run-off."

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PHONE: (205) 262-3572

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Lay-out Editor: Amy R. Peppler

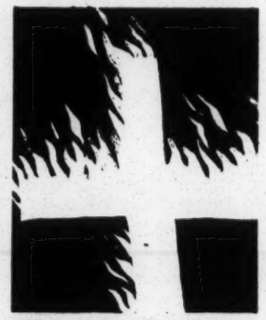
Vol. II, No. 32 August 6-7, 1966

Editorial Opinion

A Time to Speak

Suppose that a violently anti-white organization called the Princes of Simba nailed up a bunch of signs around Mobile County announcing a big rally to be held out in the woods. And suppose that 250 shouting Negroes came to the rally, some of them dressed in leopard skins and carrying guns in their cars.

How many heavily-armed policemen, sheriff's deputies, and state troopers would have ringed the rally to keep the Princes of Simba from attacking innocent white people living in the area? There probably would have been about as many lawmen as Princes.



But when the Ku Klux Klan held a widely-advertised rally last Saturday night in northern Mobile County, not a single uniformed officer was there.

A patrol car from the sheriff's department went by occasionally, but it wasn't driving by when a squad of Klansmen fired a volley of buckshot into an old Negro lady's home across the road from the rally. And it wasn't driving by when the Klansmen set a ring of fire around the house.

Everybody at the rally knew something was happening. They all heard the shots, and many of them saw the flames. One of the speakers even commented on the commotion across the highway.

If Mobile County Sheriff Ray Bridges had been doing his job right, officers would have been at the rally from beginning to end, and they would have stopped the Klan terrorists before any shots were fired.

The department's failure to station officers at the rally or patrol it properly left a houseful of innocent, terrified people completely at the mercy of the Klan. When deputies finally arrived the attack stopped im-

In Selmont

Man Shot By Trooper

BY WAYNE HURDER

SELMONT--W.E. Stewart, a highway patrolman, stopped Jeffrey Henderson for making an improper turn two weeks ago.

In the course of the arrest, the trooper shot Henderson in the chest with a .38-caliber revolver.

Major John Cloud of the highway patrol said at the time that Stewart shot Henderson after Henderson knocked him down. Cloud said an investigation would be made.

But Henderson and Miss Dolores Smith, who was with him that night as they returned from church, say the trooper's story is wrong.

According to Henderson, Stewart pulled him over, checked his driver's license, and told him to go sit in the trooper's car.

Henderson said he sat in the trooper's car and mumbled something about not deserving a ticket. Stewart heard him and walked around to Henderson's side of the car. Next, according to Henderson, "He started to hit me with his flash light. I raised up my arm and he backed off and shot me."

Henderson said Stewart first called for more highway patrolmen, and then for an ambulance.

The next day Miss Smith signed a warrant charging Stewart with assault with intent to kill. He was arrested, and later released on $1,000 bond.

Henderson stayed in Good Samaritan Hospital a week. He had been shot from about six feet away and, according to his lawyer, Bruce Boynton, "It was touch and go for a while."

On July 29, when Henderson was released from the hospital, two sheriff's deputies met him at the door and arrested him for making an improper turn, disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest.

How to Win: Keep Quiet

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY--Sometimes you can win a lawsuit without talking about some important reasons why you brought the case to court. It happened this week to 38 Bullock Coun-

Montgomery Jury System Challenged and Defended

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

MONTGOMERY--A Negro burglary suspect went on trial here last week, along with the Montgomery County jury system. The burglary suspect, 21-year-old Raymond Garrett, was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison. The jury system was acquitted.

As Garrett's trial was about to begin in Circuit Court, his lawyer, Robert Cheek, asked Judge William Thetford to dismiss the case and set Garrett free. Cheek said Garrett could not get a fair trial because there were not enough Negroes on the county's jury list. But the judge refused to dismiss the case.

As it turned out, the 12-man jury that tried Garrett's case in Judge Richard Emmet's court included three Negroes. One of them--C.T. Smiley, principal of Booker T. Washington High School--was foreman of the jury.

The chief conflict in the trial was whether Garrett had been properly identified as the man seen burglarizing a local food store. No fingerprints were taken. But a witness for the state said he saw a Negro man without a shirt inside the store. And police officers said Garrett was shirtless when they shot and captured him.

The officers said Garrett was shot

ROBERT CHEEK

as he ran away from them.

But Cheek produced records from St. Margaret's Hospital that listed Garrett's injury as a chest wound. And he argued that there was no bullet hole in Garrett's back, just a wound right in the middle of his chest.

Garrett -- who actually stopped breathing after the shooting, but was revived in the hospital--testified that he was passing the store on his way home when the policemen captured him.

After three hours of discussion, the jury convicted Garrett. Smiley, the foreman, said the jurors spent some time discussing the question of Garrett's bullet wound. "The evidence pointed to the fact that he was shot going away at an angle," Smiley said afterwards. "I was convinced that was the way it did happen."

This was the first time Smiley sat on a trial jury. Did he feel he was "on the spot," as a Negro juror trying a Negro defendant? "I didn't get that in the jury room or out," he said. "I didn't feel like that at all. I tried to be objective."

It was Garrett's second conviction for burglary.

But the issue of Montgomery County's jury system may come up again. Many times in the past, Cheek and other lawyers have said the names on the jury list are not representative of the community.

In testimony during Cheek's attempt to get Garrett freed, and again this week, Circuit Court Clerk John R. Matthews said there were about 5,000 or 6,000 names on the list from which jurors are chosen. He said he thought about 500 to 700 were Negroes. There are some 60,000 men in the county eligible for jury service, and the county is about 40% Negro.

But Matthews said after the trial that the county does not have a "blue-ribbon" jury system--where only the "top" citizens get to serve. "We want a good, solid class of people to serve as jurors," he said.

"We don't put a nigger in because he's a nigger. We don't put a white man in because he's white. We try to operate it like it ought to be--with some degree of intelligence. We don't want to put some illiterate fool in the jury box, Negro or white."

After the Garrett trial, Matthews said, a jury of nine Negroes and three whites sat in a case involving a Negro defendant. "Those niggers went out and did a good job," he said. "They gave the man 20 years, like they should have done."

Poverty Agency Seeks Funds for Tuscaloosa

BY JOHN SHORT

TUSCALOOSA--Until recently, Tuscaloosa County's anti-poverty agency was the all-white Community Council.

But the federal Office of Economic Opportunity--which approves or disapproves most anti-poverty programs--requires agencies like the Community Council to include Negroes and poor people, as well as white people and business leaders.

So last month, the Community Council finally gave way to pressure from an integrated group called the Community Action Committee. The old directors formed a new organization called the Tuscaloosa Opportunity Program (TOP).

Three of TOP's ten board members going to school and working part-time for a weekly salary of $37.50.

But TOP is also interested in two programs that never got off the ground under the Community Council--the distribution of free federal surplus food and the establishment of a "multi-service center."

Another goal of TOP will be re-establishment of the Head Start program that was lost under the Community Council and the Tuscaloosa school system. "I think we can get it back, but we can't get it back in the school system," said Godfrey, one of TOP's Negro board members.

about as many lawmen as Princess.

But when the Ku Klux Klan held a widely-advertised rally last Saturday night in northern Mobile County, not a single uniformed officer was there.

A patrol car from the sheriff's department went by occasionally, but it wasn't driving by when a squad of Klansmen fired a volley of buckshot into an old Negro lady's home across the road from the rally. And it wasn't driving by when the Klansmen set a ring of fire around the house.

Everybody at the rally knew something was happening. They all heard the shots, and many of them saw the flames. One of the speakers even commented on the commotion across the highway.

If Mobile County Sheriff Ray Bridges had been doing his job right, officers would have been at the rally from beginning to end, and they would have stopped the Klan terrorists before any shots were fired.

The department's failure to station officers at the rally or patrol it properly left a houseful of innocent, terrified people completely at the mercy of the Klan. When deputies finally arrived the attack stopped immediately--but the department's neglect of duty continued.

Two men were arrested. But the sheriff's department booked them for the least serious charges possible.

The rest of the attackers escaped. Fingerprints left on two undamaged cars might have helped identify them. Deputies told the people at the house not to touch the cars because a fingerprint crew would come out the next day. The crew never came.

Mobile County ought to be outraged at the Klan and the sheriff. But most people don't know what really happened. The local news media and public officials have maintained almost total silence about the incident.

Perhaps the press and the local officials are trying to protect the area's "good name." Mobile County has had very little open racial trouble. And perhaps they are hoping that their silence will keep Negroes from learning about the Klan attack and raising a protest.

Silence will not accomplish either aim. When the white community keeps quiet about Klan attacks on Negroes, the Klan gets bolder and eventually makes some really big news which cannot be kept quiet. Meanwhile, Negroes will know all along that the Klan is riding. Wild rumors may make them think things are even worse than they are.

In these circumstances, all men in the county who wear the label "Negro leaders" must act--for the sake of everyone in the county. First of all, they must demand that the sheriff and other officials publicly guarantee proper policing of all future Klan rallies. And they must insist on full disclosure of the facts.

If Klan abuses continue unchecked and unpunished, there is a real danger that the Negro people will lose all remaining faith in white officials, and even in their own leaders. Car-loads of armed Negroes tried to reach the attacked house and help defend it, but the police turned them back. Those men, and thousands more by now, know that the police had failed to do the job.

The people will protect themselves if they have to. But that can lead to chaos. Negro leaders must speak out strongly now.

Klan Rally

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

and took off down the highway in Garner's pick-up.

At the house, the Klansmen were breaking windows, kicking open the doors, and setting fire to a car and tool shed. The first police car arrived just after the Klansmen set fires around the house and shouted, "Niggers, you've got three minutes to come out!"

A few seconds later, Garner turned into the road to the house and saw a group of Klansmen straight ahead. "I just pulled in to second and flew on in there," he said later. The Klansmen jumped back. One of the officers at the house told Garner and the men with him to leave. They refused and stayed to guard the house until the rally ended and more deputies arrived.

The next day Miss Smith signed a warrant charging Stewart with assault with intent to kill. He was arrested, and later released on $1,000 bond.

Henderson stayed in Good Samaritan Hospital a week. He had been shot from about six feet away and, according to his lawyer, Bruce Boynton, "It was touch and go for a while."

On July 29, when Henderson was released from the hospital, two sheriff's deputies met him at the door and arrested him for making an improper turn, disorderly conduct, and resisting arrest.

How to Win: Keep Quiet

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

MONTGOMERY--Sometimes you can win a lawsuit without talking about some important reasons why you brought the case to court. It happened this week to 38 Bullock County Negroes.

They were among dozens of people who received traffic tickets early last June, when state troopers swarmed into the county just after the May 31 Democratic primary run-off.

According to the suit that came up Tuesday in U.S. District Court here, the tickets "were issued uniformly to members of the Negro race," but not to whites.

The suit charged that the arrests "resulted solely from the participation of Negroes in the May 31, 1966, primary election in Bullock County and the subsequent investigation into alleged irregularities" by the county's Negro leaders.

But the Bullock Negroes had another argument against paying the traffic tickets. Under Alabama law and county custom, the justices of the peace who decide such traffic cases get paid from the fines they collect. If the defendant goes free, the justice doesn't get paid. That gives him a financial interest in convicting as many people as he can, the Negroes' suit said.

In court last Tuesday, the Negroes' attorney, Solomon S. Seay Jr., used only the "financial interest" argument before Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr.

Johnson was one of three federal judges who upheld that argument earlier this year in a traffic case involving John Hulett of Hayneville. And he upheld it again.

"It's unconstitutional for justices of the peace to sit and get paid if they convict and not get paid if they acquit," the judge said. He ordered the justices of the peace never to try the Negroes on any of the traffic tickets issued when the state troopers visited Bullock County in June.

And nobody said a word in court about the election, the Negro vote, or racial discrimination.

G.P. PARHAM

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

pened at a Democratic meeting," said Parham.

Parham isn't too excited by this year's Republican candidates. He supports the GOP's John Grenier for the Senate, he said, because "as a freshman, he won't be able to do so much damage up there. The only thing he can do is sit and listen."

The main reason he wants Republican James D. Martin for governor, he said, is that "I'd just rather have a man than a woman. Some of these women-folks are most unpredictable. I know. Mine's that way."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

Poverty Agency Seeks Funds for Tuscaloosa

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So last month, the Community Council finally gave way to pressure from an integrated group called the Community Action Committee. The old directors formed a new organization called the Tuscaloosa Opportunity Program (TOP).

Three of TOP's ten board members were Negroes: William H. Bell, the Rev. George L. Godfrey, and Mrs. Minnie Thomas. The percentage of Negroes on the board--30%--was about the same as the percentage of Negroes in the county, as required by the federal government. This probably means the county now can qualify for hundreds of thousands of dollars in anti-poverty money.

The new corporation, TOP, officially took over from the Community Council last Monday. But since the few federal programs left in Tuscaloosa expired on that date, TOP had been hastily applying for more money even before it took over.

Most immediately at stake is the Neighborhood Youth Corps. Under this program, 120 high-school dropouts are going to school and working part-time for a weekly salary of $37.50.

But TOP is also interested in two programs that never got off the ground under the Community Council--the distribution of free federal surplus food and the establishment of a "multi-service center."

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NAACP and Mayor Meet in Birmingham

BIRMINGHAM -- Law enforcement and community relations were the topics of discussion in a meeting between NAACP officers and city officials here last week.

The NAACP presented a six-page statement to Birmingham Mayor Albert Boutwell.

"It is our sincere belief," the statement said, "that with an increased number of Negro policemen, and an opportunity for the Negro citizens of the county to meet their police officers in an effective community relations program, they would understand that an officer of the law is a friend and not an enemy." Boutwell said copies of the statement would be distributed to all City Council members.

After the meeting, Dr. John Nixon, head of the Alabama NAACP, said, "The comments and attitudes of the city officials were fine while they were talking to us. However, I am concerned with action and not phrases."

'You'll Have to Leave'

TUSKEGEE--For the third Sunday in a row, the Tuskegee Methodist Church refused to allow a bi-racial group of worshippers to join the white congregation.

For the third Sunday in a row, a group of 20 community residents and Tuskegee Institute students and teachers sat on the steps in the hot sunshine.

Several blocks away, five Negro visitors entered the First Presbyterian Church. "We weren't invited in," said Mrs. Douglas Jones. "We just walked in and sat down.

"There was a lot of walking back and forth between the anteroom and the sanctuary. Then a man--who wouldn't give his name when I asked--came over and said, 'You'll have to leave. You can't worship here.'"

Mrs. Jones, a member of Tuskegee's mostly-Negro Westminster Presbyterian Church, said she had talked with two elders from the First Presbyterian Church earlier in the week:

"One of them told me not to bother coming back in August because there won't be any services until the church gets a new minister in the fall. The other one couldn't seem to understand. He said to me, 'But you have your own church on the other side of town.'"

The five visitors turned away from First Presbyterian were welcomed at the downtown East End Church of Christ, which had admitted two Negroes the week before.

"Everyone was very friendly, and they invited us back," Mrs. Jones said. "But I did notice one thing when they passed around the communion tray. It was one of those wooden trays that usually has glass cups in it. This one had paper cups."

about 500 to 700 were Negroes. There are some 60,000 men in the county eligible for jury service, and the county is about 40% Negro.

But Matthews said after the trial that the county does not have a "blue-ribbon" jury system--where only the "top" citizens get to serve. "We want a good, solid class of people to serve as jurors," he said.

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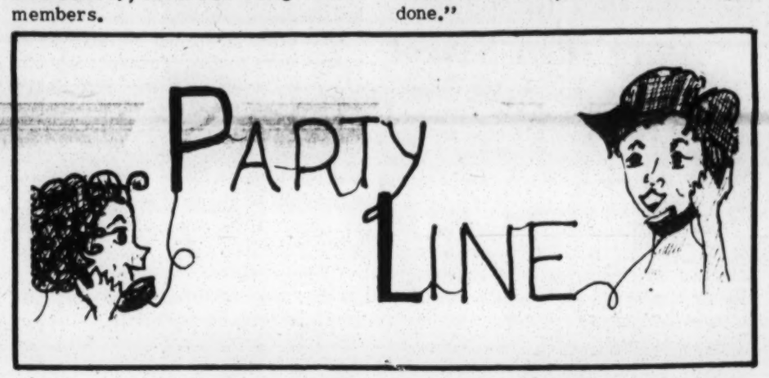


Greenville

More than 1,000 people packed the Mt. Zion Baptist Church here recently for the Southeast State Singing Convention. Despite the heat, the singing lasted from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. More than half of the 43 churches that belong to the convention sent delegates to lead the group in hymns. Local Boy Scout Troop 180 turned out in force to direct traffic, and members of the Mt. Zion congregation served lunch. "We sure did enjoy ourselves," said pretty 19-year-old Miss Edna Fails. The convention, which invites churches of all faiths to join, began in 1947 under the leadership of the Rev. G.H. Nelson of Dock.

Enterprise, Miss.

Leonard Clayton Bester, 16, was side-swiped by another car recently, and suffered a broken arm. The car he was driving belonged to Mrs. Carrie Hall. The driver of the other car didn't stop after the accident, and has not been identified.

Tuskegee

The Rev. Lawrence F. Haygood, a local minister, gave the Sunday morning sermon last week at the Presbyterian Church's 1966 World Mission Conference, in Montreat, North Carolina. Haygood, pastor of the mostly-Negro Westminster Presbyterian Church, spoke to a predominantly white audience of about 3,000 churchmen.

Comer

Mr. and Mrs. O.G. Smith Jr. of Comer have announced the engagement of their daughter, Janice, to John Kelly III,

MISS SMITH MR. KELLY

son of Mr. and Mrs. John Kelly Jr. of Eufaula. After their wedding Aug. 21 at the Galilee Baptist Church, the couple will live in East Chicago, Indiana.

Enterprise

Fire swept through the home of the Rev. R. D. Martinestz last Monday, completely destroying the kitchen and dining room. The family was away when the fire began, and no one was hurt. The blaze apparently started from a spark from the Martinestz' wood stove. The minister, now looking for a new home, commented: "The thing that makes the fire not seem so bad is that the Lord sends suffering to all of us."

Shubuta, Miss.

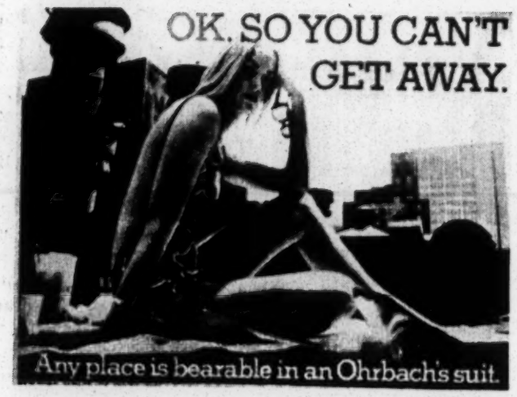
The Shubuta Community Planning and Improvement Committee has presented a list of "demands for the people of Shubuta" to the mayor and board of aldermen. A letter accompanied the demands, signed by Mrs. Allie H. Jones, Mrs. Amy Lee McCarty, Mrs. Willie Pearl Adams, and Mrs. Alberta Watts. The committee asked for an integrated professional resource committee, a recreation center, sidewalks, a swimming pool, Negro employees in all businesses, more street lamps, a sewage system, a theater, a dentist, a drugstore, a playground and park, a library with up-to-date books, more jobs, a hotel or motel, new factories, open and paved streets in colored neighborhoods, Negro policemen, a bus station, more stop signs, and use of the Old High School for a Head Start center.

Birmingham

Mr. and Mrs. T.K. Nelson have gone to Detroit to visit Nelson's sister, Miss Elizabeth Nelson, who teaches in France.

Atlanta, Ga.

Negro physicians and dentists from eight Southern states met here recently to air their dissatisfaction with officials of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The complaints involved discrimination in Southern hospitals in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. More than 75 doctors attended, along with four HEW officials from Washington. One dentist, Dr. Purvis W. Hill, 84, traveled 398 miles from Clarksdale, Miss., to attend. After 14 hours of travel, he arrived in Atlanta at midnight. He sat in the bus station all night talking with friends because the convention hotel was already filled. He was the first to arrive at the meeting. Gathering up all available reading material about the hospital discrimination problem, Purvis said, "I've got a whole lot of reading to do."



Harlem is the Black Belt of New York City. Harlem extends from 110th St. to 152nd St., and is composed of people from such places in Alabama as Lowndes, Marengo, Greene, and Dallas counties, and from similar places in Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, and the Carolinas.

Harlem is home for more than 500,000 Negroes. They fight for heat in the winter, and they use water from fire hydrants to cool off in the summer. Many young Negroes in Harlem are addicted to heroin and other narcotics that remove the stark realization that their move to the North was in vain because they face the same problems as Cousin Lillian in Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.

Harlem is a breeding ground for all types of black nationalist and black power movements, along with uncountable splinter groups.

Harlem is where Negro girls wear high heels to school every day, not only on Sunday. (TEXT BY NORMAN LUMPKIN)

A Stroll Through...

HARLEM

Any place is bearable in an Ohrbach's suit.

Florida, and the Carolinas.

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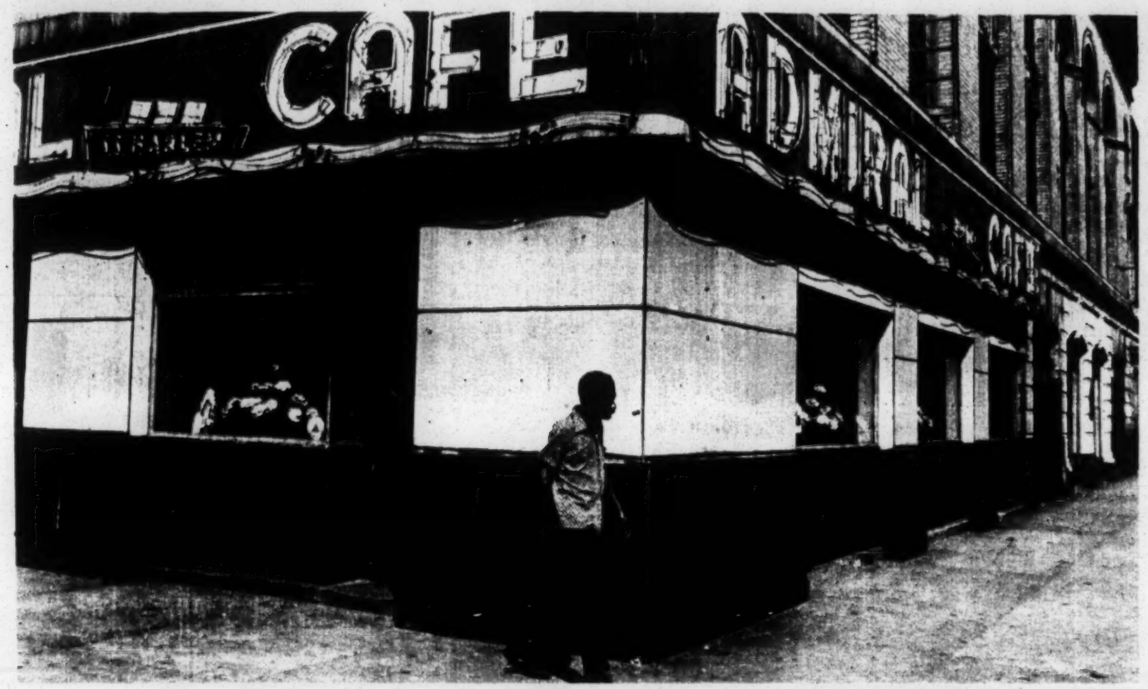
Photographs by Jim Peppler



BLACK MUSLIMS TRY TO TEACH 'FREEDOM' TO NEGROES TRAPPED IN HARLEM...

...OR IN THE SLUMS OF MOBILE AND BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Black Muslims Now Confront America With Negroes' Search for a New Self

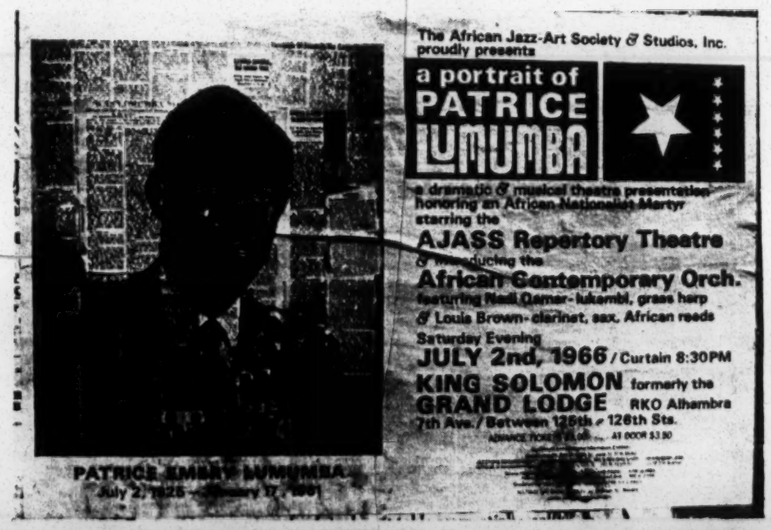
BY JERRY POGUE

Moses and Aaron were able to motivate, in a revolutionary manner, the bondaged unintegrated children of Israel from the land of Pharaoh; for land, for re-identity, for self-determination. In our America, likewise, we are constantly schooled about how Europeans abandoned the east-Atlantic shores and invaded this sparsely, though already, claimed land called America; for land, for re-identity, for self-determination.

Since the late 1950's in America, untold thousands have observed the so-called Black Muslim's 'bold creep' into America's slums and ghettoes or 'main drag' quarters as they are slanged, conceiving a new hope, forms of self-respect, a kind of re-identity, culminating as a twist towards self-determination. All of this and much more from human beings cramped as subhumans, all in America.

One wonders about this strange new doctrine when one weighs how millions of dollars used annually by the United States government--in the form of recreation centers and rehabilitation clinics--could not do the job.

Thus, let us unbiasedly ponder the oddities of Muslim success. In evaluating the Black Muslim's claims and techniques, I am constantly reminded of Patrice Lumumba, the brutally assassinated premier of the so-called Belgian Congo, and how he traveled the paths and jungles, preaching and teaching about 'moaning,' 'obsessed by fathers passion,' 'fury,' 'surprised world,' 'dawn,' and the 'new



IN HARLEM'S MEMORY, MURDERED CONGOLESE PREMIER LIVES ON

trines and recruiting new brethren among the Negro prisoners. "We convert in all the major prisons," bragged

to prepare their youth as reclaimers of the heritage."

The Muslims place a high premium on special education for wives and mothers, and the Muslim's girl training and general civilization class is an effective means of drawing Negro women into the movement.

The MGT, as it is commonly called, concentrates generally on the art of homemaking. It meets on week nights at a local temple and the women are taught how to sew, cook, keep house, rear children, care for their husbands, and how to act at home and abroad.

High moral behavior is an absolute must for a "Muslim can rise no higher than his women." Muslim women are never allowed to be alone in a room with any man except their husbands.

It was reported in 1963 that converts go through a reform of sorts as they obey Elijah's injunction to give up tobacco, dope, and alcohol, and pray five times daily facing Mecca. However, it is said, their desire for separate religious services is denied by most prison

the daily abused Negroes in America.

Regardless of how one feels about Elijah Muhammad and his dedicated converts, no one can deny his dedicated, masterful accomplishments in establishing a psychological and economical example for American Negroes to follow that crystallized for the world to see. The Muslim Movement is no run-of-the-mill structure. It seems at times to be a dynamic apparatus.

The leaders of the Black Muslims emerge as human beings with weaknesses and strengths, not as stereotyped demons.

They are honest and practical. Elijah set up a Muslim restaurant, cleaning business, barber shop, grocery store, and department store on Chicago's West Side, a cafe in Harlem, a cafe and farm near Atlanta. They are law-abiding--a fact that worries some cops more than do minor bursts of violence.

The Black Muslims now confront America with a search for an identity denied Negroes in their interactions with whites.

Mobile Writer

BY JERRY POGUE

Moses and Aaron were able to motivate, in a revolutionary manner, the bondaged unintegrated children of Israel from the land of Pharaoh; for land, for re-identity, for self-determination. In our America, likewise, we are constantly schooled about how Europeans abandoned the east-Atlantic shores and invaded this sparsely, though already, claimed land called America; for land, for re-identity, for self-determination.

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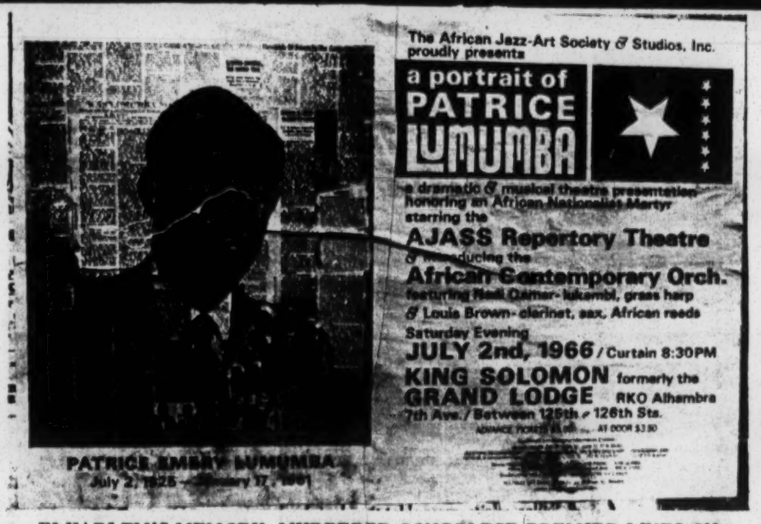

IN HARLEM'S MEMORY, MURDERED CONGOLESE PREMIER LIVES ON

Just as Lumumba, it is clearly evident the Muslim Movement has been widely misinterpreted as a result of the use of 'freedom of the press' by periodicals and dailies. The author grasped such a conclusion after reading piles of volumes --obviously. However, with all fairness, the author supposes that only in America should such a court-affirmed belief as the Muslim's undergrow and thrive.

Most authoritative documents on the Muslim's historical origin trail back to the 1930's (around the time of the Wall Street crash) to Detroit, Michigan. It is reported that an Oriental man in looks, traveling under the 'handle' of W.D. Fard, founded the Muslim Movement. He is reported to have peddled silks and satins among the lower-income and poverty-stricken Negroes around Detroit.

As in many Biblical or related stories, concrete information has not been uncovered about where Fard came from. Mingling conversation with peddling, he talked about the black man's past, unemployment, hunger, desperation; and warned his eager listeners about consuming certain foods and drinks.

Detroit residents hearing Fard were starving, living in jam-packed slums and were consistent victims of inhuman police brutality. These desperate disinherited unintegrated people listened, heard and marveled at his words. Public addresses were always texted around how imperative it is for Negroes to comprehend and revert back to their glorious past.

Elijah Poole, a Negro from Saundersville, Georgia was converted through Fard in Detroit. Poole, born October 7, 1897, was the son of a Baptist minister. He was one of 13 children. His mother and father were converted to Christianity--while slaves in America. With a fourth grade education, Poole abandoned Georgia.

Having become closely attached to Fard, Poole was anointed by Fard and bestowed with the name 'Muhammad' which means original. Eventually Fard vanished (around 1934) leaving Elijah 'Muhammad' Poole sole heir to control the small though controversial and growing aggregation.

America is today not far removed from the combination of social and economic ills that seeded the birth and attractiveness of the Muslim Movement to so-called Negroes handling similar ideas, frustrations, and longings, looking for 'a way out' as it is constantly uttered by the people on the blocks.

Being consistent, another aspect of the crusade is that it attracted the so-called 'illiterate' Negroes, and 'over-worked' Negroes and 'under-paid' Negroes and 'under-fed' Negroes, the last hired and the first fired in America over.

Mobile Writer

JERRY POGUE

Jerry Pogue, a graduate student now living in Mobile, has been observing the Black Muslim Movement around Alabama and other parts of the United States for several years. He has talked with many Muslim workers, and read many books and magazine articles by and about them.

In this article, Pogue tells you what he thinks about the Black Muslims--their history, their purpose, and their meaning for white and black America. The Southern Courier would be glad to hear from other readers with opinions of their own about the Black Muslims. What do you think? Let us know.

One can imagine these captive people found as much consolation in Muhammad's teachings as the Congolese found in Lumumba's teachings as he shouted, "You are man like others. You are a homeless beggar that sinks at strangers' doors."

Consequently, one can say that the Muslim audience was composed of what society termed as 'misfits' and the unintegrated in America. And while being unintegrated into the mainstreams of American society these 'misfits' possessed an unstable American second-class identity some 307 years strong in history.

To sniff the fuming odors of slums and back alleys or pace the country dusty roads and paths of remote-area America, cajoling dazed men as to why they should exercise some so-called constitutional God-given rights--is to know. To know that somewhere, somehow this image of God has virtually lost all motivation, all contact for active participation in a political system, a system that systematically failed to digest these people, now as long long ago. As if they were grass, repeatedly trampled upon until the very root had been denied its nurture. Their total development had been tampered with.

Here the Muslims capitalize by immediately establishing identification. Eric Lincoln wrote, "the movement may become a symbol of hope which draws its members from the ranks of the discontented, those who have not lost all hope for better things. In short it is not present sufferings but future expectations that impel the dissatisfied to unite in protest.

"Their most pronounced characteristic is a desire for personal rebirth--an escape to a new identity in which they will be freed of their present restrictions and oppressions. A mass movement promises them a new face. The old unappreciated self is abandoned, in its place is a new self, neatly designed to inspire pride, confidence and hope." This is a task most Muslim ministers execute with better ease than Nat Turner in accomplishing his historic thrust for complete manumission in 1831.

Muslim agents are at work in many U.S. prisons, spreading fanatical doctrines and recruiting new brethren among the Negro prisoners. "We convert in all the major prisons," bragged Malcolm X, "and when the prisoners come out they'll be wonderful additions to our movements.

"Cowards don't go to prison. We'll rehabilitate these men and women and they will march in the ranks."

I am reminded of a visit to a much publicized Muslim rally held at a radio station in Washington in 1963. I listened as minister Malcolm X boasted that he was assuming the Washington Muslim post to do something about the rising tide of juvenile delinquency in the nation's capital, which is occupied by a Negro majority yet completely controlled by someone else.

In the local dailies, it was amazing to notice how certain Congressmen had to nod their heads in agreement to the fact that much success had been accomplished by Muslims in this respect.

Having conversed with young Negro college students from the State University of Iowa to Howard University in Washington to Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, I always received a reply like "I don't agree with all the Muslims teach, but some things they say are true; especially about the economic situation of the Negro."

The Black Muslims give to converted Negroes at the bottom a feeling that someone cares for them, someone capable of expressing their expressions. They have taken into their ranks men and women who have been denied in society and who under Muslim progress are put to work.

Muslims are not supposed to drink, swear, use narcotics, or gamble. They claim they have been responsible for eliminating adultery, illegitimacy, theft, and juvenile delinquency.

There is evidence to indicate the supreme objective of the Muslim Movement lies in its two established universities (Universities of Islam at Chicago and Detroit) or the semi-ceremonial training taught at the local temples and meetings in private homes. An investigation conducted by the state of Louisiana resulted in the following printed matter:

". . .Members of the group are trained as police force or the army within this group. These people are trained very similar and use the same procedure and general order that the armed services of this country now use. They are also drilled similar to what is now being used in the military services..."

According to Eric Lincoln, "...a powerful and long range recruiting device of the movement is its parochial schools with their emphasis on education about the black man--his past, his divine nature, his triumphant future.

"The desire to have children learn something about themselves is surprisingly strong, particularly now that new African states have gained their independence. These parents are impressed with the schools as irrefutable evidence of the Muslims' determination... to prepare their youth as reclaimers of the heritage."

The Muslims place a high premium on special education for wives and mothers, and the Muslim's girl training and general civilization class is an effective means of drawing Negro women into the movement.

The MGT, as it is commonly called, concentrates generally on the art of homemaking. It meets on week nights at a local temple and the women are taught how to sew, cook, keep house, rear children, care for their husbands, and how to act at home and abroad.

High moral behavior is an absolute must for a "Muslim can rise no higher than his women." Muslim women are never allowed to be alone in a room with any man except their husbands.

It was reported in 1963 that converts go through a reform of sorts as they obey Elijah's injunction to give up tobacco, dope, and alcohol, and pray five times daily facing Mecca. However, it is said, their desire for separate religious services is denied by most prison authorities.

I have noticed Negroes who have been introduced to the teachings of 'Muhammad' and was able to observe abrupt changes like a sudden withdrawal from previous stands on believing in integration.

There is a tendency, however, on the part of many college students to justify their previous stand (blindness) or misunderstanding about the Muslims. These students with inquiring minds readily admit that the presently presented efforts are mere remedies toward removing the long established inhuman practices against Negroes. They reply: But what is the solution?

In 1965, during the height of the campus revolution (revolt) at Alabama State College, I chanced to meet and associate extensively with so-called militant workers of SNCC and SCLC, along with John X of the Black Muslims around South Jackson Street in Montgomery, Alabama.

Nearly all members of these groups were avowed workers, barely surviving economically. Some admitted having been disinherited by parents because they actively involved their bodies and democratic education in doing something about producing a new image or identity among the evidently forgotten Negro.

Probably John X was the most penetrative in his views as he was able to attract the so-called hoodlums and pimps on Thurman and Monroe Streets. He even managed to lure them into the Muslim activities and to witness the Muslims' now famous play:

"I charge the white man with being the greatest drunkard on earth, I charge the white man with being the greatest swine eater on earth, I charge the white man with being the greatest liar on earth. I charge the white man with being the greatest gambler on earth. Yet, the Bible forbids it.

"I charge the white man, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, with being the greatest murderer on earth. I charge the white man with being the greatest robber on earth. I charge the white man with being the greatest trouble-maker on earth. So, therefore, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, I ask you to bring a verdict of guilty as charged."

Needless to say, the jury always returned with a verdict of condemnation to the wild delight of the audience.

John X was always careful to view the Negro situation in America from a general scope and would revert to specifics only when absolutely necessary to prove his point. He summarized the objectives of the Muslim Movement as teaching Negroes to be free--especially slum Negroes from Harlem to Los Angeles, the least educated and lowest paid.

John X constantly drilled the idea that a new identity was the only way out for the daily abused Negroes in America.

Regardless of how one feels about Elijah Muhammad and his dedicated converts, no one can deny his dedicated, masterful accomplishments in establishing a psychological and economical example for American Negroes to follow that crystallized for the world to see. The Muslim Movement is no run-of-the-mill structure. It seems at times to be a dynamic apparatus.

The leaders of the Black Muslims emerge as human beings with weaknesses and strengths, not as stereotyped demons.

They are honest and practical. Elijah set up a Muslim restaurant, cleaning business, barber shop, grocery store, and department store on Chicago's West Side, a cafe in Harlem, a cafe and farm near Atlanta. They are law-abiding--a fact that worries some cops more than do minor bursts of violence.

The Black Muslims now confront America with a search for an identity denied Negroes in their interactions with whites.

According to Eric Lincoln, "The permanent misfit's allegiance is without reservation for he can find salvation only in escape from his repudiated self." Such a convert may be an artist, composer, preacher, scientist, or writer who has failed to achieve a meaningful success. He may be an ex-convict or a guilt-ridden individual striving to lose his past vileness by participating in a 'holy crusade.'

In closely examining data on the Muslim Movement, one may conclude that it is not necessarily a force built on racism, but quite possibly the opposite. The author senses from data and association that the creation of a Negro power base (economical and sociological) comes closer to describing it.

I sense that the Muslim Movement or objective is to free the Negro-populated areas from absentee ownership by white landlords who escape to the $100,000 homes in 'white-ville' with sacks of money from the 'main drag,' leaving its frustrated Negro victims empty-handed, confused, misused, and evidently abused.

The Black Muslims' idea of a Negro power base could be the forerunner of the now widely discussed 'black power' slogan by Stokely Carmichael of SNCC. It just could be a new twist toward some form of self-respect, re-identification, and self-determination.

Dr. Nixon Urges Attack On 'White Man's Dollar'

SHEFFIELD--"What you need to do here is to threaten the industrial climate--threaten the white man's dollar," said Dr. John Nixon, Alabama NAACP chairman. "That'll bring him around."

Nixon was talking to a group of about 75 local citizens and NAACP officials from the northwest Tri-Counties area of Lauderdale, Colbert, and Franklin counties. He urged North Alabama Negroes not to fall behind the advances being made in other parts of the state.

"Nothing's being done up here," Nixon said. For example, he said, there are only two Negroes on the Sheffield police force, and none on the Tuscumbia force: "We need black people on the police force all over the state--and here in Sheffield and Tuscumbia.... We need people power, and we need to put our emphasis on action."

Nixon said the economy of North Alabama depends on large industries and federal projects such as the Tennessee Valley Authority. These industries can't afford racial tension or demonstrations, he said, because people would be afraid to work for them.

So, he said, "simple but real" threats of demonstrations and rallies would force these big companies to meet Negro demands.

Water for Triana

TRIANA--This small, all-Negro city about 10 miles south of Huntsville got the go-ahead signal from the federal government last week to build a system that will provide local homes with running water for the first time.

The signal came in the form of a $26,000 grant from the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Mayor Clyde Foster said the city had received a $44,000 loan from the government about a year ago to help build the water system. However, he said, the loan wasn't enough to do the job, so the city asked for an additional grant of $26,000.

Once the system is built, Foster said, water "will be pumped from a local well, chlorinated, stored in a reservoir, and from there distributed to the residents."

Now, he said, the 250 residents here are "getting water out of the river, off their roofs after rainstorms, or carrying it in barrels from distant wells."

According to Foster, the water system is just the first step toward large-scale expansion and improvement in Triana.

Several residential areas, a low-rent housing development, a senior citizens' home, a swimming area, a small industrial site, and a new hospital--all now in the planning stage--may become realities because of the water system, Foster added.

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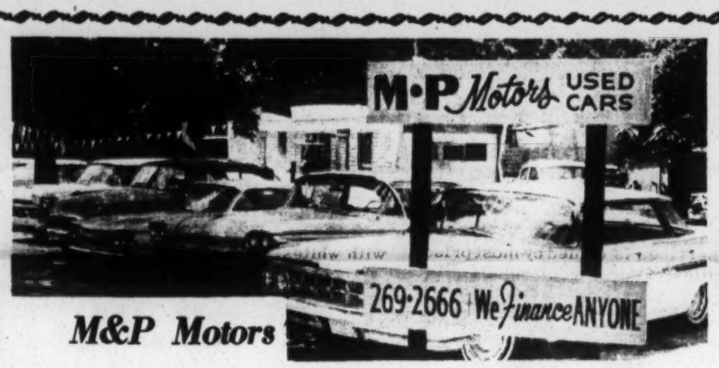

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Taking their respective places in the profession: From left to right, Mrs. Mattie M. Brown is with the Wilson Beauty Shop on Bragg Street, Mrs. Rose Marie White is with Nell's Beauty Academy on West Jeff Davis, and Mrs. Carrie T. Cowart at Dorothy's Beauty Salon on Monroe Street.

Their many friends and acquaintances are invited to visit them at these salons.

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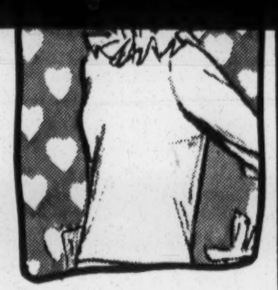

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Do you want to sell or buy a car? Find work? Sell a house? Hire an employee? Just put an ad in The Southern Courier's classified section, and you'll get results.

Do you need a baby-sitter? Want to rent an apartment? Need a certain kind of tool or electrical appliance? Want to announce a church dinner or a dance? You, too, should put an ad in the Courier's classified section. If it's in The Southern Courier, people in your community are sure to see it!

For $1, you can take up to 30 words to describe what you want to buy or sell, and how you can be reached.

Send your ad, along with $1, to The Southern Courier, 622 Frank Leu Building, Montgomery, Ala. 36104. We must receive the ad by 5 p.m. Friday--one week before the paper comes out. Be sure to include your phone number or your address, so people who see your ad can get in touch with you.

Special Offer!

To begin its classified section, The Southern Courier is printing the first 50 ads it receives each week for FREE. The $1 payment will not be necessary while this offer lasts.

CLASSIFIED SECTION

GROUPS, CLUBS, CHURCHES--Do you want to make money? Do you have bills to pay or things to buy? Hold a subscription drive for The Southern Courier, and earn up to $50 with little trouble. Sell subscriptions to the Courier in your neighborhood or church, and get a big commission on each one you sell. Contact The Southern Courier and we will supply you with all necessary information and equipment. Montgomery, 262-3572.

FULL TIME JOB--The Southern Courier needs a business manager starting in the fall. Great opportunities. No experience necessary, but some understanding of business practices. Send letter describing yourself, or call The Southern Courier, Montgomery, 262-3572.

MEN'S DAY -- The First CME Church observes Men's Day on Sunday, Aug. 14, at 11 a.m. The Rev. Jesse Douglas is the minister. Dr. J. Garrick Hardy will be the speaker; W. C. Allman is chairman. The public is cordially invited.

EDUCATIONAL SALES--For a resident school located in Montgomery, need one sales manager and five salesmen. Leads furnished, top commissions. Call 265-4345, or visit 151 Lee St.

THE BAHA'I WORLD FAITH--The Baha'is of Montgomery will conduct a public fireside discussion on Monday, Aug. 8, at 8 p.m. at the home of Ralph and Marion Featherstone at 3222 Santee Drive. The subject for this discussion will be "The Baha'i World Faith and the New Era."

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT -- Mr. Samuel C. Jackson, a member of the President's Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, will be speaking to the Montgomery community on Monday, Aug. 15, at 7:30 p.m. in the Holt St. Baptist Church, 903 S. Holt. There will be a question-and-answer period. Sponsored by Montgomery Improvement Association.

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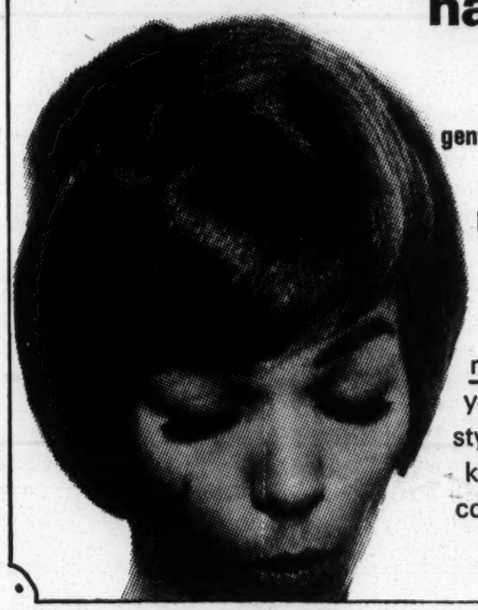

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What's Dothan Like? Depends Who's Talking

BY ELLEN LAKE

DOTHAN--"They can investigate all they want, but they won't find nothing," said L. D. Durden, a white employee of the Liberty National Life Insurance Company. "We don't have any trouble down here."

Durden was standing in the empty courtroom above the Dothan police station. He was waiting for the start of a two-day open hearing held here last weekend by the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

During the Friday evening session, a steady stream of local businessmen told the committee that their businesses were all integrated and non-discriminatory. Most said that the reason they had few Negro employees was either that few Negroes applied for jobs, or that they had no openings for anyone, white or black.

"I don't want to fire some whites to hire more Negroes," said Herb Grossman, manager of the Dothan Manufacturing Company, which has ten Negroes among its 308 employees. "When I hire more people, I'll hire more Negroes."

"We got to have an opening," said Herman Blumberg, a partner in Blumberg's Department Store, where most of the six Negro employees are maids. Blumberg said he plans to promote one of the maids--she now serves as a part-time sales clerk, although she does not write up sales or handle money. "She sells mostly to colored, but whites do not object to her," he said.

But the Negroes who testified on Saturday saw things differently. James Huntington, 15, the only Negro who stayed for both semesters at Dothan High School last year, told how he had been harassed during his second semester at the mostly-white school.

"Things were going all right in all my subjects, and I don't see why I got failing grades," he said. "In biology, my teacher quit calling on me. In physical education, the children threw my clothes and shoes in the shower. When I went to the lunchroom, they blocked the hall to the entrance. The children just did everything to me and the teachers didn't do nothing to stop them. When I went to the principal, he said he was too busy."

Mrs. Mattie K. Burnette, of Abbebille, said she started getting threats when she enrolled her sister's two children in Abbeville Elementary School. "People began to go to my sister and tell her they was going to kill me, that I was going to come up missing," she said. "Then a white man came to my house. He said he wasn't going to put no pressure on us--said he'd come as a friend--but he felt like it would be better if we took the children out. So I finally did."

Although the stated purpose of the Dothan hearings was to provide information for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the ten hours of meetings actually produced few hard facts. "We understand we're getting a lot of hogwash," said one committee member after Friday night's meeting. But, he said, the hearings "show the community at least someone cares."

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The weekly meeting will be held Monday, Aug. 8, at 6:30 p.m. in the First Baptist Church of Fairfield, 324 59th St., Fairfield, the Rev. E. W. Williams, pastor. The Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth will be the speaker.

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Rob: How many heifers have you got?
Rube: Heifer dozen.

Tom: If you had a horse, you wouldn't have to drive a car.
Tim: Aw, go on. Horses can't drive cars.

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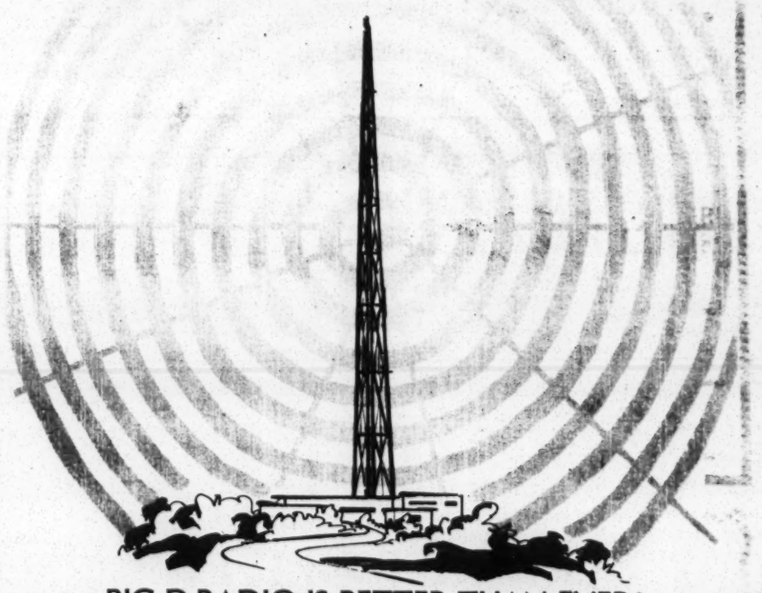

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8. TOILET WATER--Truly a fine overall product. Put a few drops in your bath or on the skin and watch your friends call you a living doll. Yes, an amazing product that makes your entire surrounding smell with beauty. 4 oz. bottle. Only $2.00.

9. COCONUT OIL SHAMPOO--Not an imitation but made with pure coconut oil that comes from south sea islands. If you want a product that will really thoroughly clean dirt, old grease, grit, and grime and dandruff out of your hair this is the product. Has a full coconut lather that really does the work well. Absolutely guaranteed. 8 oz. bottle. Only $2.00.

10. AFTER-SHAVE LOTION -- Men, give your face that smooth cooling look with this fine fragrant lotion. Helps to prevent bumps in the face. Makes the face feel so icy-cool after shaving--and above all it forces the little lady to look you straight in the eyes and say. "Yum! yum!" 4 oz. bottle. Only $2.00.

11. LEMON FLAVORING -- Old fashioned thick flavoring that requires only a few drops in your favorites--cakes, puddings, pies and ice cream. Truly amazing, just like old times. Absolutely guaranteed. 4 oz. bottle. Only $2.00.

12. VANILLA FLAVORING -- A double strength imitation vanilla flavoring for cakes, pies, puddings, and ice cream. Only a few drops required. This old time flavoring is in an 8 oz. bottle. Absolutely guaranteed. Only $2.00.

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State council on relations wins award

Ala Dispe

ATLANTA, Nov. 27 — The Alabama Council on Human Relations announced that it has won the George S. Mitchell Award of the Southern Regional Council.

The award is a cash prize of $1,000 given annually to the state human relations council in the South which has the largest percentage growth in membership.

Membership in the Alabama Council on Human Relations increased more than 200 per cent during the past year.

The award was made at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. It was presented by Mrs. George S. Mitchell, widow of the man whom it memorializes, and Mr. John Wheeler, president of the Southern Regional Council.

ACCEPTING ON behalf of the Alabama human relations organizations was Nat Welch, Auburn businessman, who is president. Certificates of the award were given Welch and J. Edwin Stanfield, executive director.

Other Alabama members of the Southern Regional Council Board of Directors who were present for the award are Moreland G. Smith, Montgomery; Dr. Lucius Pitts, Birmingham; Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, and Rev. Duncan Hunter, Huntsville.

Ala Dispe

NAT WELCH

Council Award Is Presented

The Alabama Council on Human Relations announced today that it has won the George S. Mitchell Award of the Southern Regional Council. The award is a cash prize of $1,000 given annually to the state human relations council in the South which has the largest percentage growth in membership.

Membership in the Alabama Council on Human Relations increased more than two hundred per cent during the past year.

Accepting on behalf of the Alabama human relations organization was Nat Welch, Auburn businessman and former Selmian who is president. Certificates of the award were given Welch and J. Edwin Stanfield, Executive Director.

For hot egg sandwiches, spread egg salad on bread slices making sure edges are covered Top with partly cooked bacon slices and broil until the bacon is crisp. Serve at once.

Ala - Dope

FROM

WILLIAM J. COOK

Newsweek

Paul Anthony:

Paul: Talked to Broward Segrest, a fat, young attorney in Tuskegee who's heavily involved in local and school politics. It was his father [redacted]--also an attorney--who got [redacted] elbowed out of the mayor's race when the negro vote fragmented in the Aug. [redacted] 11 race. Runoff is Sept. 15. Broward is a personal friend and says for you to give [redacted] him a call when you go to Tuskegee. Home: 727-3257; ofc: 727-3050. (His place is a haven for Justice Dept. types in Alabama.)

Bill

AWAITING SECOND PART OF REPORT BEFORE CIRCULATION

TO OTHER MEMBERS OF PROFESSIONAL STAFF

Ala dope
~~Bkt~~

MEMORANDUM RE. BIRMINGHAM

Several possible events of the next months may have considerable bearing on Birmingham. These, listed below, should be watched closely for they might enhance a story or kill it. These are:

1. An election for mayor and councilmen is scheduled for early March, under the new form of city government recently voted by a margin of approximately 700 votes over the Eugene (Bull) Conner forces. The Conner forces have challenged the validity of the earlier election and the matter is now before the state supreme court. Though not likely, this may postpone the election and could, if postponed long enough, have considerable bearing on events. Too, Conner is a candidate for Mayor, and if he should win, the story of the "good people fighting back" has (temporarily) an unhappy ending; a matter not consistent with objective propaganda.

Only if the election is held in March and if an Anti-Conner man wins, does the story, as we've discussed it, have validity.

2. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (M. L. King) is reported to be planning demonstrations in Birmingham later this month. This could have bearing on the election, the role of local leadership, the continued work of white moderates, and any number of things. If the demonstrations are held, they should be watched closely.

3. Birmingham may face public school desegregation in September. (So may Mobile and Huntsville.) If the city faces this test and passes it with honors, it is probably a good peg: the event, successful school opening, the background of some of the why.

4. Governor Wallace still hovers. At this point, it looks as if it will become a Wallace vs. Birmingham fight on one level. But,

Wallace could do to Alabama's largest city what Faubus did to Little Rock.

"Birmingham's Turmoil" rather than "The Good People Fight Back" might be the theme.

These matters being considered, there is a hopeful trend in Birmingham.

The city has long been considered by race-relations people as "the meanest city in the South." Police brutality (Police Commissioner Conner) has long been a serious problem. Several years ago a Negro, the Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, organized the Inter-Citizens Committee to document this brutality. Despite the obstacle of very soundly based fear, Mr. Oliver has documented a number of cases of brutality, with affadavits from victims and witnesses. Two policemen are now under indictment. (The police chief refused to suspend the men in question, "innocent until proven guilty.")

Documentation is readily available of the brutality--and of the Negro fighting back. It's not easy for an Oliver in Birmingham. But he's there.

Other interesting thoughts on Negro leadership. Over a year ago, Lucius H. Pitts, then Executive Director of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, accepted the Presidency of Miles College. Miles, a private Negro college with some 800 students, lost its accreditation several years ago, is in trouble generally, and is losing its local paternalistic support as whites look askance at Negro students demonstrating downtown. Suffice it to say Pitts is great. No man in his right mind would take such a hopeless job. Pitts took it, is already pulling the college up and has become a remarkable figure in the Negro and white communities at the same time. He's tired, very

overworked, and sometimes very discouraged. But he's a fine example of a darn fine man fighting back.

One other example: A. G. Gaston, millionaire. A few Negroes have become millionaires, usually by providing the necessary services (which whites won't provide) to the Negro community. Usually, too, these people--and their few upper-class colleagues--have hidden behind the wall of security ignoring a world they could do little about. Gaston is an excellent example of the change. Long aloof, he now prefers to be willing to lead students and ~~go to~~ go to jail with them. I believe he is.

Through leadership such as this, the city's Negro leadership, long divided, is making some progress in becoming united.

There are a few white liberals whose very survival marks them as at least remarkable and/or persistant. Notable among them is the Rev. Norman Jimerson, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, an American Baptist minister, earlier chaplain of a Virginia prison. When Jimerson came to Birmingham about two years ago, a lending institution granted a home loan until his work was known, then quickly cancelled it as a "bad risk." He probably was. He and his fine wife and five children have gone through the range of threat and cross burnings. They show the strain but things are better and they are still there. Now Jimerson has access to some strange andhigh places, frequently with people who disagree with him but respect him and see the value of his presence. Until last week he was under injunction covering the Talladega College students and others. His predecessor, the Rev. Bob Hughes, now a missionary in Africa, spent several days in jail during one of the suits against the New York Times. Hughes was held in contempt for

refusing the give the membership of the Alabama Council.

A young lawyer, Charles Morgan, sits in a shiney new offices looking across to the Vulcan statue, taking all manner of cases which most Alabama lawyers wouldn't consider.

A small band of women are quietly starting a Save-the-Schools movement. They are timid and frightened, but chances are they will last and be an effective community force.

The two daily newspapers in the city have been viciously segregationist. THey have recently done a turn-about and speak of "law and order" in decent tones.

A former president of the Chamber of Commerce speaks rather frankly of the damage done the city, its poor economic conditions, and of the need for considerable improvement. Businessmen generally are feeling a real pinch and want to do something. At least one major retailer is a liberal and willing to integrate the services of his store--and the personnel.

Earlier some stores removed signs designating white and Negro drinking fountains and other facilities. They were forced by Police Commissioner Conner to put them back.

A growing collection of businessmen, lawyers and media people who once lived comfortably outside the city limits, supported Conner, and felt all was well are now working actively to get their residential communities into the city limits and are giving their support to anti-Conner moves. These represent probably a major portion of the power structure of the city. Some of them will talk to reporters under the proper circumstances.

The federal government professes a vigorous program with government contractors in the area, especially Hayes Aircraft and Tennessee Coal and Iron (a subsidiary of U.S. Steel) and long the

controlling factor of Birmingham. Reportedly, great changes are in the making.

Labor unions in the area--long major centers of the Klan and Citizens Councils--show some signs of change. Several local labor leaders are making gentle beginnings, akin to those of the businessman.

On the day after the inaugural address of the Governor, a group of the leading church leaders of Birmingham issued a statement deploring the governor's stand and urging law and order and understanding.

If interest develops, SRC could send a collection of background materials, articles describing the city, current editorials, ministers statements, and the like. And, should you visit Birmingham, we can arrange for you to meet the several people who will see that you meet anyone around in whom you're interested.

Birmingham represents real Deep South defiance. If it is changing--and I think it is--that is quite a story. Whatever happens, the people of Birmingham are quite a story.

Luck!

Ala Dope

Names From Dean C. G. Gomillion

White:

1. Nat Welch, Box 1192, Auburn (Businessman)

2. Henry Neill Segrest, Tuskegee (Attorney, former Tuskegee Board member)

3. Vester D. Martin, Shorter

Negro:

1. FathernVernon H. Jones, Box 1213, Tuskegee Institute (Episcopal Vicar)

2. Mrs. Vera Foster, Box 426 Tuskegee Institute (Social worker, Veteran's Hospital, wife of president of Tuskegee Institute)

3. L. W. Hemmons, Box 263, Tuskegee Institute (manager, Credit Union)

4. Mrs. Elnora Williams, Box 422, Tuskegee Institute (Housewife)

5. Clisby Patterson, Box 775, Tuskegee (Retired Veteran's Hospital worker)

6. Mrs. Julia B. Alexander, Drawer EE, Tuskegee Institute (Retired RN, Veteran's Hosp.)

Names From Welton Gregory

White:

1. E. H. Pearson, Autaugaville
2. S. H. Johnson, Eclectic
3. G. H. Proctor, Sr., Andalusia
4. Merlin T. Bryant, Brundidge
5. Miss Nadine Turnipseed, Brundidge
6. Mrs. S. J. Casey, Elba
7. Ralph Paul, Geneva
8. Mrs. W. T. Benson, Geneva
9. Alto V. Lee, III, Dothan
10. George Y. Malone, Dothan
11. Alexander Nunn, Loachapoka
12. Roy Smith, Phenix City
13. Dr. Vernon Stabler, Greenville
14. George Little, Eufaula
15. M. S. Odom, LuVerne
16. O. T. Edwards, Ft. Deposit
17. Quinton James, Montgomery
18. Rusk Davidson, East Tallassee
19. Mrs. W. L. Turner, Union Springs
20. Mrs. J. D. Shoemaker, Abbeville

Negro:

1. Mr. James Kolb, LuVern
2. Freeman McGrady, Union Springs
3. Mrs. J. W. Darden, Opelika
4. Mr. W. L. Peterson, Opelika

List from Welton Gregory, Negro (continued)

5. Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee
6. J. C. Forester, Dothan
7. Mrs. Almedia Jemison, Dothan
8. J. B. Newman, Clopton
9. J. B. Baldwin, Phenix City
10. Robert Austin, Georgeiana
11. Mrs. Essie Bandy, LaFayette
12. Marion Hawk, Dothan
13. J. H. Glanton, c/o Clark Funeral Home, Dothan
14. Dr. T. V. McCoo, Eugaula

Ala - Dope

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT

The word SELMA was on everyone's lips a year ago.

The SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT is continuing the relationship between the people of Black Belt Alabama and the religious organizations that responded to Dr. King's call last March. The organizations that make up this Project have pledged that their presence in Selma last March will be continued through this ministry.

May we use this bulletin to introduce you to the Selma Inter-religious Project and to outline the work being done.

The Project was formally organized in October 1965. Before that time many persons including Jonathan Daniels had remained in Selma to continue a ministry of presence on a temporary and volunteer basis.

Some twelve organizations currently belong to the Project. Four have been designated as sponsors. They make up the Steering Committee.

The Nat'l Catholic Conference For Inter-racial Justice: Mr. John P. Sisson 8017 Palm St. New Orleans, La.

The Nat'l Council of Churches of Christ Comm. on Religion and Race: The Rev'd Bruce Hanson 475 Riverside Drive New York City.

The Synagogue Council of America: Rabbi Balfour Brickner 838 5th Ave. New York City.

The Unitarian-Universalist Assoc: Dr. Homer Jack 25 Beacon Street Boston, Mass.

Mr. Mel Dubin, a businessman from New York, has agreed to be the chairman and will guide the meetings of the Steering Committee.

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity is a member and was most instrumental in establishing the project. Your address in fact, came to us through the Director, John Morris who supplied the Selma Inter-religious Project with E.S.C.R.U.'s "key persons" mailing list.

The overall job is to continue and develop the relationship between religious institutions and the Civil Rights Movement in Selma and Black Belt Alabama. For instance, we hope you will be able to act on the appeal in the enclosed leaflet "HELP DECENT HOUSING". Surely large and prosperous churches could consider this a legitmate extension of their concern. We hope so. The risk involved is very small.

The Director, the Rev'd Francis Walter, is an Episcopal priest and a native of Alabama. He has found that his pastoral ministry to individuals has been greater than he imagined. White Alabamians, the young people who have remained in Selma from all over the country, and civil rights workers have provided many occasions for a pastor

The Project also oversees and places volunteers who wish to work in Alabama under its direction. We have been able to bring in speakers and experts to assist in workshops and study groups.

During the past two months Fr. Walter has volunteered most of his time as a fact gatherer in Wilcox County, which is just below Selma. The people there are busy gathering the statistical information necessary to fill out application forms for the housing project, an FHA financed co-op farm, and OEO sponsored adult education, Head Start, and Day Care Centers!

The most delicate work has been in attempting to interpret the Movement to Alabama white people. We have also been able to do a little in bringing whites and Negroes together for common projects in Alabama. Can you believe there is even talk of organizing an integrated church in Selma?

The most pure fun has been enjoyed in founding "The Freedom Quilting Bee of Wilcox County." This is an ever growing cooperative of women who wish to market quilts out of Alabama. Profits will ultimately be lent as in a credit union to buy sewing machines or finance other money making projects.

Last, but most important, is the use of creative imagination to envision the resources of Project members and apply them to the needs of Selma and the Black Belt. New ideas and new ventures in cooperation do constantly occur.

***

We would like to offer our services to you or your organization. Perhaps you would like to be a part of the Project, formally or informally. If you would like the receive The Project Newsletter you have only to let us know.

***

The budget for this year is $16,000. We are far from having raised this amount. We very much need contributions to continue this year and must soon begin to raise money for the second year.

Your contributions would be appreciated. Checks may be made out to any of the sponsors and earmarked for S.I.P. or may be made out to

"INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
by Francis X. Walter, Director"

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
The Rev. Francis X. Walter, Director
810 25th Avenue
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA 35401
(205) 758-2301

Thank you very much.

HELP FOR DECENT HOUSING IN BLACK BELT ALABAMA

Readers of the Selma Inter-religious Project Newsletter are aware of the evictions and loan forclosures that have harassed Negroes in Alabama who have registered to vote.

The people of Wilcox County are doing something about it. The non-profit Wilcox County Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc. has applied to the Farmers Home Administration and the Office of Economic Opportunity for assistance with two housing programs!

The first is a project to build 50 houses on 35 acres already owned by the group. A Texas manufacturer is supplying pre-fab houses. A family can join this project, getting a house and lot for $3500.00. Payments go for 20 years. This is possible through F.H.A. financing under the Rural Housing Act of 1949 last amended 1964.

The second housing program will assist those too poor to qualify for even the most generous terms allowed by Farmers Home Administration. Most Negro farmers in Wilcox are too poor to qualify for this credit. According to the U.S. Census in 1959 the median income for non-white families in Wilcox was $1,081; but out of 2,600 Negro families 1,200 made less than $1000.00.

Title III. B. of the Economic Opportunity Act offers help in housing for seasonal or migrant workers, this includes sharecroppers.

Therefore the Rev'd Dan Harrell, director of the Wilcox group, has applied to the Office of Economic Opportunity for what is called a self-help housing grant under Title III. B. The most recent example of this type of project is in Chester County, Pennslyvania.

A group of families is selected who will build their own houses. The O.E.O. grants each family $1500.00 thus qualifying them for F.H.A. credit. The group is funded to hire a sort of combination social worker and building contractor who directs the families in the construction of their own homes. Thus skills are learned and pride is generated.

We are writing you because you may be able to help these people.

The Rev'd Dan Harrell has appealed to the Selma Inter-religious Project to find churches, synagogues, clubs, and labor unions that are willing to demonstrate their confidence in the people of Wilcox County.

Mr. Braxton LeCroy, the county F.H.A. agent, has agreed that in some cases he would allow groups out of the county or state to co-sign the F.H.A. loans. He feels this would better the chances of some families to gain loans. A group would in effect adopt a family. No note would exceed $3500.00.

The religious groups of this nation created a firm bond with the Negroes of Alabama during the dramatic crisis in Selma. That bond still exists. This appeal is the legitimate development of less dramatic but no less signifcant co-operation.

Isolation and alienation are the facts of life for Negroes in Wilcox County. These facts can be changed by the interest and confidence of a co-signer organization.

This has been well stated in the recent Unitarian publication "The Reeb Murder Trial".

> "Both the death of James Reeb and all his companions in the civil rights struggle, and the infuriating inability of the Southern courts to grapple with the issue, point to the problem and the same solution. The insularity of the embattled community must be broken. The resources for a larger community must be uncovered and drawn out. It may be possible to accomplish some of this by further exercise of federal authority ... But this is not the best answer, a measure to be taken in desperation only. Nor will it directly meet the underlying problem, which is the alienated community.
>
> The only answer is to bring the Selmas and Haynevilles into the American community at a far deeper level than they have yet been willing to come. And this will be accomplished, it seems to me, less by new legislation, than by the quiet but determined work of individuals and groups to take advantage of the ground already gained, to undercut devisive anxieties, and prepare the way for the voluntary relinquishing of attitudes that are no longer useful nor attractive.
>
> I say this.... to encourage the constructive work at deeper levels without which further progress seems a vain hope... This, I think, is what James Reeb would have worked for too."

If you are interested and want more details please write us. thank you.

SELMA INTER-RELIGIOUS PROJECT
810 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Ala. - Dope -
file Ala
Shmidt Samuel 1/18

LWD:

Paul Johnston suggests the following as persons in Alabama of major influence

Tom Russell - Russell Manufacturing Co., Opelika

Ernest Ladd
Finley McClay both bankers of Mobile

Walter Bouldin - President Alabama Power, Birmingham
John Hand - Pres 1st National Bank - ~~Alx~~ Brimingham
Will Cothran - President Birmingham Trust
Bill Bond - Woodward Iron Co., Birmingham
Bob Garrett - U.S. Pipe & Foundary, Birmingham
William B. Engell, Engell Realty Co., Birmingham
Louis Schuler, President Anderson Electric Co/, Bhm.
Jack Warner, President, ~~Fult~~ States Paper, Tuscaloosa
Frank Newton, Bell Telephone, Birmingham
Berard Managhan, Pres. Vulcan Materials, Birmingham
C. Pratt Rather President, Southern Natural Gas, Birmingham
Hugh P. Bigler, President, Southern Electric Steel, Birmingham

Suggests - see Milton Cummings for suggestions of all north Alabama

Gulf

reorg. took effect early
Abolished TCI as '64
a sep. entity

The
now U.S. Steel Corp.,
~~PO Box~~ Fairfield

Some
production functions
transferred to Pittsburgh.

?

Head - V. P. - Sales
of B. operation

DAVID A.

CHALLIS,
Jr.

A Grave Disservice

R. P.

An amazing recital of untruths and semi-truths, employed to justify conclusions obviously implanted in the writer's mind before he ever crossed the Mason-Dixon line, has provided the nation with a picture of Birmingham maliciously bigoted, noxiously false, viciously distorted.

Another journalistic or literary libel against the South is, in itself, nothing to exite great concern. Northern journalists have for generations taken great delight in labeling certain segments of our social and political life as "dirty linen", then washing it for us in public.

One more asinine "expose" of the South would not seem to matter much. But when *The New York Times*, with a long-standing reputation for respectability and integrity, stoops to journalistic demogoguery and South-baiting a response is required.

The nation today has a portrait of Birmingham threatened with "civil strife," ruled by the "whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, the mob. . . ." Telephones are "tapped," mail "intercepted," the "spy" has "become a fact of life." Ridiculous? A psychotic mirage induced by slef-delusion?

Nonetheless, we must remember that *The Times* readership is one of the most influential segments of America and that for *The Times* reader this noxious falsehood, couched in the most purple of phrases, is the truth. These readers do not and probably will not know that normally high journalistic standards have not been followed.

Interpretation of an isolated incident as typical of the entire region has long been a favorite instrument for libeling the South.

The New York Times sets a new standard for the anti-South propagandists to aspire to in its articles dateline "Birmingham".

A rape story from Pennsylvania creates no assumption in the South that everybody in Pennsylvania is a rapist. But the most sordid incident of violence and prejudice in the South, no matter how unusual, is immediately employed by segments of the journalistic North to indict the entire area.

The Times cites incidents which it skilfully interprets as all happening within a short time. As logical would be taking the year's record of knifings, shootings, muggings and assaults in New York City and, as the basis for a sociological survey, presenting them as a true picture of a normal day in the life of a great city.

Typical of the distorted picture of Birmingham given the nation is the assertion that "A drive is on to forbid Negro music on white radio stations."

Basis of that statement of "fact" is, of course, a column by News TV critic Roger Thames deploring the unusual amount of vulgar rock and roll generally associated with second rate Negro music played on radio stations compared to the time given to good music of the classical and semi-classical and popular varieties.

Such is the pattern of *The Times'* distortion.

Race tensions exist only in the South many Northern writers would have you believe by inference. Negro and white tension in the North frequently explodes into extended violence. But there are very few "official" race conflicts in the North. If whites and Negroes clashed physically in the South, an occurrence so unusual as to defy citing, we can be assured it would be immediately labeled a "race riot."

That a shoddy, vicious type of reporting should be resorted to by *The New York Times* makes the articles slandering Birmingham even more shocking for the people of this city.

It is with amazed disbelief that the community views this malicious journalistic portrait of itself.

But Birmingham, engaged in a major program of community improvements, may find itself more than shocked. Many here are asking if this type of reporting may not cause economic damage.

If the prize-winning reporter, Harrison Salisbury, can write this about Birmingham, how can we evaluate what he reported for *The Times* out of Moscow?

We believe *The New York Times* has done Birmingham and American journalism a grave disservice.

associated with second rate Negro music played on radio stations compared to the time given to good music of the classical and semi-classical & popular varieties.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Connor blasts N. Y. Times story

Commissioner Eugene Connor today branded a recent New York Times article about Birmingham, a "cheap attempt to smear our city and state."

Connor referred to The Times article of April 8, which painted Birmingham as a city filled with "emotional dynamite of racism, reinforced by the the whip, the razor, the gun, the bomb, the torch, the club, the knife, the mob, the police and many branches of the state's apparatus."

The two-part story, which appeared under the byline of Harrison E. Salisbury, also portrayed Birmingham as a city where telephones are tapped, mail is intercepted and opened, and where "the eavesdropper, the informer, the spy have become a fact of life."

"IT APPEARS," Connor said, "that the mighty Times is stooping again to gain circulation among those who seek sensationalism at our expense and believe what they want to believe. The attack of Reporter Salisbury's is nothing new to the South."

Connor, who at first refused to comment on the article, made his statement today after receiving several abusive letters from New York Negroes.

In one letter, Connor said he was called a "little Hitler," and a "Fascist filled with hate and greed." Connor said his picture was clipped from The Times by one writer who drew on horns to depict him as a devil.

"There are always representatives of the Northern press, radio and television," Connor continued, "who, through ignorance or evil intent, forsake the principles of responsible journalism to cry havoc over victims and situations that don't exist."

CONNOR SAID Salisbury obviously knew just enough about the race situation in Birmingham to twist it into the sensational story which appeared in The Times.

"Salisbury's story," Connor concluded, "is a cheap attempt to smear our city and state—and as such, it shows us very plainly that the mighty and glorified Times wears only the mask of fair news reporting; that the face behind the mask is one of bigotry and hate.

"The mighty has fallen into the mud—and the once good gray Times has turned yellow."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

WADLEY GROUP FORMS COUNCIL OF BOTH RACES

FILE COPY

Wadley, Ala. June 24 -- White and Negro leaders have organized a bi-racial council here, the first of its kind in Alabama, which seeks to ease racial tensions and prevent flareups between the races.

It was organized last night, four days after a church conference at Southern Union College attended by membe s of both races was broken up by a threatening white group.

Southern Union is a Congregational Christian Church college.

Wadley's Mayor W. B. Fackler was chosen as head of the Council on Human Relations along with the rest of the city council, three ministers,a banker, business men, Negro teachers and a Negro business man.

President Clyde C. Flannery of Southern Union College which has no Negro students, said white hoodlums disrupted the conference and threatened those who attended it.

Observing the disturbance was the first such incident in this small farming community of about 55 per cent Negro population, Mayor Fackler released this statement as to the Council's objectives:

"We are of the opinion that a mistake was made when Negro guests were placed on the second floor of a dormitory at Southern Union College June 20 while the first floor had been rented to a white family.

We earnestly desire that the public should know that a great majority of citizens of Wadley are heartily sorry that a small group of people attempted to take the law into their hands. We further wish to clearly state that we do not condone mob rule in any form.

"This newly formed Council on Human Relations wishes to pledge itself to promote harmony and peaceful settlement of all future problems arising in our community."

Gov. James E. Folsom condemned the action of the white group and requested law enforcement officers to see that no further mob action takes place.

The Rev. Robert E. Hughes of Montgomery, a young Methodist minister who serves as executive secretary of the Alabama council on Human Relations, attented the organizing session of the local council.

"The council recognized," he said, "that the incident which occurred last Monday night was only an example of the larger problem of race relations, which all Alabama communities face.

"It therefore has agreed to remain as a permanent working body as long as the need for building interracial understanding and cooperations exists."

The minister added if other cities and towns in Alabama would follow Wadley's example by taking similar steps, "it would be impossible to over-estimate the amount of strife that could be avoided.

"As it is now," he said, "there is little opportunity in our community for free and frank exchange of ideas between white and Negro leaders.

"By the formation of such human relations councils differences could be submitted to an orderly mediation and problems studied objectively by surveys. This would build understanding between the races and harmful tensions would be lessened."

As to the general objectives of the Alabama Council, the Rev. Hughes issued this statement:

"We firmly insist that the citizens of local communities are the best qualified persons to deal with community problems. Therefore we merely suggest this democratic approach of using the leadership of both races together and leave the conclusions entirely in their hands."

The Rev. Hughes said the staff of the state council is available to any community which might want to set up a local council for advisory purposes.

(Montgomery Advertiser)

INFORMATION SHEET ON ROBERT E. HUGHES

I. FAMILY - Born 1928, son of Dr. and Mrs. M. P. Hughes of Gadsden. Dr. Hughes is a well-known medical doctor having practiced in Gadsden for over 50 years. The Hughes family is one of the pioneer families of Alabama, my great grandfather having come to the state in 1828 and founding the city of Gadsden. On his large landholdings he established a cotton plantation worked by over a hundred slaves. His sons were officers in the Confederate army.

II. EDUCATION -

A. University of Alabama - A.B. Degree, double major in political science and history, 1945-48. Two quarters work on M.A. in political science.

1. Significant courses - public administration, administrative law, international law, legislative processes, public opinion, Jeffersonian and Jacksonian democracy, political theory.

2. Extra-curricular activities - President of the University Religious Council, awarded Bell Harrison scholarship for outstanding religious leadership, secretary of Pi Tau Chi honorary religious fraternity, secretary of Alpha Phi Omega service fraternity, Student Forum, International Relations Club, R.O.T.C. Officers Club, Association for the United Nations, charter member of the Alabama Student Conference for Civil Rights and chairman of the University chapter, Methodist Youth Caravan work in Pennsylvania in 1948.

B. Emory University, Georgia, Candler School of Theology - Bachelor of Divinity Degree, 1949-1952. One quarter of work on Master of Theology degree, 1952.

1. Significant courses - religious sociology, education, and psychology, "The Negro in America", journalism, social psychology, social anthropology, "Leadership", "Communism", and ageneral course in the Town and Country School.

2. Extra-curricular activities - I organized and served as chairman of a large group of students who served as volunteer orderlies at the Negro and white emergency clinics of Atlanta's Grady General Hospital. One our chief purposes was to stand as a buffer between Negro patients and extremely prejudiced hospital policemen and interns. Through a court trial, we secured the removal of a white policeman whom I witnessed beating a Negro girl.
I also organized a group of volunteer students who served as counselors for Negro and white youth awaiting trial in the Fulton County Juvenile Court.
Vice-president of Theology School student body, chairman of Atlanta area of the Student Volunteer Movement, member of bi-racial Georgia Conference for Human Rights, Atlanta Intercollegiate Council, student membership in the Southern Regional Council. During last year in seminary was granted request to have a dark-skinned Indian student as a room-mate.
Summer of 1951 - Methodist Youth Caravan work in Cuba. Worked with mixed church congregations and youth groups, often under the direction of Negro pastors. The experience of living in the unsegregated Latin American culture was very meaningful.

III. Experience -

A. Laboring experience - During 1952-53 I spent a year working largely in situations which afforded firsthand experience of laboring conditions which included: Laborer in iron ore pits of Minnesota, farm-hand in wheat harvest of Alberta, Canada, dish-washer and utility seaman for 2 months on Panamanian flag tramp steamer sailing between N.Y.C. and South America. January-February, 1953 - worked with small Panamanian Seamen's Union organizing ships in N. Y. harbor. Brought the practice of American firms sponsoring Panamanian flag fleets with inhumane laboring conditions to the attention of officials in the International Labor Organization and the U. S. State Department. February-April, 1953 - guard in the Security Section of the United Nations Secretariate assigned to General Assembly and Human Rights Commission sessions. June-September, 1953 - worked my way to Europe on a freighter and attended World Council of Churches Ecumenical Institute in Geneva, Switzerland. After close of the school traveled over western Europe, returned to England, joined National Maritime Union, and worked my way back to America on a freighter.

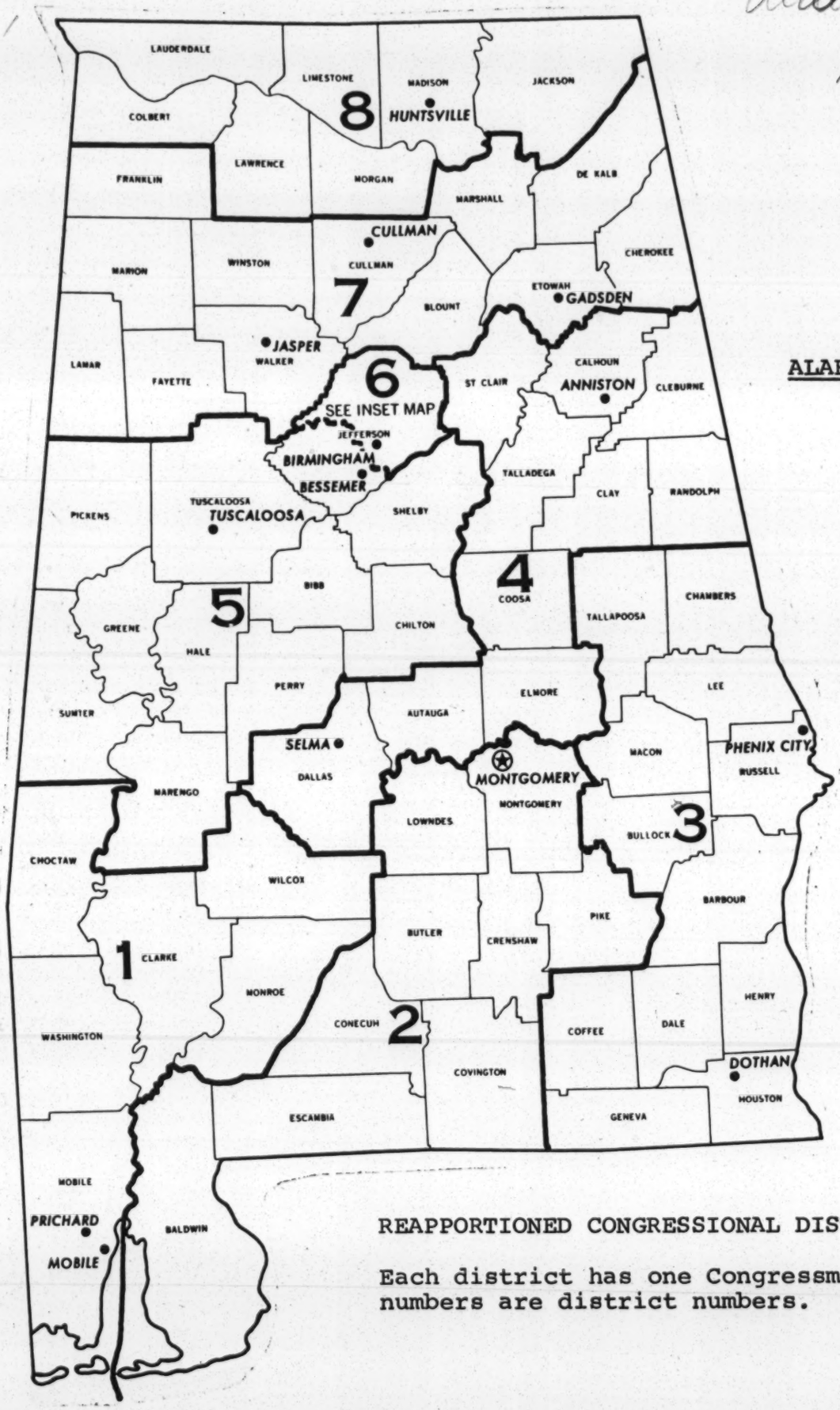
B. Pastoral experience - October, 1953 began active ministry, joining Methodist North Alabama Conference and ordained deacon. Assigned to Rockford Circuit, Rockford, Alabama, with three rural churches where I am presently located. Chief concern in my work has been the organization and cultivation of Laymen to take responsibility. To date, I have had six articles published in the secular and religious press, two of them feature articles in nationally circulated religious magazines.

Race relations - At present I am working with several of my laymen to bring together a cross-section of Negro and white leaders in each community in the county to form a mediation group to which they would agree to bring all problems arising in the future. Over these community groups will be a county-wide organization set up along the same lines. This plan has excellent chances for success here in Coosa County because several Negro and white leaders have endorsed it.

My plan is to complete the organization in the near future as a model project for rural areas and then give it state-wide and South-wide publicity. Arrangements have been made with the religious and secular press on this matter.

IV. Ultimate goal - My ultimate calling is to foreign mission work under the Methodist Board of Missions in India or Africa. Therefore, any other field of endeavor apart from my present pastoral work would finally have to be cleared by the personnel secretary of the Board.

Alabama - DOPE



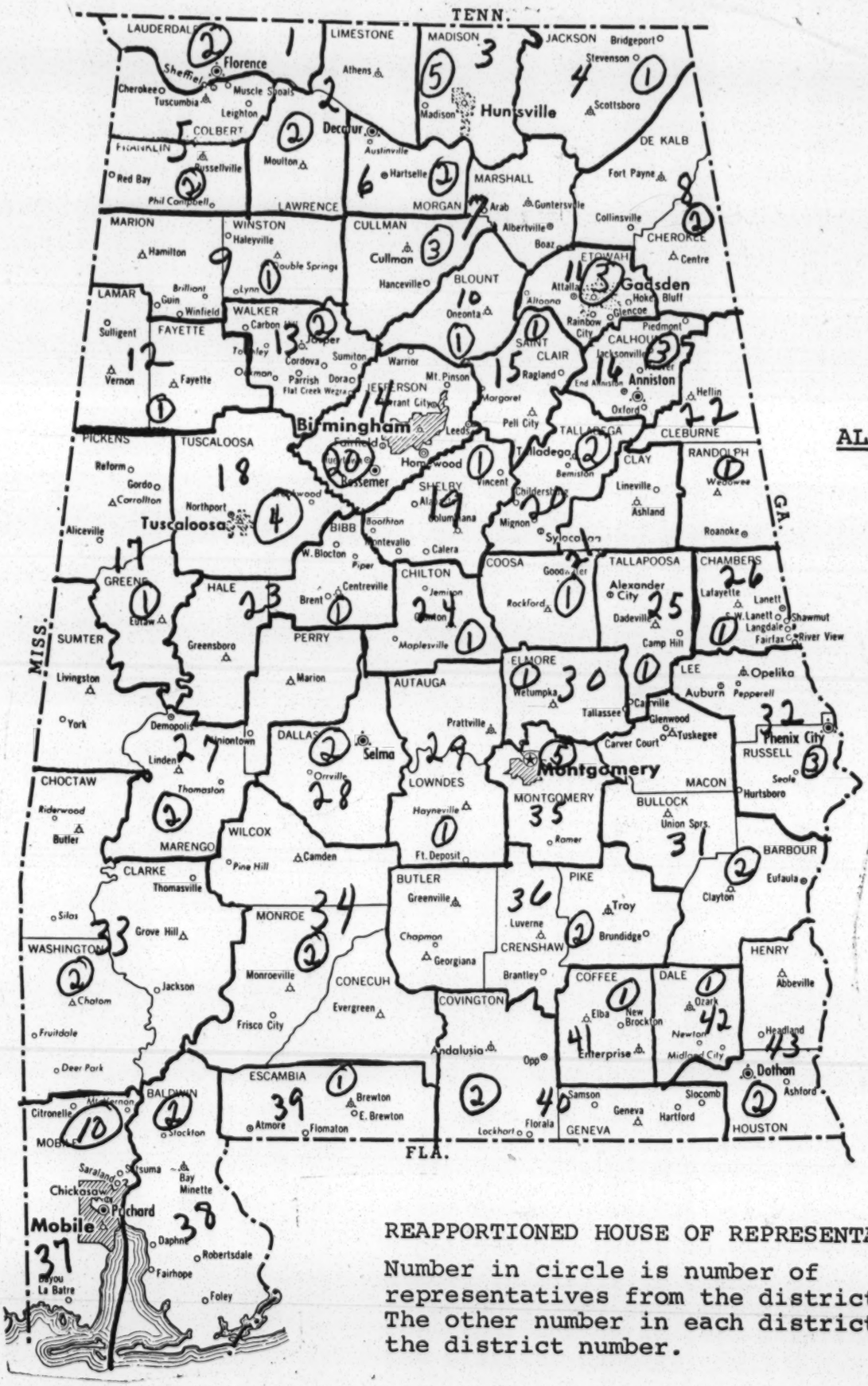
ALABAMA

REAPPORTIONED CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

Each district has one Congressman; numbers are district numbers.

REAPPORTIONED SENATE

With exceptions noted by numbers in circles, each district has one senator. Other numbers are district numbers.



ALABAMA

REAPPORTIONED HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Number in circle is number of representatives from the district. The other number in each district is the district number.

ALABAMA ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Telephone

Chairmanship (Vacancy)

Dr. E. B. Goode, VICE CHAIRMAN
1072 Davis — HE 2-5132 (Bus.)
Mobile — HE 2-3971 (Res.)

Physician. Member, Southern Conference on Human Relations and the Masons.

Mrs. Vera Foster, SECRETARY
Tuskegee Institute — Tuskegee 780
Tuskegee — Ext. 204 (Bus.)
Tuskegee 350 (Res.)

Social Worker, Veterans Hospital. Member, National Association of Social Workers, and Alabama editor for Christian Century.

Louis Eckl
747 Nellie Avenue — EM 3-3434
Florence — Ext. 25 (Bus.)
AT 2-7784 (Res.)

Executive Editor. Past president, Alabama Associated Press Association. Member, Alabama Council on Human Relations.

The Reverend Albert Sidney Foley, S.J.
Spring Hill College — 342-1531 (Bus. and
Mobile 36608 — Res.)

Roman Catholic Priest. Professor of Sociology. Member, National Association of Inter-group Relations Officials, Southern Regional Council, Southern Sociological Society, and Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Telephone

James A. Head
2857 Pumphouse Road — FA 3-8911 (Bus.)
Birmingham 35243 — TR 1-6936 (Res.)

President, Southland Metals Corporation. Co-chairman, National Conference of Christians and Jews. Chairman, Committee of 100 (Industrial Development Corporation). Past president, Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and (Alabama) Rotary Club. Past member, Jefferson County Personnel Board (Civil Service). Member, State Democratic Executive Committee.

Honorable Edward Daniel McLaughlin
County Court House — AD 5-3418 (Bus.)
Anniston — HE 5-4151 (Res.)

Judge of Calhoun County Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court. Member, Cosmos Club. Director, Rotary Club. Retired diplomatic and counsular officer.

Mrs. Frances P. McLeod
1540 College Court — AM 4-2577 (Res.)
Montgomery 36106

Housewife. Charter member of the Alabama Division, Southern Regional Council. Member, Alabama Council on Human Rights.

Lucius H. Pitts
Miles College — State 8-4641 (Bus.)
Birmingham — State 5-0116 (Res.)

President, Miles College. President, American Teachers Association. Vice president, Alabama Council on Human Relations, and Commission on Cooperation and Counsel between the Methodist and Christian Methodist Episcopal Churches.

Reverend Charles M. Prestwood
303 Wilson Avenue — FR 2-3270 (Bus.)
Eutaw — FR 2-3991 (Res.)

Methodist clergyman. . Chairman, Greene County New March of Dimes 1960-61. Former assistant professor of philosophy and religion, Birmingham Southern College. Governor's Committee for the Aging. Secretary-treasurer, Historical Society of the Methodist Church.

Alabama

8th Ave N 22nd
Rm 101 2121 Bldg.
B'ham 3

Anniston

Bi-racial com. appt. during/after demonstr.
Presbyterian minister – ?

B'ham

will send

Huntsville

3± Motels desegd
(1) Theatres
6± Lunch counters
(2) Municipally owned pub. auditorium – des.
Des. Catholic schools Jan 64
Warren pub. School Sept 63

(3) ?

(4) General good attitude officials/newspaper. leans toward good
Harrison McMains – Xn church
Duncan Hunter Meth. Dist. Superintd
? Barry United Ch. of X or Cong. Ch.
Ministerial group desc
Milton Cummings (Brown). Estab. Equal Emp. Com
(5) CHR

(6) Bi-racial formed w/ Ch. of Com. + city officials

Tuscaloosa

(1) no (bus sta.)
(2) Alabama U.
(3) ?

(4) Newspaper – Bufford Boone good.
J. Murphy + John Paine (Law School); Dr. Hanson Political
Council + "nice people)
George LeMaestre?) Banker
(5) Unofficial Bi-racial gp of businessmen: Jack ? Gulf-States Paper

Mobile

(1) Battle House Des. + rest.
No rest.
Lunch counters - about 6
No theatres

(2) All municipal parks
Public Schools (HS) Des.

(3) Nuts: Gun store operator Leader of Klan

(4) Good attitude:
Joe Langan Mayor? one of 3 commissioners?
Press - terrible
Business & church - silent.

Bi-rac. Business & negro leaders to desseg.
lunch counters

(5) 2 Comm. officially appointed one big one little
~~Comm~~

CHR active
Biracial ministers group -

Florence - Sheffield - Tuscumbia

Florence - Negro policeman
Parks Des.
Buses OK
Theatres no
lunch counters, no
Florence State College. Des. Sept '63
Newspaper - from excellent to terrible

Bi-racial committees - none

Gadsden

Lunch counters no -

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

C O P Y C O P Y C O P Y

CONSTITUTION OF THE BUTLER COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL (ALABAMA)

ARTICLE I - Name and Object:

The name of this association shall be the BUTLER COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL

The Object of the association shall be:

1. To promote good will among the races.
2. To promote pride of race.
3. To teach that there are no benefits to either race from integration.
4. To promote public health for both races.
5. To promote equal public welfare benefits.
6. To promote better education advantages for both races.
7. To promote equal and separate facilities:
   in education
   in economic opportunities
   in hospitals
   in transportation
   in recreation
   in public toilets
8. To uphold and maintain racial segregation:
   in schools,
   in hospital service,
   in transportation facilities,
   in hotels and restaurants,
   in recreational facilities,
   in public toilet facilities,
   in places of worship,
   in political administration,
   in social activities,
   in public and private cemetery.
9. To foster equal and fair treatment for both races in the Courts.
10. To oppose the methods, activities and ultimate objectives of the NAACP because its activities and news releases are misleading to both races.
11. To teach the self-evident truth that enforced integration is not freedom.
12. To point up the fallacy of the Supreme Court decision on segregation.
13. To teach that racial integrity once lost is never regained.
14. To promote segregation only through economic, legal and educational activities among both races.
15. To engage in no unlawful secret activities with concealed purposes (but to reserve the right to have private meetings with executive sessions). Finally, it is our objective, united together, in a consecrated purpose, under the Constitution, within the law, without violence, under God-who set the pattern-to maintain freedom and segregation in Butler County.

ARTICLE II - Membership

Any White male citizen who is approved for membership by the Executive Committee shall be eligible for membership in the association other than such persons who are judicial or quasi judicial officials. Quasi judicial officials are defined as including members of the Jury Board, Board of Education, Board of Registers and County School Board.

A member may be dropped from the roll for cause after a hearing by the Executive Committee upon a three-fourths vote of the Executive Committee.

No member of the association shall be responsible for any act of the other members or of the officers and Executive Committee unless directly participating therein.

ARTICLE III - Dues:

Contributions and donations may be accepted from non-members. Every member may solicit other white male citizens to join, there shall not be any specific dues, but the council will operate with donations. Donations for expenses will be accepted at each county-wide meeting.

ARTICLE IV - Meetings:

Meetings of the association shall be held at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Such meetings shall be open or closed to non-members, and the press at the election of the Executive Committee. Notice of the meeting may be given by mail, word of mouth, publication, announcements over the radio or such other means as may be designated by the Executive Committee.

One annual meeting shall be held on the third Tuesday of September of each year, at which time officers and Executive Committee for the ensuing year shall be elected.

ARTICLE V - Officers:

Officers and Executive Committee heretofore elected shall serve until the next meeting of the membership of the council; thereafter the officers of the association shall consist of:

Chairman
Four Vice-Chairmen
Secretary and Treasurer
An Executive Committee composed of one representative residing in each Precinct and twelve (12) residing in the City of Greenville of its police jurisdiction.

Officers and members of the Executive Committee shall serve from the date of their election to the close of the annual year of the association which is September 5th, and until their successors are elected and qualified.

A majority of the Executive Committee, including the officers, shall constitute a quorum.

A majority of the members of the Executive Committee shall have authority to call a meeting in the event the Chairman refuses or neglects to do so. Notice of all meetings of the Executive Committee shall be given by the Secretary-Treasurer or such other person as said committee shall designated. These notices shall be in writing.

The Executive Committee shall meet not less than once in each calendar month. The Chairman may call other meetings when he deems it necessary or proper.

The members and particularly the chairman of each standing committee may, in the discretion of the Executive Committee, be invited to attend such meetings of the Executive Committee as may be designated by it. Such persons shall not be entitled to vote on any matter not directly concerning the committee of which they are members.

ARTICLE VI - Duties:

It shall be the duty of the Chairman to preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee and at all general meetings. The Chairman, in conjunction with the officers of the association and subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, shall appoint all committees.

Each Vice-Chairman shall have general supervision and responsibility for the membership in his district, including the activity of the members of the committees from said district.

Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all the records of the association, including finances and shall pay all expenses out of the funds of the Council. He shall make a financial report to the Executive Committee at each meeting. The expenditure of all funds must be approved by the Ex cutive Committee.

All officers, including members of the Executive Committee, shall at all times have access to the books of the association.

It shall be the duty of the Chairman and officers to appoint the following committees:

Membership,
Political and Investigating,
And other such committees as the Executive Committee may direct.

Speakers other than members of the Butler County Council must be screened and passed on by the Executive Committee.

The officers of the association, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee shall also annually appoint a nominating committee. The nominating committee shall be charged with the duty of making nomination for all officers to be voted on at the annual meeting of the association, which annual meeting shall be held in the month of September and nominations shall also be received from the floor.

The Executive Committee shall also designate an audit committee. It shall be the duty of the audit committee to at least annually, and as often, in their opinion, as may be necessary, to audit the books of the Council and to report their findings thereof to the Executive Committee.

The officers and Executive Committee shall be responsible for making the policy of the Council in compliance with the principles enunciated hereinabove. No person other than one designated shall have the authority to act for and in behalf of the Council in any mannerwhatsoever.

The Executive Committee is authorized to fill vacancies arising by any reason among its membership, including the right to declare a vacancy due to such member failing to regularly attend its meetings or such member engaging in the name of the Council, in any unauthorized act.

ACTICLE VII.

No motion, resolution or proposed action shall be voted on, in Executive Committee or in general meeting, at the same meeting at which such motion, resolution or proposed action is made, offered or introduced: but such motion, resolution or proposed action shall be referred by the Chairman to a proper committee for study, consideration and recommendation, such recommendation or report of the committee to be made to the next ensuing meeting. This rule is designed and intended to prevent hasty or ill-considered action and may be suspended as to any specific motion by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the members present.

ARTICLE VIII - Amendments.

The constitution of the Council may be amended on the recommendation of the Executive Committee by the vote of the majority of the Council members at a regular or call meeting.

SRC AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Reverend Duncan Hunter - Chairman
First Methodist Church
Alexander City

Dr. W. A. Bell - Vice-Chairman
Miles College
Birmingham

Reverend Thomas R. Thrasher - Secretary
1574 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery

Mr. J. T. Brooks - Treasurer
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Reverend Robert E. Hughes - Executive Secretary
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery

Dr. J. F. Drake
(Educator)
Alabama A. & M. College
Normal

Rev. Griffin Lloyd
(Minister)
First Methodist Church
Marion

Mrs. I. B. Rutledge
(Housewife)
641 West Edgemont Ave.
Montgomery

Dr. H. C. Trenholm
(Educator)
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Mr. J. E. Pierce
(Educator)
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Dr. Arthur D. Gray
(Educator)
Talladega College
Talladega

Mr. Charles Hendley
(Businessman)
830 West Holmes Street
Huntsville, Alabama

Rev. Powers McLeod
(Minister)
First Methodist Church
Andalusia

Dr. Dan Whitsett
(Minister)
105 East Spring Street
Sylacauga

Mrs. Fletcher McLeod
(Housewife)
700 Terrace Avenue
Montgomery

Mr. A. D. Shores
(Attorney)
Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham

Dr. A. S. Turnipseed
(Minister)
251 Island Court
Mobile

Mr. George Hawkins
(Attorney-Legislator)
752 Forrest Avenue
Gadsden

DISTRICT MEMBERS

Dr. John Hall Jones
(Clerical Sociologist)
10 South 80th Street
Birmingham

Mrs. Jordan Cowin
(Housewife)
15 Alden Lane
Birmingham

Father Albert S. Foley
(Educator)
Mobile

Rev. J. E. Lowery
(Minister)
c/o Warrent St.
Methodist Church
Mobile

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FILE COPY

Memorandum Number 3

To: Members of the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations

From: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director

Re: Recent Decision of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee of the Alabama Council On Human Relations has met on two recent occasions and taken the following action:

1. Revision of the Constitution and By Laws to reflect and provide for the expanded program of the Alabama Council On Human Relations as follows.

   A. Between the annual membership meetings a Board of Directors shall act in the name of the organization. This Board of Directors shall be composed of the original fifteen member Executive Committee, elected by the membership at its annual meeting, who shall become members at large from over the state. In addition, the Board of Directors shall have two representatives from each of the eight districts making sixteen district members. All told the Board of Directors shall have thirty-one members. If and when more districts are organized this number shall be increased. The Board of Directors shall meet at least semi-annually on call from the President (Reverend Duncan Hunter, pastor First Methodist Church, Alexander City, Alabama).

   B. The President shall appoint four permanent committees of the Board as follows: Membership, Finance, Survey, Community Relations (Program) which will give adivce to similar district committees who in turn will give guidance to local chapters. It is anticipated that the work of any local group will fall within these four broad areas and

the district and state level committees are designed to assist these local groups within these areas.

c. Between meetings of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee shall act in the name of the organization. The Executive Committee shall be composed of the officers of the organization and those members of the Board of Directors residing in or near the city of Montgomery, the state headquarters. There are presently eight members that fall into this category. This group can be summoned for policy decisions on short notice by telephone.

These revisions are subject to the approval of the Board of Directors and the membership at its annual meeting.

2. The promotional folder of which one copy is enclosed was approved.

3. The membership rate was revised as follows: single-from $5 to $3, joint-from $8 to $5, sustaining single or joint (new)-- $8, and the student fee of $1.50 was unchanged. This action was taken in response to numerous requests from over the state for a lower rate. It was felt that the increased number of memberships at this lower rate would largely compensate for the loss of income from the higher rate. However, it will be necessary to emphasize financila contributions which in a sense would "subsidize" the new lower rate.

4. A maximum of $50 was alloted to each district to cover administrative expenses for sending out notices of district and local meetings between February and October 1955, the latter date being the close of our financial year. This plan was adopted in preference to sending back to each district a specific amount out of each membership which would not have met the administrative expenses of districts with a small number of members which need funds to gain more members. The $50 rate should be adequate for those districts with the largest membership.

5. It was decided to have the Alabama Council On Human Relations to become incorporated as a non-profit eleemosynary institution under the laws of Alabama. Mr Arthur Shores, Board member in Birmingham, is in the process of drawing up and filing the required papers.

6. At the present time the Executive Director is seeking to build up sentiment among key figures in the Legislature and the Administration for a Human Relations Commission or Board appointed by the Governor composed of a cross-section of leadership of both races. The functions of such a group would be (1) through a full-time staff carry out research into all areas of the problem of human relations in every part of the state; (2) advise the Governor and Legislature on appropriate measures to take and (3) provide for a decentralized system of mediation with boards on district and state levels given the responsibility of bringing together both sides in any controversy in an attempt to arrive at an orderly solution.

Such a plan would constitute a step of "good faith" as required by the Supreme Court's implementation decree rather than overt evasion. As such this plan could become a substitute for the private school system or placement board plans presently under consideration in legislature committees.

Any suggestions as to the composition, function and methods of such a Board that you might have will be most welcome as well as the names of white and Negro citizens who might serve effectively on the Board. Time is of the utmost importance.

7. As of this date, we have just over 300 members affiliated with the Alabama Council. According to reports from the 12 Southern Regional Council state organizations, this represents the largest membership for any single state affiliate. Of the $1,800 we are required to raise by September 30th, we have secured $1,400.

Any member of the Board of Directors desiring copies of the revised constitution, the annual budget, district officers and meeting dates in your locality or any other information the state office may have, feel free to call upon us. We welcome any directions as well from you, our Directors.

June 13, 1955

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

August 24, 1955

FILE COPY

MEMORANDUM NO. 2

TO: District Officers of the Alabama Council of Human Relations

FROM: Rev. R. E. Hughes, Executive Director

RE: Funds Available for District and Local Work

Meeting earlier this summer the state Executive Committee has rearranged items in our state budget which makes provision for certain district and local expenses between now and October 1st.

(1) Administrative Expenses - A maximum of $50 is available for such expenses as paper, envelopes, postage, etc. involved in sending out of meeting notices and other information to members and prospective members residing in each district. Long distance telephone calls and such expenses are included. The chairman of each district has the responsibility of informing appropriate persons in each local chapter or group of members within his district that these funds are available and should apportion each group its share of the total amount.

(2) Travel Expenses - A maximum of $285 is available to each district for travel expenses incurred in program promotion or organizational activities within each district. The bringing in of outside speakers and resource persons are provided for under this item. The usual rate of reimbursement is 6¢ per mile for auto travel or the price of bus, train, taxi or car-fare trips; hotel accomodations; meals; phone calls, etc. The chairman of each district should inform local chapters or membership groups that these funds are available and should see that they are utilized. It could easily fall upon the district officers to initiate or coordinate this field work within each district.

These funds will be available until Oct. 1, 1955 when a new budget will be drawn up. The funds should be used wisely and in the event they are not exhausted by Oct. 1 they will revert to a general fund and will be added to the budget for 1955-56. There is every reason to believe that items for these same expenses will be added to these items.

These funds are available on a retro-active basis to include administrative and travel expenses from the time of our annual meeting.

Vouchers for reimbursement should state the purpose of reimbursement and be signed by either the district chairman, vice-chairman or treasurer and forwarded to the state office.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

July 19, 1956

MEMORANDUM NO. 10

TO: MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
FROM: ROBERT E. HUGHES, EXEC. DIR.

RE: Important Action Taken by the Executive Committee

The State Executive Committee met at the State Office on July 10, 1956, making several important decisions in the light of the following conditions:

1. Finances - A twofold financial problem faces the organization. First is the absolute necessity to meet the $3,500 income minimum this fiscal year as required by the Fund for the Republic in order to qualify for an extension of the grant next year. Through June we have raised approximately $2300 leaving a balance of $1200 for July, Aug. and Sept. Secondly, the need for more adequately financing needed operations during the balance of this fiscal year.

   Action taken was in the form of (1) a resolution encouraging the Districts to make a concerted effort to reach their respective goals, (2) the decision to send Pres. Hunter to Chicago and Mr. Hughes to Washington and New York to make personal contact with organizations and individuals soliciting their financial support.

2. State Office Location - Mr. Jerome Moore, owner of the Moore Bldg. in which our offices are located, has informed us that when our lease expires on Sept. 30 he will not be disposed to its renewal and should we find suitable facilities beforehand we would be permitted to vacate sooner. He explained that associates, friends and some tenants had complained of our interracial activities to the point of "embarrassment".

   Observations were made that the center of present and prospective work is actually closer to Birmingham than Montgomery and that the potential value of North Alabama in setting needed constructive precedents for the entire state is much greater than in the Black Belt. Whereas, the only communities where we have been able to stimulate bi-racial activities in this area are Montgomery and Selma, in North Alabama we have chapters in Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, the Tri-Cities, Decatur and Gadsden

with the prospect of work developing in Jasper, Huntsville, Athens, Jacksonville, Anniston, and Sylacauga. The executive director is able to pay only spasmodic visits to these areas.

Therefore, it was unanimously decided that when the State Office is moved that it be moved to Birmingham, and that the explanation for this move should be positive with emphasis upon the new opportunities for service which it affords without reference to the lease.

The State Office will be closed on Friday, July 27th, at which time our furniture will be stored until early September. In so doing we will save a month's rent while Mr. Hughes is in New York and away for a week's vacation. During August essential business will be handled by Mr. J. T. Brooks, A.C.H.R. Treasurer, whose address is Box 271, Montgomery, Ala. Office and home phones are 5-2673 and 4-7578, respectively. Upon securing our new office site in Birmingham each Board Member will be notified immediately.

3. Board Workshop - The Board of Directors Workshop dates have been set for Tuesday and Wednesday, Sept. 25 and 26 at Tuskegee Institute. The Executive Committee will meet with the S.R.C. consultants from 9:30 - 12:00 on the 25th and the full Board will convene at 1:00 P.M. for afternoon and evening sessions followed by a morning session on the 27th and the regular semi-annual Board meeting which will be held from 1:00 - 3:00 completing the Workshop.

Number 1 July, 1955

ALABAMA COUNCIL NEWSLETTER

Issued by the
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 206, Moore Building, So. Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

"An organization to attain through research and action equal opportunities for all people of Alabama."

This newsletter will be issued periodically to all members of Alabama Council On Human Relations.

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION AND ALABAMA

The announcement of the Supreme Court's implementation decree brought forth varied reactions from Alabama officials. They ran from, "I see no reason to flout the rulings of our courts "by Speaker of the House, Rankin Fite to Senator Englehardt's" as far as I'm concerned, the abolition of segregation will never be feasible."

The significance of such statements is seen in the fact that Representative Fite comes from Marion County which is 3% Negro and Senator Englehardt from Macon County which is 84% Negro. The proportion of Negroes to whites in the population is one of the best yardsticks available for predicting progress in the field of race relations. In counties with few Negroes the abolition of segregation poses small problems in comparison with Black Belt counties which face major social revolutions.

THE NEW RULING AND THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

The Supreme Court placed the burden of complicance upon local boards and the burden of enforcement upon federal district courts. The state Legislature is presently considering legislation which would give local school boards the power to handle the problem as they see fit. Likewise the State Department of Education favors a county rather than a statewide approach to the situation.

The trend in Alabama is definitely toward each local community working out its problems in the light of its local conditions. This is one of the major principles of the Alabama Council On Human Relations.

However, we go a step farther calling for all segments of the community to be given a part in working out the solution. When one group makes all the decisions they are less likely to be workable or acceptable to the community as a whole. On the other hand, if the representatives of all affected groups sit down together to study the problem, map out the procedures to take and work coorperatively toward their fulfillment, a problem which could fruitlessly divide the community could be turned into a means of unifying it for continuous constructive progress.

This is not only the democratic approach- it is practical as well.

A USEFUL ILLUSTRATION

Recently when the Southern Bell Telephone strike ended a Montgomery union official was asked the following question. "How long do you think it would have taken to settle the strike if there had been no negotation or mediation and the only communication between labor and management was in the form of charges and countercharges in the press?"

He threw up his hands and replied, "The strike would have gone on indefintely!" When it was pointed out that this is the situation we are facing in the field of race relations, he only nodded and a worried look crept across his face.

NEWS FROM THE DISTRICTS

Four of our districts have elected permanent officers and turned to work on the local community level. They are the Northeast Alabama, Birmingham, East Black Belt, and Mobile Districts. The Northwest Alabama, West Black Belt, Wiregrass, and the new Tennessee Valley Districts have all held preliminary meetings and we are concentrating on building up membership prior to electing permanent officers.

FROM HERE AND THERE

Selma- A biracial ministerial association has been set up by local members and have held three meetings to date. This is the first integrated ministerial association in the state that we know of.

Andalusia- Local chapter members of both races are working together on an expansion of the recreation program for the entire city.

Birmingham- A special committee has been at work speaking before various clubs and organizations solicitating resolutions. These resolutions have been sent to Governor Folsom, calling upon him to appoint an advisory body composed of outstanding leaders of both races to study and work out an acceptable solution to our human relations problems. If such a body is established it would be precedent for local communities and it could make research material available and give general guidance.

Montgomery- An initial approach has been made to several city leaders of both races toward setting up some type of "mediation" body.

CONTINUING TO GROW

Starting with 108 members and no organization to speak of last February, the Alabama Council has experienced a most encouraging expansion. Four months later and as of this date we have 309 members working in coordination with district and in many cases local organizations.

You will be proud to learn that recently the Alabama Council membership passed that of Georgia and we are now the largest in the Southern Regional Council. The credit must go to the many hours of unselfish service rendered by our district and local officers and to just plain members like the one in Mobile who took the initiative and called 70 persons on the phone to promote their meeting last week!

Finances are doing well also. We have taken in $1400 of the $1800 amount required by October 1, 1955, in order to qualify for another "Fund for the Republic" grant.

CHANGE IN MEMBERSHIP RATES

At a recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors the membership rates were revised as follows: single-$3, joint (husband and wife)- $5, sustaining (either single or joint)- $8 and the student rate remained unchanged at $1.50.

It was felt that the higher rates were causing too many people to hesitate in joining with the Council. This should make it easier for many persons who have been interested in the Council and perhaps attending meetings to become an active affiliate.

HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE ALABAMA COUNCIL?

Many of our members have felt a hesitancy in speaking to others about the Alabama Council because they felt they could not adequately explain what we are or what we're trying to do. This is a natural reaction.

To meet this need we have published a new pamphlet which can be secured by writing to the state office. Requests have come in for lots up to thirty pieces. If you feel you can profitably use them, don't hesitate to ask. They will be sent free of charge, thanks to a $100 contribution from a man in Roanoke.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

Many of our members have received the Southern School News through an agreement we made with its publishing agency. This monthly publication giving an objective state by state account of what's happening across the South has been an invaluable source of information. However, because it has been in such tremendous demand they will now have to charge a subscription rate of $2 per year or $3.75 for two years. If ordered in lots of five or more the annual subscription is $1.50. To continue your subscription or to start a new one, send your check or money order to: The Southern Education Reporting Service, Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee.

POSTSCRIPTS

* Anyone desiring a copy of our constitution and by-laws, our budget, names of their district or local officers, or any similar information, they can be secured by writing to the state office.

* If your community has done anything constructive in the field of race relations, we would like very much to hear of it. If it is confidential, mark it so and it will be treated as much. Many events do not get into the press- and perhaps should not- and we never hear of them. The same goes for any particular incidents, areas of tension, attacks on the Alabama Council, etc. of which we might not be aware of.

* The Tennessee Valley District has suggested that the State Office act as a clearing house for prospective members. We gladly comply. Send us the names of any friends, business acquaintances, etc. you feel

(continued)

POSTSCRIPTS

* would be interested in our work that live outside your community or across the state, and we will send them to Alabama Council members in that area in order that they may be contacted.

* A young Alabama Council member attended a Selma White Citizens Council meeting out of curiosity. While talking to one of the leaders afterwards the W.C.C. man realized that the young man just didn't think the way he did about integration and asked, "Would you want your sister to marry a nigger?" Without batting an eye he replied, "She can say 'no' can't she!"

Number 2 August, 1955

ALABAMA COUNCIL NEWSLETTER

Issued by the
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 206, Moore Building, So. Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

"An organization to attain through research and action equal opportunities for all people of Alabama."

Federal Courts Begin to Apply the Decision

A quick succession of events occuring in July revealed the rough pattern which public school integration will take in the South. There is every reason to believe Alabama will soon become a part of this pattern.

Federal District Courts sitting in Columbia, S.C. and Richmond, Va. acting within a few days of one another and using similar terminology:

(1) Declared that those provisions of the S.C. and Va. state laws requiring public school segregation are null and void.

(2) Ordered that the school boards of Clarendon County, S.C. and Prince Edward County, Va. cease to refuse admission of students to schools under their jurisdiction on account of their race.

(3) Ordered this action is to be taken as soon as necessary "arrangements" could be made using "all deliberate speed".

When it is realized that both courts had ruled in favor of segregation when these same cases had come before them earlier, little basis is left for the popular idea that Federal judges who are natives of the section they serve will rule in favor of local tradition.

Following the lead of the Supreme Court both courts refused to set a date by which segregation would end, but directed that the school boards to show "all deliberate speed" in making rearrangements. As to exactly what

will constitute "all deliberate speed" is yet to be seen. However, the South Carolina court did state that it would not insist upon desegragation this fall.

Remarks made by the judges during the hearing but absent in the pronouncement indicated that the judges considered one year as sufficient for the "rearrangements" to be made. (See Southern School News for August 1955 for their exclusive transcript of proceedings before both courts.) The deciding principle will be whether or not the board is actively planning and working in good faith for desegregation of its system.

It is generally understood that efforts to use this period of time for evasing of the decree will be watched for, with the NAACP having the responsibility of bringing this to the attention of the court for the purpose of citing the school board for contempt. Doubtless this is one reason why both courts retained the cases on their dockets "for the entry of further orders if necessity for same should arise".

A New Doctrine More than a Decision

Emphacizing the fact that the Supreme Court's school decree not only prohibits legal school segregation but is the declaration of a new doctrine, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals declared South Carolina's law requiring segregation on city busses void. This is the first concrete indication that the new doctrine will apply to fields outside of education.

The States take their Stands

Each of the southern states have responded differently to the Supreme Court decision, but according to their official response they tend to fall into three broad categories. Those states committed to the principle of integration are Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas and Oaklahoma. States which have shown varying degrees of

opposition short of constant unyielding resistance are Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas.

Uncompromising and forthright defiance is found in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi.

It should be noted that while Alabama has adopted evasive legislation it is the only state in the Deep South which has not yet provided for the abolition of its public school system. If it remains in such a position it could easily fulfill a role of leadership for the rest of the Deep South as inevitable compliance begins to take place in the future. Within this context the work of the Alabama Council takes on new importance.

Alabama's First Step of Evasion

During July Alabama's "wait and see" period abruptly ended with the passage of the "school placement bill" by the Legislature. Unamiously passed by the Senate, it faced only token opposition in the House when Representatives Hawkins of Etowah (member of the Alabama Council Board of Directors), Nice of Jefferson and Dement of Limestone votes "no". Governor Folsom permitted the bill to become law without his signature although encouraged to vetoe it by certain labor groups and the NAACP.

Floor leader Hawkins asserted "Sponsors of the bill admit it is a ruse to forestall the effects of the Supreme Court decision. I believe it will have the opposite effect. It will bring on more lawsuits on a question that should be left alone".

Alabama's Second Step?

Meanwhile the "freedom of choice bill" received a minimum of press coverage and was quietly approved by a Senate committee, the Senate itself and recently by a House committee. It is now on the House calendar for consideration at an early date at one of that body's Tuesday or Friday sessions.

Among other measures this bill would provide for three local school systems - white, Negro, and mixed - with the parents being given the option as to which they would send their children. If approved by the House and Gov. Folsom it would require ratification by the people within 90 days after adjournment as a constitutional amendment. Theoretically the people of Alabama could be voting upon this plan next December.

School Boards Petitioned in Five Counties

As of August 10th eight school systems in five Alabama counties had received petitions from Negro parents of school age children requesting desegregation. The systems are Butler County, Mobile City-County, Macon County, Phenix City, Gadsden, Attalla and Etowah County. The only school board response other than that the board would "consider" the petitions came from Mobile. President K. N. Reed stated that school officials are working as "assignments" of pupils for the Fall term which starts next month. There is little doubt that these assignments are being made in accordance with the new school placement law.

Doors Ordered Open at University

In the first application of the Supreme Count decision of schools other than those involved in the original cases, Federal Judge Hobart Grooms of Birmingham ordered the admission of two Birmingham Negroes to the University of Alabama significantly declaring it a class decision. Attorneys for the University immediately applied for a new trial but this motion will not be heard until Judge Grooms returns from his vacation on August 19th.

Rising to the occassion the Tuscaloosa News stated that attempts to postpone the admission of the Negroes through legal devices would be unwise and went on to say "we might as well start this coming September by admitting the two whose applications already have been filed".

In contrast Supt. A.R. Meadows appealed for Negroes to maintain voluntary

segregation because "the decision is not based on the will of the majority of Alabama".

The Alabama Council: From Here and There

*Birmingham - Approximately seventy persons meeting at Gaston's Funeral Home heard District Chairman Dr. John Hall Jones and Mr. Emory Jackson, editor of the Birmingham World present a dialogue on the new book The Stronge Career of Jim Crow. The striking feature of the program was the revelation that our Jim Crow laws are not necessarily the child of our southern traditions but comparative late commers being enacted in the late stages of the 19th century. Up until around 1880 in the absence of legal restraint it was common for whites and Negroes to move in the same circles. Common Worship in the same churches was the rule rather than the exception.

Mr. John Stanley reported that a committee which he heads has been successful in getting two Birmingham organizations to petition Gov. Folsom to set up a state level bi-racial advisory council to work out our human relations problems.

The Birmingham District meets each second Tuesday evening. For location of meetings and other information persons may contact Mrs. Arthur Tomisek, 344 Mountain Ave., Birmingham 9, Alabama.

*Mobile - Meeting at McGill Institute thirty-five persons from Mobile, Fairhope, Foley, Irvington and Chickasaw were presented an interpretation of a study of the Mobile city-county school system which has just been completed. The survey revealed that whereas many school facilities and services are more or less equal in the white and Negro systems there are glaring inequalities. For instance there is an average of 26 white students per classroom to 40 Negro students per classroom. (Such is the case after sixty years of operation under separate but "equal" facilities.)

Large scale maps revealed that due to residential segregation any school integration would affect only a small percentage of elementary school students.

The Mobile District meets each third Tuesday evening at McGill Institute. Mr. Elbert LaLande, 455 So. Washington Ave., Mobile, Ala. is district secretary.

*Tri-Cities - Thirty persons attended the second local meeting of this new group at the Episcopalian Church in Florence. The program consisted of a panel presentation of the changing human relations patterns over the South by Mr. Fred Routh and Mr. Harold Flemming of the Atlanta S.R.C. office and the state director.

The first project of the local chapter involved visitation of three school superintendants and an official of Florence State Teachers College to discuss the Supreme Court decision as it relates to the local situation. With-exception each of the school officials voiced the inevitability of compliance and dealt frankly with such subjects as which schools could more easily desegregate.

Dr. Walter Brown of Wilson Lake Shores is the chairman of the Tri-Cities Chapter.

*Montgomery - Meeting at the Dexter Ave. Baptist Church the Montgomery chapter considered several possible projects and chose to undertake a study of the critical housing situation in cooperation with other civic groups. The twenty-five persons attending received an explanation of housing survey procedures from the Survey Committee chairman, Dr. Zelia Evans of Ala. State College.

Several ladies in the Montgomery group have organized an interracial prayer group that has met a number of times in various homes. The Montgomery Chapter meets each third Thursday at Dexter Ave. Baptist Church. Mrs. R. T. Adair, 442 South Union Street is the secretary.

*Decatur - Some thirty-five persons attended the first meeting of the new Decatur Chapter at St. Annes Catholic Church. A panel presented a survey

of problems, principles and practices of human relations. An excellent writeup of the meeting including a picture of the panel appeared in the Decatur News. Father Horgan of St. Annes was elected temporary chairman of the chapter.

*Andalusia - A dozen persons attended the first local meeting of the Andalusia Chapter at the First Methodist Church the first of the summer. A list of perspective members was drawn up with a division of responsibility as to who should approach whom. The lack of recreation facilities was discussed and the first project of the group will probably center around this area. Rev. Powers McLeod of Andalusia was elected temporary chairman.

Is there a Local Group in Your Community?

Alabama Council members residing in local communities where there is no local group are encouraged to seek the fellowship of other members nearby. The names of officers are mentioned above in the event you would like to contact them with reference to attending one of their meetings.

If you desire to establish a local fellowship, program or chapter the state office will coordinate with your district organization to provide consultants for advice, literature and funds for administrative and travel expenses. A simple note to the state office or your district chairman will start things rolling. But the initiative lies with you.

We recognize that no two communities are exactly alike and therefore present no set pattern to be followed by any community. But we can relate what other communities have done or are planning to do so as to point up possibilities. We merely help local citizens to help themselves.

Who are Our District Chairmen

Tenn. Valley District - Mr. L. J. Martin, 704 East 9th St., Tuscumbia, Ala.

District 1 - Dr. Robert E. Tidwell, 1602 Aloca Place, Tuscaloosa, Ala.

District 2 - Dr. Dan Whitsett, 105 E. Spring St., Sylacauga, Ala.

District 3 - Dr. John Hall Jones, 10 South 80th St., Birmingham, Ala.

District 4 - Dr. James Tate, Box 85, Selma, Ala.

District 5 - Mr. C. G. Goumillion, Box 31, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

District 6 - Rev. Powers McLeod, Box 468, Andalusia, Ala.

District 7 - Rev. J. E. Lowery, 306 N. Warren St., Mobile, Ala.

Who are Our State Officers?

President - Rev. Duncan Hunter, Alexander City, Ala.

Vice. Pres. - Mr. C. G. Goumillion, Box 31, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.

Secretary - Rev. T. R. Thrasher, 315 Clanton St., Montgomery, Ala.

Treasurer - Mr. J. T. Brooks, Alabama State College, Montgomery, Ala.

Our Financial Picture

July 31st found us exactly $1,600 on the way toward our $1,800 goal by September 30th. This means we must average $100 from memberships and contributions for each of the next two months. Judging from our rate of income during the summer months we will just make it. However, let us put forth extra effort to provide a margin of insurance. A report on how well we are doing will be carried in our next issue.

First Meeting of the State Board of Directors

On July 12th the Board met in Montgomery and approved of a plan which would provide for a half time associate executive director and five part time consultants. The services of these persons are made possible during the coming fiscal year beginning Oct. 1 through the S.R.C. A committee was appointed to consider persons for the associate directorship headed by Mr. C. G. Goumillion. Members are encouraged to send in nominations to Mr. Goumillion for the committee's consideration.

Trustees were elected from the Board for purposes of incorporation of the organization. The new By-Laws submitted by the Executive Committee were adopted with minor revisions. It is subject to final adoption by the membership at the annual meeting in Feb. A copy may be secured from the state office - Room 206, Moore building, S. Court St., Montgomery, Ala.

Number 3 September, 1955

ALABAMA COUNCIL NEWSLETTER

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Room 206, Moore Building, So. Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

"An organization to attain through research and action equal opportunities for all people of Alabama."

The South's Cold War

Events occuring throughout the South during August took on the appearance of a cold war as various forces jockied for position in expectation of the coming segregation showdown.

As 362 school districts in eight border states announced policies of desegregation for this fall three new opposition groups were announced (Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., Christian Civic League of Ga. and U. S. Klan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan) bringing the total to thirteen anti-integration organizations formed according to Southern School News. Legislatures and administrative bodies in eight states in the Deep South put finishing touches on eight separate versions of the most effective way to avoid compliance with the Supreme Court decree.

The number of NAACP petitions to local school boards rose to 118 of which thirteen were in Alabama. School boards in Alabama receiving petitions as of Sept. 10th were Mobile City-County, Butler County, Phoenix City, Macon County, Montgomery City-County, Selma City, Jefferson County, Birmingham City, Bessemer City, Anniston City, Etowah County, Gadsden City and Attalla City. Of states in the Deep South Alabama school boards have received the largest number of petitions.

Among the larger cities of the South committed to the principle of school integration this fall or at some future date are: El Paso, Waco, Lubbock, San Angelo, San Antonio, Austin in Texas, Oklahoma City, Okla., Little Rock and Fayetteville, Ark., Louisville and Lexington, Ky., Nashville, Knoxville and Chattanooga (pop.-30% Negro), Tenn.

If the present trend continues and there is every indication that it will, we will see the middle ground of "neutrality" and "wait and see" progressively shrink pressures force governmental officials and agencies, school boards, private organizations and individuals in general into a definite pro or con stand in reference to segregation.

THE COLD WAR IN ALABAMA

STATE LEGISLATURE - Apparently content with its "School Placement Plan", the Legislature adjourned on Sept. 2nd without enacting further measures to evade the Supreme Court decision. This was done at the expense of the so-called "Freedom of Choice Plan" which if approved would have in effect provided for the abolition of our public school system throwing Alabama squarely into the camp with South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi.

Maneuvered swiftly and almost silently through the Senate Education Committee and the Senate by Sen. Boutwell of Birmingham and reported favorably by the House Constitution and Elections Committee, its House supporters attempted to bring it up for a vote out of order several times on the last day of the session. These moves were successfully blocked by opponents, one of whom, Rep. Nice of Birmingham, argued that the bill said "the state no longer has the responsibility to educate its youth".

Disgruntled, Sen. Boutwell who witnessed the proceedings from the gallery stated, "I feel sure there was a design on the part of certain leaders of the House to delay and deprive the people of Alabama of the opportunity to vote on a constitutional amendment which would preserve our way of life". He announced plans to introduce it again at another session.

The Macon County Local Bill which would have empowered the Macon County School Board of Education to fire without notice or hearing any school teacher who advocated or belonged to any organization which advocated school integration, was passed by the Legislature during the week prior to adjournment. Gov. Folsom retained the measure on his desk and waited until 11:57 P.M. of the last day of the session to call it "dictorial" and to affix his vetoe. Frenzied efforts to overide the vetoe during the waning minutes were blocked by a brief filabuster by Administration leaders. Irate, Senator Engelhardt of Macon, the bill's sponsor, declared Folsom's action an attempt "to garner the Negro vote instead of the branchhead vote right here in the branchhead of the Confederacy".

The box score of the 1955 Legislature shows that only two laws were enacted out of a much larger number of state-wide and local bills introduced relating to the question of segregation. They are the "School Placement Law" and the "Wilcox County Local Law" which places a prohibitive license fee upon the solicitation of members in the county by certain types of organizations. Admitedly aimed at the NAACP, it could be made to apply to labor unions, fraternal groups and the Alabama Council.

THE COLD WAR IN ALABAMA (contd.)

University of Alabama Case - Federal Judge Hobart Grooms of Birmingham refused to grant a rehearing of his permanent class type injunction against the University which he issued during August prohibiting the school from rejecting Negro applicants. However he issued a four month stay of execution of the injunction pending appeal of the case with the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. In turn, attorney for the plantiffs, Arthur D. Shores, appealed the stay of execution to U.S. Circuit Court Judge Richard T. Rives who sits on the New Orleans bench. Appelate Judge Rives refused to overturn District Judge Groom's stay on Sept. 10th. All of which goes to say that apparently there will be no Negro students at the University until the opening of the second semester in February.

Selma - The cold war in Alabama grew hot in at least four areas when economic pressure began to be applied by whites against Negro signers of NAACP school petitions. On Aug. 30th the Selma School Board received a petition calling for compliance with the Supreme Court decision signed by 29 parents of Selma Negro school children. The next day their names were prominiently displayed in the Selma Times Journal. Reports reaching this office indicate that at least some of the petitioners were asked by white employers to either withdraw their names from the petition or be fired. Others apparently were fired outright.

Within a week sixteen petitioners were fired from jobs, representing all petitioners who worked for other persons. In addition, two petitioners who operated barber shops were notified that their leases would not be continued.

One petitioner, who was fired, Daniel Stevens, was employed as a janitor in the local Y.M.C.A., an organization that is nationally recognized as an opponent of racial discrimination. The local "Y" secretary, Wendell Parrish, stated that he was dismissed because "he wasn't doing the job". The state office of the Alabama Council is notifying the national headquarters of the Y.M.C.A. of this remarkable "coincidence".

Alston Keith, Selma attorney and chairman of the Dallas County Citizens Council, stated that the local council would accept neither "credit nor censure" for what happened. His inconsistency is revealed when in the same interview he asserted, "I don't believe there would have been the unity of action that there was without the 'educational' work of the Citizens Council. They (the employers) did just what we have been advocating right along."

As of Sept. 10th five petitioners have requested that their names be withdrawn, each of them saying in various ways that they did not understand

exactly what the petition called for. Mr. W. C. Patton, state NAACP executive secretary, reported that every local NAACP branch had been instructed to read the petition in its entirety, to explain it in detail and to pass it among potential signers to read personally before any signatures be affixed. It is known that the Selma branch did this. Mr. Patton explained the excuses given by those who withdrew with one word - "fear".

Greenville - Five days after the Butler County School Board received a petition for desegregation sig.ed by ten Negro parents, six withdrew their names. This office has received information which states that a Greenville Negro undertaker had gone to each of the six individually and taken them in his car to a local white attorney's office. The attorney then dictated a letter to the school board and had the Negro petitioner to sign it. The letter in effect was a notification of withdrawal of the person's signature from the petition.

It is interesting to note that the undertaker was financially endebted to the lawyer and a short time later the lawyer was instrumental in the initial organization of the Butler County Citizens Council.

Union Springs - On Aug. 19th the Bullock County School Board received a petition signed by thirty-two Negro parents. Several petitioners who work on a large plantation between Union Springs and Ft. Davis were threatened with the loss of their jobs if they did not withdraw their signatures. One father, a self-employed farmer, went to a Union Springs bank requesting a loan. The banker is reported to have stated "I can't do any business with anybody who is sueing me". The Negro did not understand until later when he realized that the banker was a member of the school board. It is not known whether any persons have "withdrawn". Aaron Seller, pres. of the Union Springs branch of the NAACP, has received several indirect threats on his life although none firsthand. When friends from another county expressed concern about his safety he replied, "Everybody seems fearful as to what might happen to me. Don't worry I'm not scared".

Mobile - At least one petitioner in this, the first county in Alabama to receive one of the NAACP petitions, has been fired from her job as a maid in a white home. Local persons have rallied to her support in giving her work in their own homes whether they needed her services or not.

Urgent Note: The foregoing constitutes all of the information that this office has upon reprisals against Negroes expressing their desires for equality. We may take it for granted that for every incident reaching the public press there

are at least five which do not. One of the functions of your Alabama Council state office is to act as a clearing house of information on events concerned with race relations in general. We have an excellent relationship with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Governor's office, certain persons in the Montgomery Advertiser, and the Montgomery Associated and the United Press Bureaus. Moreover, the Alabama Council Newsletter is sent to some 300 persons in Alabama and other agencies over the South. One of the most effective ways of fighting prejudice and evil practices is to bring them out into the daylight. There is much going on that public opinion in Alabama will not condone - if it is brought to the attention of the people over the state. Please send us any factual information relating in any way to race relations from any part of the state that has not as yet appeared in the larger daily newspapers of the state. We will gladly delete any names that might be requested but all communications must be signed in order that we might check with you.

It might be pointed out that of the four cases of retaliation mentioned, only one has reached the Alabama press and then this case, the Selma story, was covered only after the State Office had received the information and relayed it to the Advertiser. Within two hours an Advertiser and an Associated Press reporter were in Selma digging up material for the story which broke last Thursday morning. But we are helpless here at the State Office unless we hear from you.

Butler County Citizens Council

The State Director attended his fourth White Citizens Council meeting last Thursday night, Sept. 8th in Greenville. Some 800 white men jammed the court house necessitating two sessions being held. One of the largest meetings ever held in Greenville, the group represented every section of the county. Temporary chairman Jeff Beland, Greenville's most prominient merchant, told those assembled, "We won't have any more trouble now, and we wouldn't have had the trouble we did if we had already been at work". He went on to say, "We might have to do some things that we've never done before. We might have to do some things that we don't want to do." No specific reference was made to the use of economic pressure against Negroes nor the pressure that had recently been exerted there.

A new method for maintaining school segregation was suggested when Chairman Beland asked for a show of hands of those who had not graduated from high school. Well over 3/4's responded. (Note the educational level of the group.) He continued, "Some of you might have to go back and enroll in

school and study reading, writing and arithmetic. If colored children get into our schools you might have to 'convince' them that it's not best for them to be there." Although amusing this may not be an empty threat. A check with the State Department of Education revealed that there is no maximum age limit upon persons seeking enrollment in Alabama public schools.

The assembly adopted a constitution which stated that its purpose was "to maintain segregation in schools, political administration, places of worship,.....cemetaries,.....(and) toilet facilities...." It stated that it would carry out these aims "through economic, legal, and educational activities among both races". One of the permanent committees established is a Political and Investigating Committee.

Officers for this Council will be elected at its next monthly meeting on October 4th at the Greenville County Courthouse. This meeting will be open to all interested white men and no check is made upon those attending. It would probably be helpful to some of the Alabama Council members residing in that part of the state to witness "prejudice in action" in a first-hand experience. Please let the State Office know if you anticipate attendence.

At the last meeting a copy of the Citizens Council constitution was secured. For a memeograph copy of this interesting document write the State Office.

Wadley Human Relations Council

Because our last Newsletter was so large it was impossible to include a most important development in East Alabama in early July.

Most of our members probably remember news reports of a mob of white men who broke up an interracial congregational church conference at Southern Union College in Wadley,Ala. The facts are that no law was broken as the meeting was held on private property, the men wore no masks and bandished no guns. However, wild threats were made and the Constitutional right of "Freedom of assembly" was interferred with. The Alabama Council's state director went to Wadley and working with Dr.Clyde Flannery, Pres. of Southern Union College and an Alabama Council district officer, succeeded in bringing the Wadley City Council to face the fact that what had happened was only part of a larger problem. It was suggested that the wise course would be to make a positive approach by Mayor R. B. Fackler appointing a representative group of citizens to sit down together and see what could be done to build interracial understanding and to insure that problems that arise in the future will be brought to the group in an effort to arrive at a just and peaceful solution.

The following evening the first biracial mayor's Human Relations Council

that we know of in Alabama met and adopted the above principles. The 12 member group is composed of the four man city council, the pastors of the three churches in the community (Methodist, Baptist and Congregational), a banker, a shirt factory manager, two Negro school teachers and a Negro insurance salesman.

How Democratic is Voting in Your County?

The State Office of the Alabama Council hopes to give you the answer to this question in our next issue. Prof. James Pierce of Alabama State College, our chief consultant, is completing a state-wide survey of white-Negro suffage covering every county under the sponsorship of the Alabama Council and the State Coordinating Committee.

Bi-Racial State Human Relations Commission

Long under study by the Alabama Council has been a state level advisory body appointed by Gov. Folsom composed of authorities in education, government, business, labor, public health, psychology, sociology, religion, etc. of both races. Such a group would have the purpose of carrying out research into all aspects of our complex human relations problems in all parts of the state, advising the Governor and State Legislature of appropriate measures to take that are based upon fact, and to serve as a common point of mediation where problems could be meted out in an atmosphere of mutual striving and understanding.

Far more important than what such a board or commission could specifically accompolish would be the precedent it would set for local communities to make a bi-racial approach to their problems. Such a step would give official approval to this method and would erase much of the hesitancy on the part of local community leaders where the problem will ultimately be solved or left unsolved.

This idea was born in the mind of Miss Mary De Bardelebon a liberal retired white lady of Macon County and Dr. Jay Murphy, professor of constitutional law at the University of Alabama Law School. Dr. Murphy presented his ideas in the fall 1954 issue of the Alabama Law Review.

The Alabama Council is the only organization that we know of which is pushing this plan and the only Alabama Council unit that has registered interest in it is the Birmingham District. Mr. John Stanley of Birmingham has secured a resolution from the Birmingham Unitarian Church and one other organization calling upon Gov. Folsom to appoint this body. Rev. Gerald Harris also of Birmingham secured a similar resolution from the Alabama assembly of the

ministers of the Church of God.

We have waited until now to call upon the Alabama Council membership for action as Gov. Folsom has been pre-occupied with the Legislature sessions since last February. However, we feel that we will have a very good chance to receive a successful treatment of this idea from the Governor if we act now.

Here is what you can do: (1) write an individual letter to the Governor yourself; (2) get at least one other friend to do so; (3) bring this idea to the attention of any organization, club, church group, civic group, labor union, professional association, P.T.A., local Alabama Council chapter or conference of which you might be a member.

The content of the letter or resolution is not too important as long as the general idea for a bi-racial advisory board is set forth. The only address necessary is "The Hon. James Folsom, Governor of Alabama, Montgomery, Alabama". If you type it send the State Office a carbon or let us know if you write a letter. In our next Newsletter we'll let you know the response we've received.

The more letters and resolutions coming from different sections of the state the more effective the appeal will be. Your efforts will be followed up by personal contacts of the State Office staff to persons close to the Governor and to the Governor himself if at all possible.

Unpleasant but Necessary

In our last Newsletter we reported that we were $1,600. on our way toward our annual financial goal of $1,800 by Sept. 30th. It was stated that if we continue our average rate of income for the summer of $100 per month we will just make this goal. However, during August we received only $70 leaving $130 for September. This late summer slump is not surprising, but if we are to qualify for the coming year for a grant from the Fort Foundation and the Southern Regional Council we must receive this $170 in memberships or contributions by Sept.30th.

The Executive Committee of the S.R.C. has informed us that any state affiliate not reaching the $1,800 goal will not receive its funds for 1955-56. The State Office is confident that we will reach our goal, but as to exactly how remains a question. The only answer lies in our membership.

Summary: "What Can I Do?"

1. Send the state office news on race relations in your community.
2. Write Gov. Folsom and get an organization to send him a resolution.
3. Do what you can to insure that the Alabama Council reaches its financial goal.

-Rev. Robert E. Hughes, State Director

Number 4 October, 1955

ALABAMA COUNCIL NEWSLETTER

Issued by the
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 206, Moore Building, So. Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

"An organization to attain through research and action equal opportunities for all people of Alabama."

THE TILL TRIAL

Its Significance

Justice in any criminal court always hangs on three factors - the fairness of the presiding judge, the vigor of the prosecution and defense attorneys, and the impartiality of the jury.

In the Mississippi Emmett Till case all reports indicate that the first two conditions were fulfilled leading the Christian Century to state, "The structure of justice was correct but the context of justice was not, so.....justice died with all its formalities in perfect order."

The "not guilty" verdict rendered by the twelve white jurymen was based upon their feeling that the prosecution had failed to positively identify the body as that of Till, according to the jury foreman. This "feeling" prevailed even though Till's mother testified that she had identified the body as that of her own son, and that the ring on the boy's finger once belonged to Till's father who was killed in World War II.

The question in the minds of thoughtful people everywhere remains, "If Till was a white youth and the same evidence pointed to two Negro men would the jury have 'felt' differently?"

Its Sidelights

* No white man has been sentenced to death for killing a Negro in Mississippi since 1890.
* The scene of the crime and trial, Tallahatchie County (64% Negro) is adjacent to Sunflower County (68% Negro), the birthplace of the White Citizens Council a year ago
* Mose Wright, uncle of Till and key witness at the trail, told the New York Post that around midnight the first night after the trail had ended, three car loads of white men drove up to his farm house and called out, "Preacher Uncle Mose, come on out here." Not getting an answer they ransacked the house and departed. The 67 year old Wright, who had been hiding "in the bushes" with his three small sons, spent the night in a cotton field. The next day he sold as many of his possessions as

possible and caught a train for Chicago.

* The most important witness to the crime could not be located for the trial. He was Leroy Collins who was seen on the Milan pick-up truck with Till after his abduction. Searching for him, New York Negro reporter James Hicks scoured the Delta backswoods as no white reporter could have done. Upon his return to the "safety" of New York he charged that Collins had been held in the Tallahatchie County jail throughout the trial and that Sheriff H. C. Strider had blocked attempts to contact him.

* The Till trial received front page coverage throughout this country and in London and Paris dailies. Rarely has the Communist Party received such a "windfall".

TALLAHATCHIE, ALA.

Alabama had the makings of its own Till case in an incident last month that remarkably parallels the Mississippi event up to a certain point.

On Sept. 10th, an elderly white man, Wiley McGee Sr., from near Reforn, Ala. was threatened by a Negro while visiting in Columbus, Miss. Three days later and thirty miles east across the state line, in Reform, McGee's son and two other men decided to seek redress for their grievances by taking the law into their own hands.

According to press reports they lured Jesse Jones, 21 year old Negro suspect, away from his home under the pretense of seeking his aide for auto repairs. Once alone they reportedly pistol whipped him and then transported Jones to the home of McGee who informed them that they had the wrong Negro. Realizing their mistake, the trio bought Jones beer and returned him to his home. Shortly thereafter local police arrested them.

The men probably were unaware of the seriousness of their action. The home of Wiley McGee Sr., to which they alledgedly transported Jones forcibly, is 20 yards across the state line in Mississippi. The F.B.I. is probing the incident.

Negroes at the Capstone?

Following Judge Hobart Groom's decision ordering the University of Alabama to admit Negroes, the decision was appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. Then Judge Grooms granted a "stay" on his order which allowed the University to continue its present admission policy for four months pending outcome of the appeal. At this point the stay alone was appealed to the New Orleans court but it was upheld. In a third step the stay was appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court and was finally knocked out, but it came a week after the University registration for the first semester closed.

Whereas the entire case will be heard by the New Orleans court, probably

during November, the original admission order is in effect now. Three possibilities for admission of Negroes into the University system exist: (1) admission of the two litigants to the University now on the basis that the stay which prevented their registration at the regular time was invalid; (2) admission of Negroes during the semester to the University Extension Centers in Huntsville, Gadsden, Birmingham, Selma and Mobile, which have short-term courses; (3) or admission of the two ladies along with other Negroes when registration for the second semester takes place next Feb. 1 and 2.

FOLSOM SPEAKS OUT

The inevitable question was finally popped recently by a Montgomery reporter, "Can we assume that you will accept integrated schools and that you are willing for your children to attend integrated schools?" Folsom replied "It's not what I'm willing to do, it's what the law says." Referring to his vetoeing of three local segregation bills and his failure to sign the "Placement Act", the Governor stated, "A bill that works an injustice on part of the people would work an injustice on all of the people if it came into the wrong hands."

Other highlights of the Oct. 2nd press conference:

Question: "Is the report by Newsweek magazine that you plan to double Negro voter registration true?"

Answer: "First time I ever heard of it."

Question: "Do you favor the policy of pro-segregation citizen councils in using economic pressure against advocates of racial integration?"

Answer: "No, it can't be done."

MEADOWS PROMPTS SCHOOL OFFICIALS ON SEGREGATION

At a special called meeting of 1,500 school superintendents, principals and school board members in Montgomery during Sept., state school supertendent Austin Meadows carefully explained the new student placement law which constitutes Alabama's version of evasion of the Supreme Court decision. School officials were cautioned to abide "carefully" by the section which spells out the considerations by which students are assigned.

Note: The secretary of Mississippi's Legal Education Advisory Committee, Rep. Ney Gore, stated that on a recent South-wide tour he found only two private lawyers who thought that legal evasion efforts similar to those set up in Mississippi would stand up in court.

PLACEMENT LAW IN USE

Theoretically Alabama's Placement Law was used in assigning all school children in the state to their schools in Sept. However, only one case of its having been specifically applied has been announced so far. The Covington County

school board, using terminology identical with the state law, assigned six year old Troy Ammons to "Gantt School No. 2", composed of Negro students. When his mother enrolled him in "Gantt School No. 1", an all-white school, white persons boycotted the school and protested to the school board.

Implied but never brought out by the press, or the school board, Ammon's mother is obviously white whereas Ammon himself has much darker skin.

NEGRO VOTING

According to a preliminary report released by Prof. James Pierce of Alabama State College, Alabama now has 49,177 registered Negro voters. Jefferson County has the largest number with 5,250 while two counties have no Negroes registered. It is expected that the complete report with a county break-down will be ready for our next Newsletter.

OPERATION 5,000

Montgomery Negroes packed a local church on Sept. 27th to pay tribute to outgoing Police Commissioner Dave Birmingham. The one person responsible for the hiring of Negro policemen in Montgomery, Birmingham stated, "I feel it was a privilege to have had a place in helping you people take a place in the sun of this city, a place you richly deserve." Prominent white business, labor and religious figures attended.

Actually the guest of honor got lost in the shuffle, as the topic of conversation of people leaving the meeting was the announcement of a campaign to get 5,000 registered Negro voters in Montgomery County by next Spring. Here as elsewhere throughout the state success will largely be determined by the Boards of Registrars now being appointed by the Governor, the Commissioner of Agriculture and the State Auditor. Whether or not attitudes toward Negro voting is being considered in these appointments is too early to be determined, but will be revealed when the Black Belt boards are announced. In these areas the attitudes of practiall whites are well known to local Negroes.

NEGRO POLICE IN BIRMINGHAM

For the third time this year, a group of Negro ministers appeared before the City Commission with an appeal for the employment of Negro police for Negro residential areas. Mayor Morgan was favorable to the idea and Com. Bradley "unalterably opposed". The deciding factor was the vote of Com. Lindberg who asserted, "this is the most inopportune time to talk about Negro police" because of the recent incident in Mississippi and the school decision.

The last time the delegation appeared Com. Lindberg explained his negative stand because of the possibility of complications arising from mixed altercations. Such "complications" have never arisen in the experience of either Montgomery or Mobile, according to statements made to the State Director of the Alabama Council

by the police commissioners of these two cities.

Actually Mr. Lindberg's stand can easily be explained by the fact that he will likely run for Mayor next summer and his opposition will be "Bull" Connor, propounder of the "White Supremecy" gospel.

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL MOVES TO THE CITY

The Citizens Councils moved into Montgomery on Oct. 3 making their first pitch in a metropolitan area. Inviting Montgomerians to "turn out by the thousands", temporary chairman Luther Ingalls was obviously disappointed with the 450 who did show up at the City Hall. After sulking through the preliminaries, he slowly took his turn at the microphone, calmly surveyed the unenthusiastic crowd and suddenly shouted at the top of his voice, "The house is on fire. We've got to wake up!"

Shaken in their seats the people listened intently as he related a TV program he'd seen recently featuring a white woman playing the part of the wife to a "black buck nigger with all of the African characteristics". Several times he used the term "black buck nigger" dragging out each word with what appeared to be a curious inner joy. (Actually both TV actors were Negroes playing the parts of Negroes .)

Any enthusiasm that may have been built up by Ingalls was quickly doused by the slow methodical Sen. Sam Englehartt who quoted reports of "investigations" revealing ties between the NAACP and the Communist Party.

The trio composed of Ingalls, Englehardt and Birmingham's Olin Horton crooned a funeral dirge for the South as they successively condemned the Supreme Court, Democrats, Thurgood Marshall, Unesco, the U.N., Folsom, T.V., Alabama's Congressmen, Russia and "Soapy" Williams. The only song of praise was lifted in behalf of two recommendations: (1)"wipe out the Montgomery NAACP" and (2)"screen out the rats (politicians)".

Editor Grover Hall of the Advertiser put his finger on their sore spot when he said the group had no "face cards". His editorial entitled "The First One was Harmless" pointed out that generally no persons of prominence"were within a mile of the meeting".

Other meetings will come later after a determined effort to get some "face cards" in the deck.

GREENVILLE TOO

It was a bad month for the Citizens Councils all over. After 800 turned out for the first meeting of the Butler County meeting only 100 braved a shower to attend the second on Oct. 5th.

KU KLUX KLAN REVIVAL

The reorganized Ku Klux Klan held its first rally at Conway, S.C. late last August under the leadership of E. L. Edwards of Atlanta. When not pursueing Klan activity Imperial Wizzard Edwards doffs his flowing golden robes to don a pair of greasy coveralls at a small garage where he's employed as a mechanic.

But the tentacles of the Klan reached into Alabama on Oct. 10th in the person of an unidentified middle-aged man who distributed blue handbills on the streets of downtown Montgomery. The scattersheet warned against the "dailies and NAACP Mau Mau" as a tool of Communism. Among the tenets of the "K.K.K. religion" were listed "Protection of Aryan ladyhood", "Stop Foreign Immigration" and "Kill the U.N. Charter. Evict the U.N. from the 48 State Governments". In a final plea for members it states, "If the colored and the mongrelizers don't like the Aryan Race and the K.K.K. Religion let them bite the dust...Klansmen must fight for their Government of Law now as never before. COME ON, COME ON, KLANSMEN - SPUR & RIDE!"

Waco, Texas and Atlanta addresses were given for those desiring affiliation. The Klan is listed as a subsersive organization by the U.S. Attorney General's office and anyone encountering their literature or activities are urged to contact the nearest F.B.I. office.

CONGRATULATIONS

We are proud to report that you, the membership, have responded in a fine spirit to the financial needs of the Alabama Council. We asked for $130 and received $190 during September. Thus we begin the new year with a $60 surplus! In addition to the many small donations from individuals over the state, the Mobile District gave $34 as a unit and the Montgomery Chapter $40. Congratulations!

PROGRESS ON THE STATE ADVISORY BOARD

The State Office has received around fifteen carbon copies of letters and notes indicating that letters had been written to Gov. Folsom. We are encouraging him to appoint a state level advisory body to work out our human relations problems, such a body composed of leading figures of both races from the fields of education, health, housing, business, labor, agriculture, race relations, etc. Doubtless more letters have been written of which we are not aware - at least this is our sincere hope.

Mrs. L. W. Cottle of Mobile, a member of the Alabama Council of only one month, did not hesitate to get to work on promotion of the idea. She devoted three paragraphs explaining the proposal and encouraging letters in a memeographed letter she sent to 85 women acquaintances in the Methodist Churches in the Mobile area!

The Women's Auxilliary of St. Wilfrids Episcopal Church of Marion sent a resolution to the Governor, thanks to the efforts of an A.C.H.R. member in that organization.

Jim Battles, Sec. of the State C.I.O. Council, informs us that the matter has been brought to Gov. Folsom's attention. Rep. George Hawkins, the Governor's House Floorleader, has recommended the proposal to the Chief Executive and offered to discuss it further with him.

All of these are encouraging, but we must continue to press until success is assured. It is not difficult to imagine the tremendous potentialities of this idea if implemented. The precedent of a bi-racial approach to our problems would constitute an officially sanctioned approach for communities throughout the state, and would serve as a guide to other southern states as they come to realize the futility of evasion. Finally it would demonstrate to the nation and the world that there are people in the Deep South who are willing to sit down together and sincerely seek after a democratic solution to our problems. This is the spirit of the United Nations focused on a specific subject in a local situation.

"One assurance for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." The promotion of this idea rests in the hands of 360 members of the Alabama Council. Will you do your part by:

(1) writing Gov. James Folsom, Montgomery, Ala., a brief letter;

(2) getting organizations such as your Sunday School class, church official board, womens society, civic club, etc. to pass resolutions;

(3) getting business or professional associates to sign a letter together;

(4) using each opportunity that comes into your hands.

In the meantime your State Office will be doing everything in its power to influence the Governor's office. Let us know what you do. Write us if you need further information.

MOBILE HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL

The same idea as proposed on the state level is being pushed in Mobile by the District there. Recently a delegation composed of a Catholic priest, Methodist District Superintendent, a Negro Methodist minister, a prominent Negro lady and the State Director appeared before the Mobile City Commission and presented the plan. The mayor is favorably inclined, a second commissioner said, "The idea sounds good" and the third was a bit dubious. The idea is presently under advisement while support is being rallied by A.C.H.R. members from prominient local people. A 2-1 vote by the commission would pave the way.

ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY

The West Black Belt District held its first meeting in Selma recently and 19 persons attended from four counties in this inflamed area. The organizational meeting will be held on Nov. 5th.

The East Black Belt District set up its second local chapter in Tuskegee

under the chairmanship of Mr. C. G. Goumillion of the Institute. A program to bring in Marion County whites was mapped out.

The Wiregrass District will hold two sub-district meetings at Andalusia on Oct. 17th for the western end, and at Ozark on Oct. 24th for the eastern end.

WHERE ARE OUR MEMBERS?

The following is a breakdown of our membership according to districts as of Oct. 1, 1955:

District	Location	Members
T.V.	Tenn. Valley	21
1	West Piedmont	11
2	East Piedmont	41
3	Birmingham	96
4	West Black Belt	20
5	East Black Belt	108
6	Wiregrass	18
7	Mobile	45
	Moved out of state	6
	State membership total	366

A HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT SPEAKS OUT

The following letter was sent to the principal of the Coosa County Training School and is reprinted here with the author's permission.

Rockford, Ala.
August 29, 1955

Dear Sir:

I am a senior at Coosa County High School this year.

I am very much disturbed about the unrest between races in our country today. I believe all men are brothers and therefore I offer to you and colored people everywhere my services. I shall be glad to do anything to lift all men to a better way of life.

Don't hesitate to call on me if there is anything I can do.

Thank you kindly.

Sincerely yours,

Lucretia Thompson

Note: The principal was probably the only Negro leader Miss Thompson knew to whom she could turn to offer an expression of her convictions. As a result both are now Alabama Council members and the State Director has the satisfaction of knowing that his former pastorate at Rockford may have helped at least one of his former youth members.

WHAT YOU CAN DO DURING OCTOBER

(1) Write Gov. Folsom and secure a resolution.

(2) Pray for a State Advisory Board.

(3) Send State Office news or developments in your area.

NOV 30 1955

Alabama Council NEWSLETTER

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Vol. 1, No. 2 November, 1955

NEWSLETTER CIRCULATION EXPANDED

The previous four issues of the Alabama Council Newsletter was distributed only to our members. In response to popular demand we with this issue are sending it to interested persons outside of the membership. Every reader is encouraged to send us the names of persons who should have the Newsletter each month.

NEW STROKE IN THE SOUTH'S COLD WAR

If there was any question that the new doctrine of "no legal segregation" applied only to the field of education, it was swept away by the action of the U. S. Supreme Court on Nov. 7th.

On this date the high tribunal in effect ruled that separate recreational facilities could never be equal. Handing down two decisions the Court ordered: (1) the State of Maryland and the City of Baltimore to admit Negroes to their white Sandy Point and Fort Smallwood Parks even though "physically equally" Negro facilities were nearby; (2) and the City of Atlanta to admit Negroes to its city-owned golf courses.

Significantly, the Supreme Court apparently felt that no time element for the changeover was necessary, as it refused to grant the request of Maryland's Attorney General for protection against any harmful "abrupt change".

REACTION: Reaction generally followed the same pattern set by the public school decisions. Although it was a bit softer in the border states this time, there was the same uncompromising defiance in most of the Deep South. Statements ranged from "there's no reason to question the decision" by Maryland's Gov. McKeldin to Georgia's Gov. Griffin's "co-mingling of the races in (our) state parks will not be permitted or tolerated". Former Gov. Talmadge suggested the same defense be used as proposed for Georgia's public schools which can be described as "sell 'em or close 'em". Silence again characterized Gov. Folsom.

Birmingham's Mayor Morgan suggested a Southern mayor's parley to work out methods of evasion. Parks Commissioner Bradley stated he would resign before seeing his parks integrated. Such he said "would result in bloodshed and violence".

Mayor Langan of Mobile asserted, "I can forsee no change. We'll go on living like we have been living." In other parts of the state this was interpreted as outright defiance leading at least one conservative editor to praise his stand.

Such conclusions are false as the wire services relayed only a part of his statement. Mayor Langan went on to point out that the present situation in which he foresaw no change was one of no enforced segregation in Mobile city parks. "As a matter of practice, because of the tendency of the separate races to live in separate neighborhoods", he asserted,"most of the parks are used at present either by all whites or all colored." (In some instances where whites and Negroes live in close proximity several parks are used by both races, he explained.*

A check revealed that mixed youth baseball teams have been using a park on Mobile's southside for 25 years or more without incident. The benches of Bienville Square, in the heart of the city, held two Negroes last Wednesday afternoon while whites sitting nearby didn't give them a second glance. An attendent stated that he hadn't particularly noticed but "colored people come here from time to time and no one ever says anything. Why should they?" (Shades of Commissioner Bradley!)

INTEGRATION ENTERS NEW PHASE

When two state courts invalidated segregation laws in two southern states recently, the integration process entered a new phase.

Since May 17, 1954 legal developments have largely centered around Federal Court action against state legislation. However, the controversy can no longer be seriously regarded as simply a Federal vs. State affair when one state agency takes action against another state agency.

TEXAS: In October the State Supreme Courts of Texas and Florida ruled that the school segregation laws of those states were unconstitutional. The Texas case stems from the action of the Big Springs(Tex.) School Board in integrating its schools. In response, the Texas Citizens Council in Dallas selected Big Springs for a test case and asked the local circuit court for an injunction to prohibit the School Board from receiving state funds on the grounds that it was violating Texas segregation laws. The injunction was refused and the Citizens Council appealed to the Texas Supreme Court. Here the test case blew up in their faces. The high court not only ruled that integrated schools were eligible for state funds, but that all provisions of the Texas Constitution and laws requiring public school segregation were null and void.

FLORIDA: The Florida decision resulted from six years of legal efforts on the part of Virgil Hawkins, a Negro educator, to gain admission to the University of Florida Law School in Gainsville. At first the Florida Supreme Court refused to order his enrollment, but in a rehearing after the U. S. Supreme Court's school decision it adjusted itself quickly to the new doctrine.

* See page 8, First Article

The Florida Court voting 5-2 (1) held that Hawkins could not be refused admission, (2) and appointed a commissioner to receive testimony from Hawkins and the University on the appropriate time for his entrance in the light of "numerous adjustments ... which cannot be made satisfactorily overnight." At the end of four months the court will set the time for his enrollment.

The ruling sounded very much like that of a Federal District Court except for one dissenting opinion. Justice Terrell declared that because " ... the turkey and the turkey buzzard ...(etc.) are segregated" then Hawkins should not study law at the University.

TENN. SEGREGATION LAWS VIODED, INTEGRATION PLAN OKAYED

A brief five hour Federal Court hearing in Mid-October resulted in: (1) the invalidation of Tennessee's school segregation laws, and (2) approval of that states plan for a gradual approach to integration.

These developments resulted from a suit brought by five Negroes for admission to undergraduate work at the white Memphis State College. The segregation law fell in the first few minutes and the merits of the integration plan occupied the rest of the session. Attorney s for the school argued that Tennessee's "stair step" plan (integration at the graduate level next semester, seniors at the beginning of the 1956 year, junion, sophomore and freshmen in successive years) was the only reasonable way to avoid friction. Attorney s for the Negroes contended that this plan offered no real relief to his clients and that psychologically it would be better to go up the stairs from the bottom than down from the top.

Judge M. S. Boyd ruled: "In the court's opinion, the plan is feasible, adequate and a sound solution to the whole problem." Thus the gradual approach met its first test successfully. Realizing full well how states such as Georgia and Mississippi could use this precedent and hold off integration for perhaps fifteen years or more, the N.A.A.C.P. is anxious to see the ruling provide more immediate relief. It will meet its second and possibly third test when it is appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals and if necessary the Supreme Court.

TILL CASE NOT OVER

The La Flore County Grand Jury on Nov. 9th heard four witnesses relate their knowledge of Emmett Till's kidnapping. Judging from testimony given at the earlier murder trial Moses Wright presumably related how J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant took Till from his home at gunpoint, Willie Reed that he saw Till in Milam's pick-up truck the same night, and Sheriff George Smith and Deputy E. Cothern that Milam and Bryant confessed to the kidnapping shortly after the body was found.

Their testimony constituted all of the evidence the all-white Grand Jury had to weigh in its deliberation. All of it pointed in one direction. Either ignor-

ing the facts or feeling that each of the four were lying they refused to order the half-brothers to stand trial.

District Attorney Stanny Sanders commented, "That's the end of the case as far as this county is concerned." Technically he may be correct, but the "no bill" verdict of the jury sealed Till's role as a pioneer martyr, merited or unmerited, in the struggle for a new South based upon full democracy and justice.

SOUTH-WIDE PRO-SEGREGATION FEDERATION FORMED

Early this month South magazine scooped other news agencies in reporting the establishment of the Federation for Constitutional Government. Meeting in Jackson, Miss., selected representatives from ten southern states announced that the new group's objectives were to (1)promote constitutional government, (2)preserve state sovereignty, (3)secure the election of "outstanding" public officials while opposing the same for "leftest" candidates, (4)"counteract the effects ... of federal court decisions which have wrongfully abrogated, modified and ammended provisions of the U. S. Constitution."

A clearer picture of the character of the group can be seen in its leadership. Serving in various advisory and executive capacities are: Georgia's Marvin Griffin, Herman Talmadge and Roy Harris; Mississippi's Fielding Wright, Sen. J. O. Eastland, Judge Tom Brady and Robert Patterson (Exec. Sec. of Miss. Citizens Councils); South Carolina's Sen. Strom Thurmond and S. E. Rogers (represented S. C. in the Clarendon County case).

Alabama's contribution is W. H. Hoover and Olin Horton(Pres. of American States Rights Assn.) of Birmingham, F. D. Peebles, Jr. of Decatur, C. H. Young of Anniston, Marion Rushton of Montgomery, Wallace D. Malone of Dothan, Robert B. Albritton of Andalusia and Gessner McCorvey of Mobile.

Inviting both individual and organizational memberships, the New Orleans based group will strive for a "country-wide" following. Doubtless it will serve as a mother agency adopting the various grass root organizations that have sprung up in various parts of the South.

As integration presses closer to the Deep South, demand for such an overall regional organization will increase. In time we will doubtless see the Federation assuming new functions such as publishing and distributing propaganda, financing professional segregationists of the Bryant Bowls variety, and promoting political movements such as the ill-fated "Dixiecrat" Party".

ALABAMA AT A GLANCE

University of Alabama Case: Contempt proceedings against Dean of Admission W. F. Adams for refusing to register the two successful Negro litigates, were thrown out by Federal Judge Hobart Grooms when it was shown that the Supreme Court ordered them admitted just after the Oct. 6th registration deadline.

Gov. Folsom at Point Clear: "Negroes came to the South as slaves, but they're not slaves now - they're voters - and I'm doing all I can to get the vote for them. . . We have had Negroes for 325 years and we're going to have them for 325 years more. There's no use getting upset about something we can't do anything about."

Congressman Powell Visits Alabama: The Hon. Rev. Adam Clayton Powell recently paid a whirl-wind visit to Alabama, and in two dynamic public appearances in Montgomery and Birmingham he unconsciously ignited a controversy between himself and Gov. Folsom which was fanned into a brief blaze by the anti-Folsom press of the state.

It resulted from a play on words and is of little real significance. Meaningful is the Governor's entertaining a Negro spokesman as a social equal and Powell's revelation of the formation of a "civil rights bloc" in Congress to push through civil rights legislation with teeth in the next session which opens in January.

The Goodwyn Bill: In its role as a non-profit non-partisan agency the Alabama Council does not support or oppose any political measures or appointments as an organization.

However, certain objective facts might be mentioned about the pending school-aide amendments. (1) State Supt. of Education Meadows along with a number of other prominent spokesmen, speak of the Goodwyn proposals as a means of bringing Negro schools up to a relative level of "equality" with that of white schools, thus relieving pressure for integration. The motivation of some of the prominent proponents is unmistakable. (2) Former State Senator Bonner of Wilcox County characterized the opposition of certain Black Belt areas when he questioned the wisdom of investing money in public schools when people "should" be thinking of selling them to avoid integration. (3) The State of Florida withdrew its school bonds from the market recently when Wall Street circles demanded a higher interest rate than Florida was willing to pay. The investment firms stated that their raise in rates was due to the added risk of investing funds in a public school system which might be abolished at some later date. (4) Once integration was underway in Baltimore the only hitch met was when white parents objected to sending their children to a run-down formerly Negro school. The Board of Education renovated the school over a week-end and on Monday white students entered without further objection.

WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED AT SELMA?

Alabamians recently read front page stories on the arrests of six Selma whites for a series of acts of violence against Negroes there. Press accounts deleted the actual facts provoking the incidents and the seriousness of the situation, a policy which had both helpful and harmful aspects.

Pieced together from conflicting accounts apparently the following events occurred: On October 7th Negro groceryman John U. Smitherman gave a dairy products representative, a white lady, his new unlisted phone number on a cash register slip. Suspicious, she had police officers listen in as she returned his call and heard him suggest they meet to discuss sales promotion.

Shortly thereafter off duty policemen abducted a man answering Smitherman's description and transported him ten miles out of town before discovering they had the wrong man. Later Smitherman received several threatening phone calls which were reported to police who promised protection.

On the night of October 17th the home next to Smitherman was damaged by arsonists and the following night two shots were fired into his home, one grazing his wife's head. On October 22nd six white persons were arrested, among them a patrolman and a police sergeant. The latter committed suicide a few days later.

Tension ran high among Selma's colored populace throughout this whole period, as apparently nothing was being done to protect Smitherman from his determined attackers. Rumors from both sides exaggerated the story to include "murders", etc. A single additional incident could have produced grave consequences, but the action of three white and Negro Ministers, one an Alabama Council member, calmed fears in several tense situations and finally forced police action. Feelings subsided as the slow wheels of justice began to turn.

MINISTER BEATEN, FORCED TO LEAVE WILCOX COUNTY

Last September a 50 year old white Lutheran minister assigned to a Negro church was brutally beaten and forced to flee Wilcox County for fear of his life in an incident that never came to light.

Pastor A. F. Gianvittario was assigned to the Oak Hill Community Lutheran Church and private elementary school last March despite poor health. Preaching against the moral laxity of many of his parishioners over a period of several months, the bootlegging and prostitution business in the "hong tongs" scattered throughout the backwoods began to fall off. Their owner, a white operator of an Oak Hill service station, and part-time deputy sheriff, sent Pastor

Gianvittario threatening messages through his parishioners. In addition the minister's practice of paying $2.00 per week for his personal laundry resulted in unrest on the part of house maids who generally worked full-time for Oak Hill families for $11.00 - $14.00 per month.

In August an ultimatum was given him by the businessman to get out of the county or risk death. On Sept. 12th as Rev. Gianvittario strolled down a deserted road to Oak Hill, the service station operator drove up beside him in a car. "When are you going to leave the county?" he demanded. The minister replied, "When God calls me." In a rage the man screamed, "I'll show you who is God! I'll get your guts!" Holding him at the point of a pistol, he pulled a heavy walking stick from his car, knocked the pastor down and proceeded to beat him about the head and body. No resistance was offered. The assault ended with the approach of an auto whose driver assisted Rev. Gianvittario to escape.

In clothes soaked with blood he made his way to Selma where he was relieved of his Oak Hill assignment. His ecclesiastical superiors recommended that no legal redress be taken in fear for the other Lutheran mission work in the county.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

STATE ADVISORY BOARD DELAY SEEN

Recent contact with the Governor's office has revealed that Gov. Folsom is not inclined toward establishing the bi-racial advisory, research and mediation agency at this time. It is thought that he will feel freer to move in this direction after reapportionment, his last major unfulfilled measure, has been dealt with.

This development doubtless comes as a disappointment to each Alabama Council member, but we can rest assured that we have planted the idea where it will serve as a basis upon which to build anew during the coming year. While not discouraging letters and organizational resolutions in the meantime, perhaps the wiser course will be to allow the matter to ride before making another state-wide concerted effort. Conceivably the pressure of developments, such as a serious incident, could impress upon the Administration the need for such an agency at an earlier time than otherwise expected. Watch your Newsletter for resumption of this most worthy program.

MOBILE'S MAYOR SPEAKS FOR HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Using the Supreme Court's recreation decision as the occasion for a feeler, Mayor Joseph Langan released a statement to the Mobile Press on November 8th that he had been considering recommending establishment of a "committee on human relations" to work out solutions to problems that arise involving "friction between groups." His words are worthy of complete quotation here:

> "Such a committee would be an independent agency. It would attempt to foresee problems emanating from such decisions as the Supreme Court rendered Monday, and try to work out a solution to those problems far in advance to eliminate as far as possible all frictions and grievances between groups and classes in the community.
>
> A human relations committee would not only deal with matters involving the separate races but would also deal in labor and management relations insofaras the effect of such relations would impose on the public welfare.
>
> We are going through a changing period of history. We need to approach these problems of human relations with as little emotion and antagonism as possible. We need a realistic approach so we will provide the greatest good for the most people."

The mayor has called a meeting of selected persons to discuss the matter completely at his office on December 9th. All of this is the result of several months of hard work by the Mobile District of the Alabama Council under the leadership of Father Albert S. Foley and Rev. J. Echols Lowery.

This release doubtless was posed as a "feeler" and we will be unrealistic if we would not expect Mayor Langan to receive adverse criticism. It would be helpful if Alabama Council members over the state would write congratulating him for his leadership. Every community in the state stands to benefit if this precedent of a bi-racial approach is established in Alabama.

DISTRICT ACTIVITIES

West Black Belt (Dist. 4): Dr. Robert A. Lambert, retired Greensboro medical doctor, was elected permanent chairman on Nov. 5th replacing temporary chairman Dr. James Tate, Supt. of the Selma District of the Methodist Church. Dr. Lambert recently retired after serving over twenty years as Assistant Director of Medical Work of the Rockerfeller Foundation. He also recently resigned as Chairman of the Board of Trustees and acting President of Meharry Medical College in Nashville. Elected Vice-Chairman was Rev. C. C. Brown of Selma, prominent Presbyterian minister and civic worker.

Birmingham (Dst. 3): After a fine series of panel discussions in the new Chamber of Commerce Bldg. on housing and health with authorities being brought in from over the state, the Birmingham District paused for a self-evaluation discussion at its regular second Tuesday meeting on Nov. 8th.

Wiregrass (Dst. 6): After dividing the district into East and West Sub-Districts for organizational work, the eastern group met in Dothan on Oct. 24th where Rev. Ted Hoagland of the Abbeville Methodist Church was elected chairman. Plans were laid for bringing in representation from additional counties for the next meeting in December. On Oct. 31st the western members met at Andalusia's First Methodist Church and laid similar plans for Nov. 29th.

East Piedmont (Dst. 2): On Nov. 22nd the District Executive Committee met in Talladega to plan the fall district-wide meeting. Mr. Arthur Shores of Birmingham and Pres. Arthur Gray of Talladega College are scheduled to speak at Talladega College on Sat., Dec. 3rd, the meeting beginning at 10:00 A.M.

Mobile-Baldwin Dst. (Dst. 7): Meeting at McGill Institute members viewed a film on the roots of prejudice, "The Challenge", and discussed the proposed Human Relations Committee.

Montgomery Local Chapter of Dst. 4: In the most interesting program held to date members saw "The Toymaker", a film on the nature of prejudice distributed by the Mental Hygiene Div. of the Ala. State Dept. of Health. A proposed housing-health survey was discussed. Meetings are held each third Thursday evening at the Dexter Ave. Baptist Church under the shadow of the capitol.

WATCH FOR "NEW SOUTH"

The next edition of the Southern Regional Council monthly will carry the account of the birth of an Alabama White Citizens Council. All A.C.H.R. members receive this publication.

WHAT YOU CAN DO NEXT MONTH

* Write Mayor Joseph Langan, City Hall, Mobile, your appreciation for his proposal for building brotherhood.
* Send the State Office names of persons to receive the Newsletter.

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

11/22/55

GSM & FH have noted.

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Alabama Council NEWSLETTER

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

VOL. 2, NO. 2 December, 1955

NEW BLOW AT JIM CROW

Lending weight to the contention of a White Citizens Council spokesman that "they're gonna come down here and git us", a Federal administrative agency on Nov. 25th took a cue from the Supreme Court and struck down segregation on interstate railway and bus facilities.

In an order effective Jan. 12th, the Interstate Commerce Commission by an 8-1 vote ordered rail and bus companies to remove racial restrictions on interstate passengers in coaches and terminals. The originator of the "separate but equal" policy 62 years ago, the I.C.C. had ordered integration of Pullman cars in 1941 and dining cars in 1950. Reaction in Alabama came in two forms. Alabama Public Service Commissioner Jimmy Hitchcock quickly asserted that Alabama's transportation laws requiring separation of races will still govern Alabama's facilities. The other reaction came in the form of an unpublicized directive from the Southern Railway on Dec. 12th ordering removal of "colored" and "white" signs from waiting room entrances in at least Birmingham's Terminal Station and the Attalla station, which serves Gadsden.

This writer inquired of the change from an Attalla station agent who stated that they had been instructed to replace the old signs with "Interstate" and "Intrastate". The new signs had not been put up, he explained, because "the doors just aren't wide enough." Obviously, the plan would call for three waiting rooms, one for interstate and two for colored and white intrastate passengers. When asked how this would be managed with only two rooms available, the agent replied, "You figure it out!" This writer was then loaded with other passengers onto a mixed coach bound for Birmingham.

Compliance with the new I.C.C. order can be readily determined by the absence of the signs above train and bus station doorways on Jan. 12th. We ask recipients of the Newsletter to write the state office on what course their local services take at this time and a report will be carried in the next issue.

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PROGRESS OF THE UNIVERSITY ADMISSION SUIT

The appeal of the University of Alabama admissions case was argued in New Orleans before the Circuit Court of Appeals on Dec. 7th. The decision of the three judges is expected at any time. Barring a highly unlikely negative decree, Negro students are prepared to enroll in Tuscaloosa as well as in at least one of the outlying Extension Centers on Feb. 1st.

MOVE UNDERFOOT TO ABOLISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A reliable source has stated that for the past several weeks certain state legislators have been working quietly, building up support among collegues for the Boutwell "Freedom of Choice" plan.

This plan which embodies as one of its features provision for the abolition of the public school system died on the House calendar at the end of the last regular session. In reviving the issue proponents hope to muster the support of a 2/3 majority of both Houses, which would enable them to introduce it in the special session of the Legislature opening on Jan. 3rd.

MONTGOMERY BUS PROTEST AT A GLANCE

On Thursday evening, Dec. 1st, Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Negro Montgomery seamstress, was arrested for violation of segregation laws when she refused to give her seat to a white person. Four days later, on Monday, approximately 50,000 Montgomerians protested, and the transit company suffered a loss of practically all of its 75% Negro patronage. Three weeks later the protest showed no signs of weakening.

For what is probably the largest Negro demonstration for civil rights in the history of the South, there is no simple explanation. However, with resort to question and answer form certain observations will be made without claim for comprehensiveness.

What caused the protest? Accumulated grievances against the bus company over a period of many years, with the arrest of Mrs. Parks serving as the precipitating emotional stimulus. To conclude that her arrest was the sole cause is a gross overstatement.

What accounts for the near unaminity? Doubtless each Negro in Montgomery has suffered personally from bus company practices, giving each an individual motivation.

What do the Negroes ask? As adopted at the first mass meeting: (1) More courtesy from bus operators, (2) seating on a "first come, first serve" basis with "Negroes sitting from rear to front and whites from front to rear" without reserved sections for either, and (3) employment of Negro drivers on predominantly Negro lines as driver vacancies occur. The segregation law is not involved.

What is the bus company's answer to each? (1) No recent reports to the company of discourtesy, although they are welcome, (2) failure to reserve seats for whites or Negroes would not fulfill legal "separate but equal" requirements and, therefore, the company is "helpless" between the boycott and the law, and (3) the company will not hire Negro drivers within the next ten years or more.

What has been the role of the City Commission? It has appointed a "representative" citizens committee to make recommendations to it. This committee appointed on Dec. 17th was composed of eight Negroes and ten whites (reported in the press as 8 and 8). The protest group was permitted to select only six of the eight. They bitterly opposed the selection of one of the other two personalities. The white members include "a labor representative" (who turned out to be the president of the bus company local), a prominent minister (G. Stanley Frazier, famous as one of the founders of Methodism's pro-segregation faction) and Luther Ingalls (organizer of Montgomery's White Citizens Council).

What has been the role of the Alabama Council? When it became apparent during the first week of the protest that the bus company, the City Commission and the Negro leadership, each were hesitant to approach the other, Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher, of the Episcopal Church, Pres. H. C. Trenholm, of Alabama State, and Rev. Robert E. Hughes, A.C.H.R. Executive Director, offered the "good offices" of the Council to arrange negotiations. This resulted in the conferences subsequently held. One A.C.H.R. member, Lutheran Pastor Robert Graetz, has sent all ministers in the city weekly newsletters on factual developments. Other members are working indirectly.

What has been the result of the conference? Presentation of positions previously unclarified. Assurance of more courteous treatment by bus drivers. Release of frustration (the five instances of violence occurred during the first week before negotiations got under way).

What is the prospect of further usefulness of the committee as presently constituted? Practically none. Participation by Negro leaders in this particular committee will probably end at any time.

How are Negroes getting to work? Negro taxis charge bus fare rates (10¢), some 200 car owners haul without charge from pick-up stations and cruise zones in early morning and late afternoon (one Negro service station donates gas), and white employers transport their maids.

What is the role of law enforcement agencies? Many instances of indirect and direct intimidation. Sudden and strict enforcement of minimum cab fares (45¢), closely "tailing" pick-up cars, etc. A college student was arrested for "pulling a Negro lady off of a bus." Actually, he was assisting her down from the curb as they were crossing the street, at which time a bus arrived on the corner. She was dressed in a housecoat and personally arranged for his defense. A sheriff's officer retained a minister at the jail for half an hour and when unable to prove he was operating a "taxi without a license" proceeded to preach a sermon on Biblical segregation.

Is the bus company suffering? Yes. It is losing an estimated $3,200 per day. Ironically, all busses currently carry an advertising placard entitled "Ease that Squeeze". The Montgomery Citizens Council is running a daily newspaper ad asking whites to ride the busses to help the company out.

Is Montgomery suffering? Retail sales are 30-35% under season estimates, while merchants do not hide their concern.

Are the Negroes suffering? Yes. Many maids walk miles to work in the cold of early morning. Walking is not restricted to age, as 70 and 80 year oldsters have been known to walk to town from outlying residential areas. Characteristic of all is a clearly recognizable spirit of quiet determination. Hate is foreign to the whole protest.

How long will the Negroes continue? The answer was given at a recent mass meeting - "Until next summer or a year from now if necessary."

What are the attitudes of whites? Letters to the editor run 5 to 1 in favor of the Negro position on seating. Some think that white bus patronage has slackened somewhat. Whites have participated in the pick-up pool from time to time.

What is the role of the press? You may answer this yourself by noting the differences between this account and those you have read in your local newspapers. The Advertiser is generally pro-bus company, but has not been bitter toward the Negro position editorially.

And finally, does the state law prohibit the Negro seating proposal? If so, the City of Mobile has been violating the law for 15 years. According to Mayor Joseph P. Langan, there have never been any complaints by whites or Negroes, that he is aware of, claiming unequal facilities because no section of seats was reserved for either race.

STATE BOARD OF DIRECTORS MEET

The second semi-annual meeting of the A.C.H.R. Board of Directors met in Montgomery on Dec. 7th with sixteen members plus five other representatives present. Several matters considered are being further developed and will be reported in our next issue. Two important items are announced here:

1. The adoption of an $18,375 budget providing for a half-time associate director, funds for district work, consultants and reproduction of the Newsletter by multilithe. This will necessitate our raising $5,375 ourselves. A full breakdown will be given next month.

2. The annual meeting was announced for Saturday, Feb. 11th at Alabama State College in Montgomery. A Committee has been working for the past six weeks on speakers and the program. The meeting is open to the membership and interested persons and will follow the theme "Mediating Community Tensions". The A.C.H.R. is a democratic organization and the membership will elect officers, Board members, etc. at this time.

QUOTABLE QUOTE

"The key to the situation we face is understanding - an attitude that not only inquiries into conditions by asking 'what', but goes on to seek causes by asking 'why'". - Alabama Council promotional folder.

What you can do during January

1. Send the State Office reports on compliance with the I.C.C. order by local train and bus stations in your locality after January 12th.

2. Send the State Office names of persons who would be sincerely interested in receiving the Newsletter free each month.

3. Jot down "Sat., Feb. ~~12~~ 11th, Annual A.C.H.R. Meeting, Montgomery" on your calendar.

RECEIVED FEB 10 1956

Alabama Council NEWSLETTER

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Vol. No. January, 1956

ANNUAL STATE MEETING

The 1956 Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council will consider the subject "Resolving Community Conflicts". This timely theme will be dealt with by a panel of outstanding speakers from three southern states on Feb. 11th in Montgomery. For further details see pages 3 and 4.

What Jan. 24, 1956 Meant to Montgomery, Ala.

The shaky peace that loomed over the first six weeks of Montgomery's bus protest was shattered on Jan. 24 when the Montgomery City Commission unexpectedly declared: (1) "They (Negroes) are after the destruction of our social fabric", (2) "whites. . .do not care whether Negroes ever ride a city bus again", (3) "we have pussyfooted around. . .long enough", (4) "until they are ready to end (the boycott), there will be no more discussions", and (5) "that all three of the Commissioners had joined the White Citizens Council".

What provoked this sudden crisis? Three days before, the City Commission quietly decided to negotiate a settlement of the protest with a different set of "prominent Negro ministers". The City Fathers then announced that "the group representing the Negroes of Montgomery" had "concurred" in a compromise seating plan. What the Commission did not state was that (1) of the three "prominent" ministers, two were virtually unknown pastors of small churches and one was a holiness bishop with two ministers under his authority; (2) at least two of the three attended with the understanding that they were to discuss the opening of an insurance company; (3) the Negroes "concurred" only to submit the plan to their parishioners for consideration; (4) and the "compromise" plan differed from the pre-protest policy only in the addition of all-Negro busses during rush hours - a reversion to the street car system abandoned during World War I.

When the protest leaders brought forth these embarrassing facts the Commission successfully overshadowed them with the sudden announcement of their new "get tough" policy.

What were the direct results of the Commission's statement? The next day police clamped an iron grip on the car pool system which is the life-blood of the protest. At the downtown pick-up station a half-dozen policemen handed out dozens of traffic tickets for minute infractions with Police Commissioner Sellers directing operations from his car parked nearby.

The key figure at the station serving as dispatcher was arrested for vagrancy. A Life* photographer was prohibited from taking pictures in the street by a policeman who said, "This isn't public property." Almost all cars were stopped after being loaded with passengers, by police checking driver's licenses and taking names of passengers. In other parts of town automobiles carrying Negroes were stopped for "safety inspections". Did this intimidation succeed? The following day the car pool had more drivers offering their time and cars than in many weeks past.

During this week the protest group's elected President, Dr. M. L. King, was stopped by a policeman for a license check. After returning the license, he stepped over to two motorcycle patrolmen and said, "That's King." The patrolmen then followed King for some twelve blocks and arrested him for "speeding". After being "frisked", booked and placed in a cell, he was suddenly released. But it was too late - his martydrom was sealed.

What were the indirect results of the Commission's statement? Prior to Jan. 24 the city administration served as a rallying point for moderate white sentiment between Negroes and the White Citizens Council. When this position was vacated moderates suddenly became silent and now there are only the two vocal extremes. The Advertiser, once the W.C.C.'s strongest opposition, now offers only feeble resistance editorially. The Ministerial Association to date has not offered to fill the vacuum.

By joining the W.C.C. the Commission has by implication given sanction to the more rabid segment of the community, certain elements of which threw a stick of synamite onto King's front porch on Jan. 30th and a dynamite cap

* See Feb. 2nd issue.

into the yard of another protest leader on Feb. 2nd. It is rumored that two more are on the "list" for this fear treatment.

TRIBUTE

We salute 50,000 Montgomery Negroes who, though sorely tempted for eight weeks, have refused to offer physical retaliation to constant intimidation in countless forms.

Spot check on Rail Station Signs. Decatur, Tuscaloosa - "Waiting Room", "Colored Intrastate Passenger Waiting Room".

Birmingham, Montgomery, Mobile - "Waiting Room", "Waiting Room" (Mobile's new massive concrete L & N terminal was built with an eye on the future - only a thin head-high plywood partition separates the two waiting rooms and lunch counters).

Greenville - "Men", "Women". (Segregation by sex rather than race).

Greyhound and Trailways signs remained unchanged throughout the state.

University Unlocks Its Doors - Reluctantly

Fiery crosses and student demonstrations welcomed the Capstone's first Negro student in its 125 year history. At this date facts are inconclusive, but a prominent White Citizens Council organizer from Birmingham was definitely identified on the campus last week.

1956 Annual Meeting

Five outstanding authorities will speak on specific phases of the overall theme of "Resolving Community Conflicts" at the Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Feb. 11th. The featured speakers are:

Mrs. Fred Couey - - - -	Montgomery clinical psychologist with wide experience in community relations over the South. " Social pressures and human reactions".
Dr. L. H. Foster - - - -	Pres., Tuskegee Institute. "The Role of Leadership".
Rabbi Charles Mantinband	Hattisburg, Mississippi. President, Mississippi Council on Human Relations. "Resources of Our Religious Faiths".

Dr. F. B. Routh - - - - Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., former faculty member University of Miami. "Techniques of Community Action".

Dr. Harry V. Richardson Pres., Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Ga. "Fundamental Issues of Conflict".

Following presentations by these persons opportunity for discussion will be provided in sub-groups. The business session will include the election of officers of the A. C.H.R., the filling of vacancies on the Board of Directors and the adoption of a new constitution.

This meeting is open to all members and persons sincerely interested in a calm constructive approach to our human relations problems. Indications are that we will have the largest attendance in the history of the Council. Special car pools are known to have been set up in at least Mobile, Birmingham and the Tri-Cities. The session will begin promptly at 10:30 A.M. on Saturday morning in Tullibody Auditorium, S. Jackson Street, Alabama State College in Montgomery. Luncheon seating will be according to districts. Adjournment will be at 3:00 P.M.

It is not always easy to work in this field when you feel you're working alone. Come to the Annual Meeting for information, inspiration-but most important of all, fellowship with persons like yourself from all sections of the state.

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
2/5/56

Alabama Council **NEWSLETTER**

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

VOL. 2, NO. 5 February, March, April, 1956

When Will Jim Crow Get Off the Bus?

Many persons thought that April 23 was the answer to this question when the Supreme Court rendered its verdict on the Fleming case from South Carolina on that date. The cloud of confusion which followed has now settled sufficiently to reveal this fact: the high tribunal did not pass on the validity of intrastate transportation segregation, but sent the case back to a lower court for technical reasons.

Those who were anxious to know the attitude of the Supreme Court on this type of segregation will now receive little light from the Fleming case - it was returned to the District Court in which it originated two years ago for another trip up the long ladder of legal appeal.

However, Alabamians will have to wait only until May 11 when this state's bus laws will be challenged before a special panel of three Federal Judges in Montgomery. Due to the composition of this court any appeal will go directly to the Supreme Court, thus bringing the date of a final answer on transportation segregation much nearer.

Montgomery Bus Suit Coming

On May 11 the local District Court will be asked (1) to declare the local and state bus race laws invalid, and (2) to issue an immediate injunction restraining authorities from enforcing these laws. Few Montgomerians realize the inclusion of this second request.

Among thinking people a dark question looms - "What will happen if this injunction is granted on or soon after May 11 and Negroes return to the busses?" Speculation provides the only answer. Judging from the temper of the City Commission, it would probably attempt to cancel the bus company's franchise thus abolishing local public transportation. If the company remains in business it would doubtless become the victim of a white counter-boycott, although such would not have the solidarity of that of the Negroes. For a period of time tension, dissipated

since the indictments turned the struggle into legal channels, would probably rise again attended by incidents of violence from radical elements.

Montgomery Bus Protest Continues

Although the protest was launched to secure concessions under the segregated pattern and this policy has never been officially changed, there is little likelihood that the members of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. would now return to the busses for anything short of outright desegregation. Thus the strike would find its final settlement in the courts.

Recently a member of the M.I.A. board stated, "On two occasions our protest showed signs of weakening, but the bombings and the indictments came just in time to bring us back together." Now the stimulus for continued action comes from another source - the average Negro realizes the eyes of the nation and many parts of the world are on him and he must remain strong for the cause he represents.

A.C.H.R. members will soon receive a reprint of an article written by the Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher for The Reporter magazine. A member of the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council, Rev. Thrasher's account is the best we've seen on the first three months of the protest and is partially based upon his mediation activities.

Protest Sidelights

Mass meetings that might easily seethe with hate are marked by prayers for both whites and blacks and include petitions in behalf of the manager of the local bus company who was recently stricken by a heart attack. . . . . The M.I.A. has expanded its activities to include a drive to get 10,000 Negroes registered for voting and the distribution of old clothing to the poor. . . . .Police records reveal a marked drop in crimes and drunkenness among Negroes since the protest began. . . . .Negro pastors report a new high in Sunday church attendance. . . . . All of which goes to bear out the Southern Regional Council's Director, Dr. George Mitchell, who has asserted on countless occasions, "Give a man equal human dignity and he will take care of himself." The local Alabama Council chapter has provided a forum at its meetings for airing of views, sponsored letters to the editors of newspapers and has worked quietly to bring businessmen and other community leaders together with Negro leaders.

Southern Labor "Revolt"

According to press accounts southern labor is on the verge of a revolt against the anti-discrimination statements of its national leaders. In Birmingham attention was called to a United Steel Workers petition signed by some 408 unionists and to a walkout of members from the Montgomery Local of the Communications Workers of America. Of greater signifance is the fact that there are over 30,000 U.S.W. members in the Birmingham area who did not sign a petition and of the 530 members in the Montgomery C.W.A. local the number to walkout was limited to 8.

The formation of a purely southern labor movement would destroy the bargaining power of such a group. For instance, how effective would 30,000 independent steel workers in Birmingham be against the U.S. Steel Corporation which has proven itself to be an able adversary of the U.S.W.'s total strength of over half a million?

University Aftermath

A group of University of Alabama students, smarting from the reception given Miss Lucy in February, have organized a campus Human Relations Forum under the leadership of an A.C.H.R. student member. A number of faculty members have participated in their weekly discussions. Affiliation with the Alabama Council was considered but the group felt that they could be more effective if they had no strings attached. A similar group is establishing itself on the Negro Stillman College campus across town.

State Bi-racial Student Conference Held

On the weekend of April 27th the Ecumenical Student Conference was organized at Talladega College with over a hundred students attending from the University, Stillman, Auburn, Jacksonville, Talladega, Birmingham Southern, Alabama State and other schools. Resolving themselves into a permanent body which will meet annually and carry on work in the interim, the students heard platform speeches by such persons as Dr. Dan Whitsett, participated in informal discussion and Bible study groups. Alabama Council members were instrumental in shaping and executing this significant conference.

Mobile Mayor Names Bi-racial Group

In an unprecedented action for Alabama, Mayor Joseph N. Langan in March appointed fifteen whites and thirteen Negroes to a Mayor's Committee on Human Relations. Composed of genuine Negro leaders and some of the outstanding white businessmen, labor representatives, educators and clergymen of the city, the committee was given the task of studying the various areas of community life with the aim of recognizing and removing potential problems before they become acute. In addition to research the group will carry out information and mediation functions. At its April meeting six committees were established: housing, health-sanitation, political rights, employment-business, education and recreation.

This development is a product of some six months of intensive work on the part of the Mobile District of the Alabama Council. Instrumental in the success of the project were Father Albert Foley, Dr. Joseph Lowery and Dr. Andrew Turnipseed.

State Bi-racial Plan Dies in Senate

In March many months of work on the part of Alabama Council members over the state almost bore fruit when Gov. Folsom announced his backing of a state level bi-racial commission with the support of the state's press. However, when he asked for legislative approval the idea was killed by the Senate Finance Committee. In time, as the situation in Alabama develops, the need for such a committee will demand a revival of this idea. We may all rest assured that the seed has been well planted.

Desegregation Workshops Held

During the month of March the Alabama Council sponsored workshops in the Tri-cities, Birmingham and Mobile, studying the practical problems that would have to be faced in those communities once the way was opened for desegregation to begin. The need for planning with accessible members of the local power structure in advance of desegregation was emphasized, as experience has shown that (1) integration invariably has begun much sooner than most persons expect and (2) once started tends to advance rather rapidly.

These workshops were one of many held throughout the South under the able leadership of Miss Irene Osborne of the S.R.C. who served with the American Friends Service Committee in Washington, D.C. during that city's desegregation.

Annual Meeting

Some 300 persons attended the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Feb. 11 in Montgomery to hear featured speakers and to shape the course of the organization through the coming year. The Rev. Duncan Hunter, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Alexander City was re-elected President and Mr. C. G. Goumillion of Tuskegee Institute was re-named Vice-President. The new constitution was adopted, other officers and board members elected and an $18,375 state budget passed. $5,375 of this amount is to be raised by the Alabama Council, the balance coming from the Fund for the Republic through the S.R.C. An account of this meeting was carried in a two column spread on the front page of the Sunday, February 13th New York Times, and in the Christian Century.

Executive Committee Meets

On April 17 the State Executive Committee met in Montgomery to cope with the serious financial situation facing the Council. With the fiscal year half over only $1,000 has been received from memberships and contributions toward the operating budget of $5,375. We receive no assistance from the S.R.C. for this portion of our work.

An intensive three months financial drive was mapped out for May, June and July. A special gifts committee composed of Dr. H. C. Trenholm and Dr. Dan Whitsett will seek $3,000 in contributions from non-member sources in Alabama and outside of the South. The various districts are being asked to raise an additional $2,000 with quotas alloted on a basis of $5 per current member in the district. Reports will be made from the districts at the end of each of these months.

Send your contribution to: (1) Your district chairman, or (2) your state office, in which case we will notify your district and credit it againts its quota. There is a need for this type organization in Alabama and we have faith that its friends will support it. Last month we had $23 more bills than funds in the bank. We know you will do your share. Thanks.

What you can do during May

(1) Send Dr. Dan Whitsett, Sylacauga, Ala. names of persons or organizations you feel would be willing to make a contribution to the A.C.H.R.

(2) Make your personal contribution.

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
May 8, 1956

Newsletter circulation this month - 1,100.

Alabama Council NEWSLETTER

RECEIVED JUL 30 1956

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Vol. 2 No. 6 May, June, July, 1956

Tuscaloosa Powderkeg

Persistent reports reaching this office from Tuscaloosa indicate that a steady build-up of White Citizens Council and Ku Klux Klan activity is taking place in that area. Some of the facts have been revealed through press accounts and seem harmless enough, but when evaluated against the back-ground of scattered developments and incidents an ominous picture is formed in the event a Negro attempts to register at the University this September.

The Facts: Conservative estimates give the White Citizens Council a membership of 3,000 in Tuscaloosa County. Council figures claim that they can get 100,000 men into the city in 24 hours from Alabama and Mississippi should they be needed. The Ku Klux Klan has initiated approximately 150 men in a series of Spring and Summer rallies in the area.

Evaluation:

1. The time element - The February demonstrations were mounted with approximately two weeks of pre-planning and preparation. When expelled, Miss Lucy stated that she would return in the Fall thus establishing September 17, the opening of registration, as the target date. With seven months instead of two weeks for stimulating interest and anticipation much greater strength has been mustered.

2. Mobilization of forces - In February there was no White Citizens Council in Tuscaloosa and only a handful of Ku Klux Klan "cranks". The present 3,000 Council members have been organized into 5 chapters under the county-wide West Alabama Citizens Council, chairmaned by the vigorous young Leonard Wilson. The West Alabama group recently affiliated with the Montgomery based Citizens' Councils of Alabama. Thus organizational as well as sympathetic ties have been established with the strong Black Belt Councils immediately to the South and the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi.

A survey of hotel and motel registrations last February revealed an unusually large number of Mississippi residents in Tuscaloosa at the time of the demonstration. Increased support could easily be expected from Mississippi. The

boasts of the ability to mobilize 100,000 men are doubtless as greatly exaggerated, but a fiture of 10,000 is definitely in the realm of possibility.

3. Why a Ku Klux Klan? It is most unusual to have increasing Klan activity while there is an active local Citizen Council movement. Obviously the 150 Klansmen have joined for extra legal purposes and might be expected to render their services "commando" fashion. In a recent foray they unsuccessfully attempted to lure a Tuscaloosa A.C.H.R. leader away from his home under false pretenses on three successive nights. One Klansman at the Calera cross burning this week asserted to a spectator, "We're planning a rally for Tuscaloosa in September."

4. Is violence likely ? Only speculation gives an answer, but a hitherto unrevealed incident provides a useful yardstick.

In February when Miss Lucy was secreted away from the University she was taken to an office in the colored business district some distance from downtown Tuscaloosa, whereupon a number of Negroes armed themselves and surrounded the area, determined to protect her. Somehow two carloads of white demonstrators discovered her location and proceeded to a service station to call for assistance from the University Campus. Only the refusal of the attendant for use of his telephone prevented the call and a short time later she was whisked away to Birmingham.

Therefore, speculation provides the only answer to the question of violence. What if the attendant had permitted use of his phone and reinforcements had become available? And will there be a person of conviction at such a crucial point next time?

Applicant Ready

Whether or not the above forces are unleased is dependent upon whether or not a Negro or Negroes attempt to register at the University in September.

At least one person, a young pre-law graduate of Talladega College, strongly desires to enter this Fall. Rather than go some 500 miles out of the state to Howard University in Washington, D. C., the nearest Negro law school, he prefers to study Alabama law in Alabama, 90 miles from home and with future professional associates.

The University is now open to all qualified persons regardless of race, but if he is refused admission his legal interests may be represented by any attorney without the N.A.A.C.P, temporarily hampered by an injunction, ever entering the

case necessarily. Although the University may be able to maintain a segregated campus for an additional semester on some technicality, it is definitely possible that a Negro will be ordered registered.

It is on the basis of this possibility that the A.C.H.R. Tuscaloosa Chapter, and the State Office is doing all within their power to muster forces of morality, law and order on all levels which are largely unaware of the Tuscaloosa situation - a situation that could make the Lucy demonstrations appear childish in comparison.

"They're Moving Too Fast"

Negroes have been attempting to get into the University of Alabama for the past four years, the University of Georgia Law School for the past six, and the University of Florida Law School for the past seven. None have been admitted. In the words of Dr.Ralph Bunche, who recently spoke in Montgomery, "If this is moving too fast I wonder what standing still is?"

TRANSPORTATION ROUNDUP

LITTLE ROCK: When Montgomery City Lines announced it wouldn't enforce segregation laws in May, Little Rock, Arkansas' transit company did same. Integration followed without incident and with tacit approval of City Council

MEMPHIS: Negro arrested for sitting in front of bus violating city ordinance. Filed Federal Court suit.

NASHVILLE: No city ordinance or state law requiring bus segregation. Company discreetly ordered drivers to forget race in June. Scattered integration without incident.

KNOXVILLE: City announced desegregation policy last month. General integration without incident.

ATLANTA: Number of Negroes have sat in front of trolleys without arrests. Attitude- "We don't want a Montgomery here."

MUSCLE SHOALS, (Ala.): Bus Company announced desegregation policy in May. Appeared on front page of local daily. Editor didn't receive one letter protesting company action. Negroes uncertain and continue sitting in rear.

BIRMINGHAM: Scattered cases of Negroes sitting in front of trolleys without arrest. Attitude - "We don't want a Montgomery here." Negro organizations requested hearing with City Commission to discuss seating. Boycott likely within three months.

SELMA: In June Negro lady who rang buzzer twice thrown to pavement when driver drove off before she alighted. Brain concussion resulted in death. Probably 90% of Selma's Negroes knew of incident within a day while a probable 1% of whites aware. No redress, driver still working. Another frustration added to last Fall's Smitherman case - what form will it take when it all comes out?

TALLAHASSEE: Protest continues despite extreme duress by police. Opposition led by Chamber of Commerce. Citizens Council organized. Only communication between races now in local chapter of Florida Council on Humna Relations. White pastors silent. (Is this Tallahassee or Montgomery?).

MONTGOMERY: In June the Federal Court voided bus race laws, issued injunction, suspended same pending direct appeal to Supreme Court. Supreme Court on vacation until October and will likely give "preferred" status with decision in November or December. Suspension may be appealed to a Justice left on duty but this action unlikely. Bus protest to continue until all legal barriers definitely down.

CAPETOWN, SOUTH AFRICA: Negroes and colored in May instituted a boycott against bus lines "patterned along the lines of the boycott in Montgomery, Alabama U.S.A."

Did You Know?

July 1, 1900: Montgomery Advertiser - City Council passed ordinance specifying two rear seats and standing only for Negroes, whites elsewhere on street cars.

Aug. 17, 1900: Nashville Banner - "The Negroes of Montgomery claim that they are not made but that they do not want to ride and have been advised by their ministers to walk and save their money . . . The president of the street car company reports that within the past three weeks his company has lost $1,400 and the usual income has been reduced by 25%." (This boycott lasted several months ending with Negroes being given more seating space).

Oct. 9, 1903: Street car boycott in Jacksonville, Florida

July 8, 1900: - Brooklyn Citizen - Mary Curtiss Lee, elderly daughter of General Robert E. Lee, arrested and fined for refusing to move from rear as directed when Washington - Alexandria, (Va.) street car reached middle of bridge over Potomac River where segregation began.

State Office to Move to Birmingham

On July 10th the state Executive Committee thoroughly discussed and finally decided to move the State Office from Montgomery to Birmingham. The primary and anticipated statewide work is now in Birmingham.

While work in the Tennessee Valley region has developed rapidly the Executive Director has been able to pay only spasmodic visits to this area because of the distances and communications involved. There is no thought of neglecting South Alabama in any way where good rail connections exist with areas of our work. In addition, many important organizations and activities maintain Birmingham headquarters.

The Montgomery office will close on July 27th and furniture stored while the Executive Director is out of the state on business for three weeks and on vacation for one week. In early September it will be reopened in Birmingham and members will be notified of the new address. Correspondence may continue to be sent to the old address, whereupon it will be forwarded during August to Mr. J. T. Brooks, ACHR Treasurer. Essential business may be transacted with him directly through Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama in this period. Finally a much needed saving of $90 for rent will result from this temporary suspension.

Financial Obligations Do not Take Vacations

or

How Is Your District Doing On the Financial Drive?

District	Membership*	Quota**	Raised***	Balance
T.V. (Tenn. Valley)	27	$135.00	$ 76.00	$ 59.00
1 (West Piedmont)	50	250.00	86.50	163.50
2. (East Piedmont)	43	215.00	88.00	127.00
3 (Birmingham)	98	490.00	178.00	312.00
4 (West Black Belt)	28	140.00	147.60	None ($7.60 over)
5 (East Black Belt)	123	615.00	277.10	338.90
6 (Wiregrass)	20	100.00	10.00	90.00
7 (Mobile)	50	250.00	138.75	111.25
TOTAL	439	$2,195.00	$ 984.95	$ 1,174.05

*Active members as of April 15th ** All District base accepted quotas
*** As of July 26.

Non-membership Sources

Quota - - - $3,000 Raised - - - $427.89 Balance - - - $2,572.11
(These figures are the responsibility of a special state Committee)

During this fiscal year we must raise an absolute minimu of $3,500 in order to qualify for a renewal of the S.R.C. grant next year which will bring us $8,000. To date we have raised $2,675 leaving a total balance of $825 to be raised from all sources in August and September. Required is a $400 average for these two months. In July we received $306. Will you help?

A Message to Our Non-member Friends

For many months we have sent our NEWSLETTER to some 600 interested friends as a gratis service. We trust that you have found the NEWSLETTER a source of information and encouragement during these trying times in the life of our state. There is a desperate need for an organization which seeks a responsible constructive implementation of the principles of Brotherhood and democracy, but during recent months needed activities have been sacrificed for lack of funds. Will you become a part of this effort by using the membership application form below? If a contribution could also be included or sent above, your means coupled with that of others will enable us to continue our work. Regardless of your response the NEWSLETTER will be sent to you as long as possible

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
July 27, 1956

NEWSLETTER circulation this month - 1,326

- -

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION BLANK

Believing in the principles and aims of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, I would like to become a:

Single member ($3.00) - - - ( )

Joint member ($5.00) - - - ( ) (Husband and wife)

Sustaining member ($8.00) - ( ) (Single or joint)

Contributor ($_____)- ( )

Full name_____ City_____
Street_____ County_____
Occupation_____ Date_____

Enclosed: Check ( ) Cash ( ) Money Order ( )

Alabama Council NEWSLETTER

ROOM 1218 COMER BUILDING, BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ~~ROOM 208, MOORE BLDG. — 217 S. COURT ST. — MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA~~

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

Vol. 3 No. 1 June 1957

SEGREGATION BY INTIMIDATION

Seeing the futility of attempting to preserve segregation by legal and peaceful means in Montgomery, increasing numbers of Alabamians are turning to the method of intimidation. Since December seventeen bombings, four unsuccessful bombing attempts, several beatings, numerous telephone threats and scores of cross burnings and inflammatory Klan rallies in central and south Alabama have characterized the new trend.

NEGRO REACTION:

Without a doubt the new method has been very successful in slowing the desegregation movement. Negro leaders over the state, initially inspired by the success of Montgomery, have grown cautious and are reappraising their strategy.

* The Mobile Citizens Assn. was formed in late December as a mass-type organization primarily to support a legal attack on that city's busses. After a two month wave of little publicized terrorism, the organization set aside its bus plans having held only three mass meetings. As one Negro leader put it, "Everyone is more concerned about preventing violence than attacking segregation."
* The Montgomery Improvement Assn. has adopted a comparatively mild although strategic voter registration program.
* The Tuscaloosa County Fellowship Assn. was organized at a late December mass meeting but its minister president left town soon afterwards without explanation. No meetings have been held since.
* The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (Birmingham) has been conspicously silent since the March mob scene at The Terminal Station although meetings are continuing weekly.

WHITE RESPONSE:

At the same time, the intimidation has stirred indignation in responsible white circles. Condemnation has come from almost all of the state's twenty daily newspapers and a number of weeklies, several city officials and numerous clergymen. However the reaction against intimidation is yet far from commensurate to the challenge to the basic freedoms involved.

PRO-SEGREGATION GROUP TRENDS

THE DEMISE OF THE CITIZENS COUNCILS

1. The Association of Alabama Citizens Councils: Boasting 80,000 members in 104 councils in 44 counties a year ago, the "Englehardt" Citizens Council is in a definite state of recession. Recently a high official of the Association reassured 17 stalwarts who turned out to hear him in Birmingham with, "Don't take it so hard, fellas, it's like this all over. Most of our Councils are now just paper Councils and we're trying to keep alive a little core in as many as possible. People just

aren't interested unless there's somebody petitioning to get into our schools or walking instead of riding the busses." Today the Assn. could probably find no more than 15,000 paid-up members.

> Typical of the recession is the once powerful Montgomery Citizens Council. Enjoying $3 from 14,000 members in March a year ago, the South's largest and wealthiest council put forth a supreme effort to prevent bus desegregation only to come out second best last December. Disillusioned, only 2,500 persons, by liberal estimates, chose to renew their memberships necessitating the discontinuance of their publication and removal of their offices from a downtown suite to third rate facilities in an outlying area. Instead of 5,000 persons turning out for a rally as of old, some 250 recently greeted Roy Harris, old workhorse of the Talmadge machines, at the Municipal Auditorium.

With the decline of local activity the Association's state office is still potent and currently serves as an effective stimulus for segregation bills in the state legislature through its salaried Executive Secretary, Sen. Sam Englehardt.

2. Alabama Citizens Councils: An anti-semitic offshoot of the Assn., this group led by Ace Carter claimed 60,000 members last Spring while actually enjoying the paid support of no more than 15,000. Bad publicity and overly aggressive leaderships resulted in a sharp decline of interest last Fall until the remnants apparently were absorbed into a Birmingham Klan group around the first of the year.

3. Various Independent Councils: Several independent Councils which never affiliated with either of the above groups have not been heard from since last summer.

THE RISE OF THE KLANS

As the Citizens Councils have receded the Klans have emerged with violence scattered in its wake. The more deeply prejudiced who were the first to join the Citizens Councils and who due to their interest constituted the faithful backbone of the Councils were the first to be disillusioned and today are moving into the Klans. Due to their cloak of secrecy the total membership of the Klans operating in Alabama is difficult to estimate any more precisely than 10-20,000.

1. U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klans: The first group in the state of revive after the Supreme Court decision, the U. S. Klans rose from the ashes of the Lucey riots but did not pick up momentum until around last December. The U. S. Klan's tentacles reach into Ga., Ala., S.C., and North Florida under the dominance of Imperial Wizzard Eldon Lee Edwards, Atlanta Paint sprayer. The 10,000 or so Alabama members in the central and southern parts of the state were led by Grand Dragon Alvin Horn of Talladega until he married a 15 year old girl which split his ranks forcing his "resignation". As Edwards contemplates naming a

successor an undertermined segment of this Alabama membership is pulling out because of Edward's "dictatorial powers".

2. Alabama Ku Klux Klan: Filing incorporation papers in Birmingham on June 14 this group headed by several of Horn's ex-lieutenants is openly competing for the U.S. Klan's Alabama membership most of which it will probably get. Horn and "some others who held positions of leadership" will be excluded. The 3,000 members of the Birmingham Klavern will be organized in the near future with other Alabama Klaverns to be brought in subsequently.

3. Original Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy: Incorporated in Birmingham in December, this ultra-secret military styled group of which Ace Carter is an "advisor" was in an organizational stage with less than a 100 members when a flurry of shooting broke up one of its meetings in January leaving three men injured. Rent with dissention this Klan is now inactive but probably in the process of reorganization. Carter recently ran for Birmingham police Commissioner to come out fourth in a field of five with 1,400 votes.

4. Gulf States Ku Klux Klan: The Gulf Klans have around 2,000 members in Baldwin and Mobile counties and the nearby Pascagoula, Mississippi area. Frequent church visitors and cross burners, this group is headed by non-church member Imperial Wizzard Elmo C. Barnard, Mobile gunsmith. A high official of this Klan recently asserted, "Terrorism is one of our methods". Its current task is to get Barnard into a city commission chair next Fall.

5. Independent Klan Groups: Several independent Klans have sprung up as offshoots of the larger bodies when personalities clashed or finances were questioned.

AN ANALYSIS OF PRO-SEGREGATION GROUP GROWTH

The trends of Negro movements can largely be explained in terms of frustration. The trends of white pro-segregation movements can largely be understood in terms of fear.

STAGE ONE

In Black Belt areas where the tenuous political and economic life is riveted to the immobile Negro and any rustling among the depressed colored people constitutes an immediate challenge, it was natural for Alabama's White Citizens Councils to arise at Selma in December 1954. For the ensuing year it spread only to six counties all of which were rural and having heavy majority Negro population. Each Council was generally led by political figures backed by "red necks" for whose jobs the emancipated Negro might compete. Businessmen were not in evidence numerically.

STAGE TWO

In the Fall of 1955 the W.C.C. came to Montgomery under the leadership of a collection lawyer and attracted only less than a hundred low-status members. Then the "challenge" came in December in the form of the bus protest and 14,000 Montgomerians ran to the W.C.C. in the space of three months with political figures and businessmen following in self-defense. It became unpopular to criticize the W.C.C., or have any association with Negroes. Tension, wild rumors and incidents persisted for months all contributing to a virtual community split.

Other Black Belt areas with similar social conditions fearing that "their" Negroes would follow Montgomery's pattern generally went quickly through the same process.

STAGE THREE

But on the northern and southern fringes of the Black Belt, more removed from Negro population pressures and from precedent-setting Montgomery, the "challenge" was not regarded as serously. Therefore the Citizens Councils of the Wiregrass section and the lower Piedmont negotiated only the first stage of development and never received the support of the more stable community elements. The "challenge" simply was not strong enough locally to tip the balance or cause the majority to run for security in such areas as Anniston, Sylacauga, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, Dothan or Mobile. These were the ares where the Citizens Council recession first began.

STAGE FOUR

A little known fact is that the W.C.C. was not able to establish a single chapter north of Gadsden, Birmingham, or Tuscaloosa, an area comprising 15 counties or a quarter of the state. Although Ace Carter made a vigorous attempt to organize in Huntsville in May, 1956, his effort resulted in only 14 people attending his rally and no council eusued. Such metropolitan areas as Huntsville, Decatur and the Tri-Cities similarly stood firm. With progressive attitudes generally, smaller Negro populations (Huntsville - 23%), good Negro schools, bi-racial Community Chest and Red Cross Boards, liberal voter registration, etc., the upper Piedmont Negroes generally do not constitute immediate "threats" to white economic or political security. Their frustration has been partially released through rather enlightened policies and consequently their moves are less aggressive resulting in less fear among whites.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

The pattern of growth of the Klan can be expected to generally parallel that of the Citizens Council in the future. To date the Klan enjoys rather wide respect in three or four rural Black Belt counties (Sen. Albert Davis of Pickens County recently deemed it safe to address a Klan rally). In other Black Belt areas

including Montgomery, the public generally "tolerates" the Klan but questions its methods. In the Wiregrass and lower Piedmont there is no doubt that it is considered "a bunch of hot headed radicals who ought to be curbed". So far the Klan has had no success in penetrating the upper Piedmont. Thus it has been able to operate only in areas which have been prepared by the Citizens Councils.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

Speculation on the future is a questionable practice, but certain generalizations appear to be obvious.

* The present "lull" is temporary. Intimidation has only slowed the desegregation movement and it is only a matter of time until new "challenges" will arise followed by new Citizens Council and Klan growth.

* Although crucial points will be encountered with desegregation of busses, ballot boxes, recreational facilities, etc., the real crisis in a given community will be met only when the public school issue is faced.

* Unless unforeseen constructive steps are taken, initially many communities will experience serious splits over this issue with intensity varying largely according to white fear and Negro frustration.

* After a significant number of communities have suffered these bitter experiences without preventing integration and extremist resistance has reached a peak, inevitably a reaction will set in and responsible people in surrounding areas will realistically ask "Is it really worth it.

* Somewhere along the line the white and Negro leaders of a community will openly sit down togehter and jointly plan the best approach to the inevitable.

HAVE YOU DONE YOUR SHARE?

The Southern Regional Council grant to the Alabama Council expires on Sept. 30 after which time we will be self-sustaining. Our minimum budgetary needs to insure present operations until February and our Annual Meeting are $6,000.

Our Board has mapped out a campaign that has been underway for two months which has secured cash or commitments for $4,500. The campaign has been centered on the district level. Many members and non-members have given sacrificially to see that this work continues. Have you done your share? July 15 marks the end of the campaign at which time the future operations of the state office will be mapped out in the light of available funds. Please don't delay. We need your help.

* * *

Your next Newsletter will be out in two weeks.

-- Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

Alabama Council **NEWSLETTER**

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 1218, COMER BLDG. - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 9, 1959

TALLADEGA TO HOST ANNUAL MEETING

The Board of Directors of the Alabama Council announces that the Annual Membership Meeting for 1959 will be held in Talladega at Talladega College on Saturday, February 7th. Following the theme, "Seeking Understanding For a Better Alabama", the occasion will be marked by outstanding speakers, group discussion, activity reports, and the election of officers for the coming year. Other features include viewing the documentary film, "The South and Segregation", which contains considerable footage on Alabama and the A.C.H.R., the release of a documented State Office report on intimidation of all forms throughout the state over the past three years, and a quality of fellowship found nowhere else.

This announcement is being sent exclusively to our membership. This means that many genuinely interested friends in your area will not know of the meeting unless you invite them. Because of a full schedule, the meeting will begin promptly at 10:30 a.m. and will adjourn at 3:00 p.m. in the Student Union Building. Come early for coffee and fellowship at 10:00 a.m.

You need the Alabama Council and it needs you. Reserve February 7th now.

HERE AND THERE

*** One crisp morning last October, several Negroes boarded a Birmingham bus and seated themselves in the front. When police arrived, all the other passengers, black and white, got off with the exception of one surprised young colored man sitting in the rear. This fellow had never been particularly concerned about segregation, but on this occasion his curiosity got the better of him. Desiring to see what was going on, he was promptly arrested along with the others, taken to police headquarters, tried and found guilty in recorders court, and spent five days in jail. Upon being released, his first action was to join Rev. Shuttlesworth's Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights!

*** Some white folks over in Mississippi decided to tell the country how contented the colored folks were in their state. They arranged a nation-wide broadcast, found just the right Negro to speak, and carefully rehearsed him on how well off he was. At the fateful hour, they told him he was on the air, whereupon he rushed to the microphone and yelled, "HELP!".

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

File copy
Return to S.M.

Alabama Council NEWSLETTER

DISTRIBUTED PERIODICALLY by the ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 1218, COMER BUILDING BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA"

Vol. 6 No. 2 February, 1960

SATELLITES AND SEGREGATION

If a rocket had landed on Alabama last November, it would not have come more unexpectedly nor caused a greater explosion than the Justice Department's announcement that it was planning integration of a public school in Huntsville. The dust settled quickly, but one ominous fact remains - both the federal and state governments have stated their conflicting positions and both can be expected to pursue their fulfillment in a matter of time.

What Is The Background Of The Justice Department's Action?

For a number of years the Department of Health, Education and Welfare has made grants to local school systems "impacted" by expansion of defense installations. In House Education Committee hearings last spring it was brought out to the Administration's embarassment that some of these funds were being used for segregated education in the South. Late in the summer the Defense Department notified officials over four of the six segregated state owned and operated schools with majorities of students whose parents were federally employed that Negro children would have to be admitted that September. Negotiations were opened to secure compliance and the results might indicate alternatives for Huntsville.

Homestead (Fla.) Air Force Base: The Dade County School Board used state placement law to assign 21 Negroes to attend with 741 whites. "Completely normal" opening.

Cherry Point (N. C.) Marine Station: Desegregation accompolished quietly under local school authorities.

Little Rock (Ark.) Air Force Base: Pulaski County School Board offered alternative of integration or condemnation of site, annexation to base and loss of $1,000,000 in aide. Asst. Sec. of Defense Stephen Jackson worked out compromise - board saved face and funds by leasing site to Air Force and continuing to operate school. Term opened "peacefully" with 10 Negroes and 828 whites. When Gov. Faubus asked why Little Rock was being "picked on", the Defense Dept. pointed to similar plans for Huntsville. Press wire services neglected to relay story to Alabama.

Stewart (Smyrna, Tenn.) Air Force Base: Rutherford County School Board balked and N.A.A.C.P. representing Negro parents secured federal court injunction. 16 Negroes began studies with some 500 whites "without incident". N.A.A.C.P. efforts now underway to extend injunction to entire system.

Jurisdiction over these matters was apparently transferred in the fall from the Defense to the Justice Department which has not as yet initiated negotiations with the two remaining school systems, Abilene, Texas and Huntsville, dispite reports to the contrary.

How Has Alabama Reacted To The Justice Department's Announcement?

Gov. Patterson branded it as "the opening battle of an all-out war", renewed his appeal for specific school closure powers to erase the possibility of any "misunderstanding over jurisdiction" with local officials, and threatened to exercise his police powers to close schools anyway and call out the National Guard. A Klan official addressing hundreds of followers at Prattville vowed to block any integration attempt. "Huntsville will not integrate" The Birmingham News asserted categorically.

In significant contrast, city and school officials in "The Rocket City" simply denied report of integration cooperation while The Huntsville Times frowned on "any declarations of war" and called for "caution and wisdom". The subject is rarely brought up by local residents and when it is it usually receives the "let sleeping dogs lie" treatment. Civic groups have said nothing.

What Is The Status Of Race Relations In Huntsville?

Relatively moderate racial views prevail dispite a 27% Negro population which would be regarded as a significant "threat" to white security in most other sections of the state. Discrimination is practiced in the traditional areas of community life but notable exceptions exist.

There are no voting restrictions, taxis carry either race and the Municipal Golf Course is now used by both groups at the same time. Negroes serve on the Red Cross and United Givers Fund boards attending their annual banquetts without restriction. The two local physicians are members of the Madison County Medical Society and one is on the City Hospital staff. Each of the four dentists treat both races, one of them having had a 90% white practice for years. The Huntsville Ministerial Assn. invited Negro clergymen to join three years ago. (None responded) When interracial violence and school integration were so prominently treated by the Southern press last August and September, a check of the sixty issues of the Huntsville Times for the same period revealed only two race stories on front pages and one editorial. There are no Klan or W. C. C. groups, "Ace" Carter making the only attempt to establish a unit but failing in 1956.

What Is The Situation Surrounding The Involved School?

The Madison Pike Elementary School is located adjacent to the Arsenal on land ceded gratis to the city in 1958 with "no strings attached". The government put up $1 for every .98 invested by the city for operations. Of the 1,064 students in the school this fall, 865 are children of federally related parents. Five Negro children of servicemen live on the base and attend Calvary Hill School, a mile farther than Madison Pike, while two children are in the county system. It is not known how many colored children of Army or civilian personnel at Redstone live off the base although none would probably be in potentially integrated situations.

How Will The Struggle Likely Develop?

Within the next few months the Justice Department will probably seek the cooperation of the Huntsville School Board in admitting at least the five Arsenal-resident city system Negro children to Madison Pike next September. Theoretically the board could make the assignments under state law as in the Homestead case, but could not be expected to attempt to do so without coercion. The handful of involved Negro parents cannot appeal to the N.A.A.C.P. as at Smyrna because that organization is barred from activity in the state. Nor is there any strong Negro group in Huntsville where sufficient legal aide could be secured.

The only coercive power available is in the hands of the federal government which could condemn and annex the site to operate the school on its own (a practice it tries to avoid) and withdraw all impact aide as threatened in Little Rock. Last year this amounted to some $500,000 of the city system's $3 million annual budget. The salary of eighty new teachers hired last September is wholly dependent upon federal funds as state aide is pegged to the previous year's enrollment. Through double sessions and attendence limited to city residents, the system could survive but would be severely handicapped. A more indirect influence is the fact that Huntsville's economy is riveted to the federal government - 22,000 of the 47,000 employed persons in the Metropolitan area work at the Arsenal earning $135 million or 61% of the $220 million area income.

Should a compromise be worked out whereby impact funds are continued, the site leased to the Army, and the integrated school operated by the board as happened in Little Rock, then the wrath of an uncompromising state government headed by a figure already out on a limb is incurred. State economic and legal sanctions under present and easily secured custom-made-for-Huntsville laws could be applied with telling effect.

Unless the federal government compromises its present policy, it is very possible that within the next one to two years Huntsville will find itself involved in a federal-state dilemma similar to that now confronting the city of

Atlanta. Some of the federal court findings and injunctions that would necessarily be involved in this could have state-wide effect.

What Further Questions Does Washington's Action Raise?

1. Will federal funds continue to be used for segregated education in schools with less than a majority of children of federally related parents? Impact aide is more widespread than is generally realized being rendered to the five school systems of the Tri-Cities area for the children of 2,000 T.V.A. employees and probably to the Anniston, Montgomery, Selma, Dothan and Mobile systems where military bases are located.

2. Does the government plan to continue policies which in effect maintain segregation in schools on military bases in some Southern areas. The only two base schools in Alabama have been located on Maxwell and Craig Air Force Bases in Montgomery and Selma where segregation has been purposefully maintained by a "gentlemen's agreement". An official at one base explains privately that Negro airmen with school age children are denied living facilities on base thus forcing them into Negro school districts of the local public system. Where dependents are pre-school age they are permitted to live on base but are transferred elsewhere when the children reach six years. Actually, it is understood that the Craig school had token integration for a year in 1955 but the policy was dropped as quietly as it was initiated.

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Your 1960 Annual Meeting

The Annual Membership Meeting this year presents an unusual opportunity to receive first-hand accounts of public school desegregation from persons who have been deeply involved. The featured speakers will be: Rev. James Brewer, minister of the Norfolk, Virginia Unitarian Church who was the founding chairman of the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools and serves on the board of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools. In addition he is an officer of the Norfolk Council on Human Relations and state vice-president of the V. C. H. R. Last year he received the Holmes-Weatherly Award for Social Justice, a national honor in recognition of his race relations work.

The second speaker is Mr. Paul Rilling, who is the new Director of Field Services for the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Rilling was Executive Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations throughout that state's crucial 1958-59 school year and has served on the Southeastern Regional Y.M.C.A. staff and the political science faculty of the University of Alabama Mobile Center.

In response to request we will again have progress reports from each of our nine districts and from three other separate bi-racial movements. Dr. Johannes Bruwer of the Union of South Africa and Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies will speak briefly on the simplications of American race relations for our foreign policy and missionary work.

In addition to the above, state officers and board members will be elected and other business transacted. The date is next Saturday, Feb. 6th in the new Student Activities Building at Talladega College in Talladega. The hours are 10:30 a.m. - 3:00 p.m. Arrive by 10:00 for coffee in the Snack Bar, fellowship and registration.

Only present and past members are being notified of the meeting, but feel free to bring sincerely interested friends with you. Because of the large number expected, it is necessary for us to determine the number who will participate in the Annual Luncheon ($1.00). Therefore we ask you to return the enclosed card to us by return mail indicating if you plan to attend and how many non-members you might be bringing with you. DO NOT DELAY. SEE YOU SATURDAY!

This was for "Northern" Distribution

File Copy

Alabama Council NEWSLETTER

SPECIAL EDITION NO. I

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 1218, COMER BLDG. - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

WHERE ARE THE PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL IN THE SOUTH TODAY?

Many persons living outside the South ask this question when they read of some racial incident occuring below the Mason-Dixon Line. Without attempting to speak for the entire region, this is the story of one group of people of good will in Alabama who are actively working to strengthen democracy and brotherhood in this state.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is an incorporated non-profit organization of some 500 white and Negro citizens using educational methods to achieve "equal opportunities for all people of Alabama". Recognizing that racial separation inevitably breeds ignorance, fear and hatred, the Council is striving primarily to establish channe of communication whereby understanding and cooperation can become a reality.

WHAT HAS THE ALABAMA COUNCIL DONE?

Four years ago when the Council launched its present program it stepped into a virtual vaccum where there were only two local, paternalistic bi-racial groups in existence. Since that time it has established itself as a centralized state-wide integrated organization and set up fourteen affiliated district and local "Councils on Human Relations." These local bodies, usually working under adverse circumstances and intimidation, have successfully executed such projects as:

> Securing economic opportunities and mayors bi-racial human relations committies; exposing economic pressure and police brutality; initiating and leading a public campain by thirty organizations in Mobile for effective law enforcement against Klan terrorism.

Dr. Martin Luther King in his new book, Stride Toward Freedom, praises the Montgomery Council of which he is a member as a group which "met a real need in the community,...and carried out its work at a high level of dignity and wisdom." Other, more strategic, projects currently in operation cannot be related here. Most important of all is the body of understanding derived from scores of local meetings and workshops.

ORGANIZATION OF INDEPENDENT BI-RACIAL BODIES

In addition to establishing several independent local groups, the officers of the Alabama Council have largely been responsible for initiating and providing leadership for: the Ecumenical Student Conference composed of a hundred leaders from a dozen Alabama colleges; an inter-faith church women's conference with four local chapters; and a new interdenominational movement involving over 150 white and Negro ministers in semi-annual state conferences and eight local groups.

WORK OF THE COUNCIL'S STATE OFFICE

The Council maintains the only state office of any of these organizations staffed by the Executive Director and his secretary. As such, this office bears a heavy burden of responsibility for counsel, stimulation, administration, serving as a clearing house for information and resource materials, and field work for these bodies as well as for the Council's own affiliates while generally coordinating their separate programs.

NFORMATION SERVICE: The State Office is currently compiling statistics and material on such timely subjects as Negro voting, communication across racial lines between local clergy groups, statements by Alabama church bodies on race, and the documentation of intimidation of all forms since 1955 throughout the state. In addition, case studies and background information on local "trouble spots" are prepared from "on the spot" investigations. Usually unavailable elsewhere, such information and their interpretation is dispensed to key figures and newspapers over the state as well as to scores of journalists and dignitaries from other parts of the nation and world when they visit the State Office for orientation.

ROUBLESHOOTING": Perhaps the most crucial role the staff can perform is "trouble-shooting" incidents. The Executive Director has gone into many tense situations rallying community forces to fulfill their responsibilities and arranging meetings between white and Negro leaders for their first frank discussion of grievances.

When other measures have failed, he has ventured into ten different mob scenes over the state witnessing directly for reason and principle. There are times when nothing more can be done than giving an embattled minister in Livingston a simple work of encouragement; or feebly attempting to fulfill a ministry of reconcilliation in Clanton by kneeling in prayer with a Negro lady whose innocent husband and father of her five children had been killed by a posse.

WHO ARE THE LEADERS OF THE COUNCIL?

During the thirty years of its existence, it has been closely associated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc. which Time recently referred to as "the South's respected old-line" race relations body. Over this period the Alabama Council has been led by some of the state's outstanding citizens. The current president is a prominient Episcopalian rector and the full-time Executive Director is a Methodist minister serving a special appointment. Among its board members are college presidents, clergymen, businessmen, labor leaders, editors, scientists and women civic workers of both races.

WHERE DO ITS FUNDS COME FROM?

Financial support for the Council's $12,150 minimum annual budget is derived from memberships, contributions and a short-term grant-in-aide from the Fund For the Republic. The great bulk of these funds, however, are $5 and $10 donations almost exclusively from within the state.

As the situation steadily deteriorates in the South the task of raising sufficient funds becomes increasingly difficult. Regretably, fear and the need for the Council's program arize from the same conditions. Valuable opportunities have been permanently lost and hard-won work has been abandoned in recent months - not because of intimidation but directly as a result of lack of funds. The inescapable conclusion is that new sources of support must be secured outside the South.

ARE YOU CONCERNED?

The Alabama Council does not pretend that its approach is by any means the only worthy one, nor does it exaggerate its own progress or potentiality. However, its strategic importance is clearly seen when it is realized that:

* The Alabama Council is the only state-wide race relations organization in existence in this state outside of the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan.

* Its program constitutes virtually the only bridge between the white and Negro populations.

* In contrast to practically every other Southern state, the State Office which it maintains is the sole professionally staffed inter-group relations office in the state.

Without apology we appeal to you personally, and through you to concerned friends and organizations, to join hands with people of good will in Alabama that this realistic program of brotherhood will not only be maintained but enabled to expand to new fields.

* * * * *

Checks should be made payable to the Alabama Council on Human Relations and sent to the State Office, 1218 Comer Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama. The names of other sympathetic persons or officers of organizations to whom this Newsletter and subsequent editions should be sent will be appreciated. It is requested that reasonable discretion be observed in any use of this material.

-Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

The Alabama Council on Human Relations

AN ORGANIZATION—

"To Attain Through Research and Action, Equal Opportunities for all People of Alabama."

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL RECOGNIZES THAT . . .

- Alabama, like the rest of the South, has developed a system of segregation which separates our people according to their races. This pattern is deeply rooted in the past, and today reaches into every area of the life of our state.

- The Supreme Court of the United States in the highest authority in the American legal system, a position granted it by the Constitution. To deny this authority would endanger the respect for law and order for years to come.

- As tradition and law come into conflict, new appraisals and new adjustments are being made. As a result, we are now in a period of transition in the area of human relations.

- Change in any emotionally charged area brings with it the threat of friction and tension. We would be unrealistic if we fail to recognize this danger, and the need for sincere seeking after an orderly solution based upon justice.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL BELIEVES THAT . . .

- The key to the situation we are facing is understanding — an attitude that not only inquires into conditions by asking "what", but goes on to seek causes by asking "why".

- The establishment of lines of communication in order that understanding can take place is of greatest importance. As men come to recognize the real desires of one another, as the motives behind actions are seen, as fact is divorced from fiction and prejudice replaced by reason, then mutual consideration and concern result.

- Ultimately our problems will have to be solved in our local communities, regardless of what measures our federal and state governments may take. Procedures adopted in the Piedmont region of our state would probably not be appropriate for the Black Belt. Highly successful plans carried out by rural counties might be found unworkable in urban areas.

- The only sound and lasting solution will be one worked out by those persons who know the local situation best — the citizens of the community and the segments of the community affected by the problems.

ITS METHODS ARE . . .

I. DISCUSSION

The Alabama Council encourages the free and frank exchange of ideas between white and Negro citizens in an atmosphere of mutual respect. It urges community organizations to take actions which build understanding — such as the sponsorship of bi-racial programs by church and civic groups and the acceptance of all qualified persons for membership in labor unions and professional societies.

As a more formal step, the Alabama Council seeks to bring together a cross-section of white and Negro community leadership. Such a group could at least agree that all differences that might arise at any time in the future would be submitted to it in an honest effort to arrive at a peaceful orderly solution before independent steps are taken.

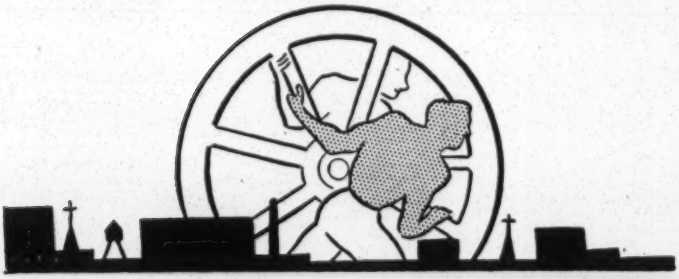
This role of mediation could be expanded to include preventive measures of insuring that problems do not arise by removing their causes.

II. SURVEYS

The Alabama Council encourages communities to carry out fact-finding surveys so that their problem areas can be definitely determined. In order that the results of surveys be acceptable to all groups, it would involve representatives of each segment of the population.

The study might inquire into any or all areas of community life — housing, health, education, recreation, law enforcement, suffrage, etc. Armed with facts, the sponsoring group can make appropriate recommendations for correction.

III. ACTION



When the community becomes aware of its human relations problems and the factors behind them, it is then in a position to deal intelligently with them. All of the community's human resources should be cultivated and used in the achievement of the goals set forth.

The Alabama Council firmly believes that the situation we now face actually presents an unlimited opportunity for progress. If we resolve to utilize the methods mentioned here in working for a society in which all our citizens will enjoy the same opportunities, the cause of brotherhood and democracy can only be strengthened.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

We recognize that all men are created equal under God. Interpreted into the life of our nation, this means that each individual is endowed with the right of equal opportunity to contribute to and to share in the life of our nation. No individual or group of individuals has the privilege to limit this right in any way. Therefore, we seek to attain through research and action equal opportunities for all people of Alabama.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL IS . . .

- An organization concerned with human relations in the State of Alabama, employing educational methods to achieve its purpose.
- A membership organization composed of citizens of the State of Alabama who ascribe to the statement of purpose. Among its members are interested citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions — white and Negro, men and women; urban and rural; business, professional, labor, and education; church people of all faiths and denominations.
- Organized in units on the local level through which its program is promoted.
- An incorporated non-profit organization deriving its financial support from membership dues, contributions, and grants from the Southern Regional Council, Inc.
- An affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, an organization with similar purposes and methods, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia.
- Non-political although its services are available to state, county, and municipal officials for counseling purposes.

- Non-denominational but is supported by all faiths.
- The successor to the Alabama Inter-Racial Committee and the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council.

If you feel that your state and your community need the services of the Alabama Council, use the membership application blank provided below and join hundreds of other Alabamians in this constructive program. You will receive yith your membership a year's subscription to the NEW SOUTH, a monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council, and membership newsletter from the Alabama Council.

Contributions, no matter how small, are welcome and may be deducted on Income Tax returns.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.
Room 206, Moore Building
217 South Court Street
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

Believing in the principles and aims of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, I would like to become a—

Single Member ..... ($3.00) ☐

Joint Member ..... ($5.00) ☐
(husband and wife)

Sustaining Member ..... ($8.00) ☐
(single and joint)

Student ..... ($1.50) ☐

Contributor ..... ($.....) ☐

Full Name .....

Street .....

City ..... County .....

Occupation .....

Enclosed: Check ☐ Money Order ☐ Cash ☐

From

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

Room 206, Moore Building

217 South Court Street

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

WADLEY GROUP FORMS COUNCIL OF BOTH RACES

Wadley, Ala. June 24 -- White and Negro leaders have organized a bi-racial council here, the first of its kind in Alabama, which seeks to ease racial tensions and prevent flareups between the races.

It was organized last night, four days after a church conference at Southern Union College attended by membe s of both races was broken up by a threatening white group.

Southern Union is a Congregational Christian Church college.

Wadley's Mayor W. B. Fackler was chosen as head of the Council on Human Relations along with the rest of the city council, three ministers,a banker, business men, Negro teachers and a Negro business man.

President Clyde C. Flannery of Southern Union College which has no Negro students, said white hoodlums disrupted the conference and threatened those who attended it.

Observing the disturbance was the first such incident in this small farming community of about 55 per cent Negro population, Mayor Fackler released this statement as to the Council's objectives:

"We are of the opinion that a nistake was made when Negro guests were placed on the second floor of a dormitory at Southern Union College June 20 while the first floor had been rented to a white family.

We earnestly desire that the public should know that a great majority of citizens of Wadley are heartily sorry that a small group of people attempted to take the law into their hands. We further wish to clearly state that we do not condone mob rule in any form.

"This newly formed Council on Human Relations wishes to pledge itself to promote harmony and peaceful settlement of all future problems arising in our community."

Gov. James E. Folsom condemned the action of the white group and requested law enforcement officers to see that no further mob action takes place.

The Rev. Robert E. Hughes of Montgomery, a young Methodist minister who serves as executive secretary of the Alabama council on Human Relations, attented the organizing session of the local council.

"The council recognized," he said, "that the incident which occurred last Monday night was only an example of the larger problem of race relations, which all Alabama communities face.

"It therefore has agreed to remain as a permanent working body as long as the need for building interracial understanding and cooperations exists."

The minister added if other cities and towns in Alabama would follow Wadley's example by taking similar steps, "it would be impossible to over-estimate the amount of strife that could be avoided.

"As it is now," he said, "there is little opportunity in our community for free and frank exchange of ideas between white and Negro leaders.

"By the formation of such human relations councils differences could be submitted to an orderly mediation and problems studied objectively by surveys. This would build understanding between the races and harmful tensions would be lessened."

As to the general objectives of the Alabama Council, the Rev. Hughes issued this statement:

"We firmly insist that the citizens of local communities are the best qualified persons to deal with community problems. Therefore we merely suggest this democratic approach of using the leadership of both races together and leave the conclusions entirely in their hands."

The Rev. Hughes said the staff of the state council is available to any community which might want to set up a local council for advisory purposes.

(Montgomery Advertiser)

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

3669 Old Shell Road *Mobile, Alabama*

PR

May 14, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold,

Many thanks for your kindness and guidance during my recent visit to Atlanta. We followed your counsel at our Board meeting in T last month and decided on a much more modest program than that which was originally proposed.

A part of that program is being kicked off by the enclosed list, the first of a long series that we hope to develop in the course of time. I think that the Number One priority for mailings of educational materials and those dealing with the professionalization of their group should be given to the enclosed list.

Reports coming into your office from this list's area no doubt show you that there is quite a bit of truth to the rumor that these people are involved in what is the most systematic and sustained drive against all that we stand for in the field of human rights and human relations. Anything that can be done to influece them (even if a large percentage of the effort will be obviously wasted) will be worth while.

I am sending this list around to other agencies asking them to put these on the mailing list for pertinent materials. Ultimately, we hope to develop within the state a mailing addressfrom which materials can be sent more effectively, but for the present, I suppose that the flow of "communications" will have to be mainly from out-of-state.

Will be going up to the Police-Community Relations Institute in Lansing this week, and may be able to develop some other patterns up there.

Best wishes and warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours as ever,

Fat Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President

File

MONTGOMERY CITY POLICE OFFICERS*
1959

NAME	POSITION	ADDRESS	REMARKS
ADAMS, James K	Hiway Patrol		
ADKINS, Mrs. Margaret L	Policewoman	22 Davis Dr	
ALFORD, Julian M.	Policeman	2515 Skyline Dr	
ALFORD, Henry D.	Policeman	2246 Tullis Dr	
ALLISON, Mrs Cherry	Policeman	107 W Rosemary	
ALONZO, William	Policeman	3914 Marquette Dr	
ANDERSON, Sam C	Detective	125 McMillan St	
ANDREWS, Lewis, J.	Policeman	3550 Honeysuckle Rd	
ARANT, Wm M.	"	324 N Capitol Pkwy	
ARNETTE, Grady L.	Detective	2082 Spiegle	
BARNES, Chas T., Capt.	Hiway Patrol	600 Montgomery #400	
BARNES, Albert G.	Policeman	2421 Bay (NP)	
BEDSOLE, Alvin G.	Policeman	2724 Crestview	
BERREY, Paul L.	Detective	1614 Forrest Ave	
BLACKWELL, Wm D.	Policeman	Prattville, Ala	
BLAND, Archie E.	"	1688 Crouson	
BOLDEN, Clifford O.	"	2651 Spruce St	
BOYKIN, Chelly B.	Court Clerk	1758 Park Place (OP)	
BRANNAN, C. Roy	Policeman	486 Japonica	
BROWN, Capt. Ed.	Captain	2123 Boultier St	
BROWN, James E.	Policeman	369 W. Delano Ave	
BRYANT, Bobby G.	"	107 Davis Drive	
BRYANT, Jim F.	"	720 Sayre St	
BULCHLI, Maynard S.	"	422 N Florida Ave	
BURT, Jack E.	"	1105 Magnolia Curve	
BURTON, Paskel L.	"	322 Chisholm #B	
CANNON, Mrs Mary	Matron	416 Nottingham Rd	
CAUSEY, Joel E.	Policeman	3421 Texas	
CHALKLEY, William E.	"	3901 Sunset Drive	
CLARK, Mrs. Minnie	Policewoman	3305 Vermont Dr	
COLLINS, Dempsey D.	Detective	2010 McKinley Dravenue	
COONRADT, Billy J.	Policeman	4027 Narrow Lane Rd	
COX, Robert C	"	2308 E. Fifth St	
DAUGHERTY, Robert B.	"	1220 Woodward Ave	
DENNIS, Elmer E.	"	2538 Greenville	
DOBBS, , Herman I	"	3524 Bridlewood	
EASTMAN, Weldon D.	Kilby Guard	314 Chisholm Dr	
EILAND, Capt. Jos R.	Captain	2230 Windsor Ave	
EVANS, Wm C.	Policeman	1035 Clay	
FARR, Jimmy R.	Policeman	229 Burgwyn Place	
FARNELL, Roy M.	"	135 E. Woodland Dr	
FOSTER, Jerome W.	"	451 Japonica	
FOSTER, Kendrick R.	"	3247 Willow Lane	
FRANKLIN, Mrs. Grace W.	Policewoman	3540 Farwood Dr	
FREE, George H.	Policeman	607 Capitol Parkway Ct	
FRYMIRE, Frank A.	"	3 Michigan Ave	
GARNER, Lester D.	"	343 3rd St	
GILLESPIE, Henry H.	State Police	3127 Fairground Av	
GLASSCOCK, Chas E.	State Police	3632 Georgetown Dr	

*Plus some state and county police officials. Source: MONTGOMERY CITY DIRECTORY, 1959

HALL, Mrs. Effie M.	Policewoman	311 S. Hull St
HAMILTON, Robert E.	Policeman	732 Crouson
HAMMONDS, Cyries M.	"	711 S. Lawrence
HAMMONDS, Ralph M.	"	711 S. Lawrence
HEADLEY, Paul M	"	Prattville, Ala
HEATH, E. P.	"	209 E 2nd St (Oak Park)
HENDERSON, John G.	"	33 Vonora Ave CHts
HENSON, Arberry A.	"	52 Davis Dr
(Cont'd from above)		
GOINS, Capt Thos H.	Captain	2332 McKinley Ave
GOLDEN, Hervie L.	Sergeant	837 S. Court St
GOOLSBY, Dover,	Policeman	107 Duncan Drive
GOTHARD, James F.	"	3394 Gaston Ave
GRIGGS, Robt C.	State Police	234 S Capitol Parkway CH
GRIMES, Roy M.	Hiway Patrol	2313 Locust St
HICKS, Sam Jr.	Policeman	903 Ridgewoou Ave
HOULTON, Roy H.	Sergeant	202 Truett Dr
HOULTON, Robert C.	Deputy Sheriff	3872 Oak St
HOULTON, Robert F.	Detective	128 W South Bl
INGRAM, Robert L.	Policeman	1126 Glenwood Rd
JACKSON, Henry E.	Asst Chief	2439 Locust
JOHNSON, Clarence,	Radio Operator	1015 Parkwood Dr
JOHNSON, Joseph V.	Policeman	1126 Rosedale Dr
JOHNSON, Louis R.	"	450 Holcombe St
JOHNSON, SYLVIA A	Policewoman	338 Gardendale Dr
JONES, Claude W. Jr	Policeman	950 Parkwood Dr
JONES, Kendrick W.	Sergeant	2080 Midway Dr
KENNEDY, John F.	Sergeant	1833 Midway St
KIMBROUGH, Mrs Helen L.	Matron	622 Forest Hills
KING, CLIFFORD L	Policeman	1856 Johnson Dr
KING, W. L.	Detective	530 VirginiaAv
KISER, Mrs Betty O	Policewoman	2409 Spruce St
KREIS, Jacob M.	Hiway Patrol	1215 Mulberry
LACY, Eddie Y.	Lieutenant	127 Broadway
LACKEY, Drue H.	Policeman	2091 Johnson
LAMERE, Joseph G.	"	253 Collinwood Ave
LAWRENCE, Wm H.	"	1934 Yarbrough
LOFTIN, Jerry H	"	2320 E 6th St., Oak Park
LOE, Hon Eugene	Pol.Ct.Judge	2001 S. Hull St
LOFTIN, Kenneth G.	Policeman	105 N Capitol Parkway CH
LYNCH, Robert E.	"	117 S Hopper St CH
MADDOX, Ben H.	"	3114 Bozoman Dr
MAGGELET, Chas J.	"	2802 Brewton #D
MANIS, JJ,	"	136 W. Rosemary Rd
MAPES, Alvin J.	Court Clerk	2408 Spruce
MASINGILL, Hubert W.	Policeman	110 Vonora Ave
MAY, Chas. J.	Detective	434 Holcombe
McCARTHA, JLeon I.	Policeman	109 E Park Ave
MCPARLAND, Mrs. Valita N.	Policewoman	382 Prairie Vista
MCKENZIE, James C.	Detective	228 W Woodland Dr
MESSINGALE, Wm.	Policeman	110 Vonora Ave
MILLWER, J. LEWIS,	Captain	1510 Winona Ave
MILLS, Robert D.	Sergeant	542 Holcombe
MIXON, Dempsey W.	Policeman	317 Georgia
MOODY, StewartC.	"	203 Pocahontas Rd

MOODY, John T.	Policeman	457 Mobile St
MOORE, Arth V.	"	2657 Whatley Dr
MORRIS, Peggy W Mrs.	Policewoman	603 Capitol Parkway #8
MUELLER, Fred F.	County Dep Sherif	1812 Yancey Ave
MURPHREE, Mrs Christine,	Policewoman	1124 E Fairview
NIXON, Wm E.	Policeman	634 Grace St
NOBLE, Floyd, H.	Dep Warden,Co.Jail	Ramer, Ala.
NORRIS, Christopher C.	Policeman	822 Polk HP
NORTON, Mrs Gewndolyn	Policewoman	6 Edwards St
O'GWYNN, Charles E.	State Police	2401 E Cloverdale
OSGOOD, Donald G.	Policeman	1807 Austin
OWENS, Geo H.	Lieutenant	2927 Ashley
PAINTER, Wm B.	CrimeInvestigator	20 The Prado
Payne, Norris,	State Trooper	200 Bradley Drive
PAYNE, Tennant, Sgt.	Hiway Patrol	320 Bradley Drive
PAYSON, Richard O	Policeman	2201 Spruce
PHILLIPS, H JAsper N.	"	726 Herron
PIERCE, [illegible] Leroy	Policeman	1850 Spiegle
POWELL, JAMES F	Hiway Patrol	1857 Gibson
RAIFORD, Wm D.	State Trooper	1827 Cotton Ct
REYNOLDS, Lemuel A Jr.	Detective	2528 Skyline Dr.
REYNOLDS, Harry L. S	State Police	14 Bradley DRive
ROBINSON, James H.	Policeman	418 Gardendale Drive
ROOK, Robert I	Policeman	218 Carey Drive #A
RUSH, Kenneth H. S	State Police	914 Ridgecrest
RUPPENTHAL, Goodwyn	Chief of Police	2701 Sweetbriar
RUSHING, Wm H.	Policeman	303 Azalea Dr
RUSHING, L. J.	"	660 W April St
RUSSELL, J. Douglas,	"	3472 Crescent Dr
SANFORD, James D.	"	1915 Yarbrough St
SHERIFF, Wm T.	Policeman	2022 Midway St
SHAFER,Chas A.	State Police	2756 Chestnut St
SHERLIN, Connie D.	Policeman	1902 Gibson
SHIRMAN, Wm Sterling G	"	9149 Rigby
SHIRLEY, Clifton	"	2068 Spiegle
SHIRLEY, John E.	"	560 Pleasant Ave
SHOWS, Jacob D.	Detective	3129 Cabot St
SMILIE, Wm D.	Dep Co Sheriff	55 Vonora Ave CH
SMITH, Bobby G.	Policeman	423 S Panama St rear
SMITH, Wm C.	"	1235 S Decatur St
SMITH, WILLIE C.	"	1235 S Decatur St
STANTON Wm M.L.	Police Clerk	315 Henstess
STANLEY, Wm M.	Asst Chief	2320 Windsor Ave
STEARNS, Roy H.	Dep Co Sheriff	1000 Grandda Grenada Dr.
STEPHENS, Rudolph	Sergeant	432 Maury St
STREIT, O. L.	Policeman	2022 Lucas Dr
STRICKLAND, Jack F.	Policeman	2922 Willena Av
STRICKLAND, O.M.	"	3017 McQueen
SUMNER, Samuel D.	"	402 N Arthur
SWINDEE, Chas E.	"	1812 Gibson Ct
TAYLOR, Critt A.	"	34 S Lewis CH
TAYLOR, Gerald M.	"	157 Eton Rd.
THOMPSON, Chas E.	City Jailer	3583 S Georgetown Dr.

TODD, Joe F.	Policeman	724 W Shawnee Dr
TOWNES, Jack D.	Detective	2084 Midway
TURNER, Jas C.	State Police,	1821 Midway
TURNIPSEED, Billy E.	Policeman	3980 Oak St
WADE, James, D.	"	3425 Harris St
WALKER, Wm J.	Deputy Sheriff	4 Vandiver
WALLACE, Lt.Geo. G Jr.	Hiway Patrol	3949 Dallas Dr
WARD, Thos J	Detective	3079 Gaston Ave
WEAFER, R E.	Policeman	519 S. Lawrence
WHIDDON, Terry A.	"	515 Alabama St
WILLIAMS, Wm J.	Warden Co.Jail	663 Hubbard
WILSON, Ralph C.	Lieutenant	425 Glenmore Rd
WILSON, Wm H.	Policeman	227 Chisholm
WRIGHT, Edward L.	"	2010 Yarbrough
YOUNG, Joseph W.	"	2424 Palmetto St

OTHERS:

SM

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

CONFIDENTIAL
NOT FOR RELEASE

September 11, 1960

TO: ACHR Board Members
FROM: ACHR PRESIDENT
RE: Background on the Rev. Robert E. Hughes Story

The press and radio and television have reported at length on the events of the past ten days during which the legal and ecclesiastical attacks on our Executive Director culminated in the five-day jailing of Rev. Bob Hughes in Bessemer, and the two-day withdrawal of his ministerial credentials by the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church. But behind the news, there are some facts and events that the board members should know, pending the convening of our fall board meeting in about two weeks, when our director has had a chance to recover from the effects of his ordeal.

1. In April 1959, as many of you recall, Rev. Bob Hughes circulated privately among persons interested in improving race relations in the state, a factual report on the newly formed Methodist Laymen's Union. Someone leaked this report to the Methodist Laymen's Union, and thus it subsequently led to a direct rebuttal in the form of a reply letter addressed to Methodist ministers by the Laymen's Union. This was released to the press through the religious editor of the Birmingham NEWS, Calude Keathley, formerly a Methodist minister of the North Alabama Conference.

2. Following this public attack and other attacks made in Laymen's Union meetings held during June and July 1959, Rev. Hughes was subjected to a campaign of anonymous threatening phone calls and abusive letters. On Saturday, July 25, 1959, a mob of hooded and robed klansmen burned a cross in the yard in front of the Hughes family residence. Some of the Klansmen were identified, by license tags, as citizens of Bessemer and Shelby counties..

3. In September 1959, at the annual meeting of the North Alabama Conference, efforts were made in the Methodist Church to withdraw the ministerial credentials of Rev. Hughes, notwithstanding the fact that he had previously been appointed to his position with the Alabama Council with the full approval of his bishop and of the conference. Under Methodist church discipline, the withdrawal could not be effected at the time. Rev. Hughes was instead placed on a supernumerary status until the 1960 meeting of the conference, with the warning that if he did not give up his work with the Alabama Council on Human Relations, he would be deprived of his credentials as a minister in good standing in Methodism.

4. Just prior to the 1960 Conference that was to decide his fate, Rev. Bob Hughes was drawn into the toils of the Bessemer Cut-Off (Division) Grand Jury of Jefferson County. As part of its investigation into the Harrison Salisbury articles in the New York TIMES on Birmingham and Bessemer, the prime mover in the grand jury action, Howard Sullinger, deputy solicitor of Bessemer, apparently decided to investigate the Alabama Council on Human Relations as well as Rev. Robert Hughes in person. Sullinger is a lay member of the Methodist Church and is allegedly also an active member of the Methodist Laymen's Union.

In the criminal libel caseof "The State of Alabama vs. Harrison E. Salisbury," the deputy solicitor issued a special subpoena-duces-tecum, ordering Rev. Hughes to appear before the grand jury and to bring with him the "documents, records, financial statements, cancelled checks, subscription lists and names of donors and benefactors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations." Though Harrison Salisbury had written the articles in April, 1960, our director was ordered to produce all records of ACHR going back to January 1958. These documents were in no way related to the Salisbury investigation, and the demand

for their surrender obviously constituted either a "fishing expedition" on the part of the solicitor, or an effort set up assorted targets for the Klan in Alabama.

Rather than subject Alabama Council members and supporters to the type of abuse and intimidation he had suffered, Rev. Hughes refused to bring the documents with him. The law firm employed by ACHR to handle the case attacked the legality of the subpoena-duces-tecum in the local courts, in the Alabama State Supreme Court, and in remarkably short time, managed to get the case before the United States Supreme Court. However, the appeal did not arrive until after the deadline for Bob Hughes' appearance before the grand jury. The clerk of the Supreme Court requested more information on the case, but the four Justices whose signatures were needed to secure an injunction against the subpoena could not be reached in time.

Rev. Hughes was obliged to appear before the grand jury under protest. He was apparently questioned by them, but he refused to deliver the documents, or to answer questions about them to the "satisfaction" of the grand jury. As a consequence, the solicitor and the foreman of the grand jury reported him to Judge Gardner Goodwyn as a reluctant witness. The judge, in what was a most questionable and summary procedure, found Bob guilty of contempt and committed him to jail until he purged himself by satisfactorily answering the grand jury's questions. This was on Friday, September 2. Bob was locked up in the Bessemer county jail, which, fortunately, was a modern structure, quite sanitary and orderly. Bob apparently did not suffer physically from the confinement. He was given special treatment as a special kind of inmate. He made friends with the other inmates and thus relieved us of the worry about a manufactured jailhouse brutality case. His friends in Birmingham and vicinity kept up a telephone seige of the courthouse, demanding a chance to visit him. His father, Dr. Hughes of Gadsden, and his wife Dottie, were allowed to visit Bob and see that he was supplied with what he needed.

Over the weekend, there was report of a cruel bit of sport on the part of some of the officials connected with the case. One was quoted as stating that Bob would be kept in jail for the "rest of his natural life" by the technicality that denies bail, bond, or habeas corpus to a reluctant witness while the grand jury is in session and not adjourned. The grand jury simply recessed over the Labor Day weekend, and the official quoted above stated that the grand jury would be recessed the rest of Bob's natural life and never adjourned until Bob would answer its questions. This eventuality did not come to pass.

Rather, under the pressure from the unexpected opposition stirred up among the thirty or forty ministers who attempted to visit Bob, and the scores of lay folk who phoned, as well as under the impact of the appeal to the Supreme Court and the stout defense of Bob's position worked out by his capable and competent lawyers, Church Morgan and Jim Shores, the deputy solicitor decided to abandon his attempt to get at the ACHR records. On Tuesday morning, when the grand jury reconvened, the solicitor summoned Bob under a standard subpoena, simply demanding that he appear and answer questions about matters relating to the Harrison Salisbury case. Under this subpoena Bob was willing to testify. He did so for about four hours Tuesday morning and early afternoon. After that, he was reported to the judge as having "purged himself of his contempt" and was thus releasedfrom jail. This was not the end of the legal aspects of the case. The lawyers have decided to keep it before the Supreme Court in order to get a definitive ruling that will prevent other similar grand juries from attempting to invade the private and privileged matters of the ACHR and other organizations when these do not pertain to the case under investigation by the grand jury.

5. After his release from jail, and after a night spent recovering from the ordeal, Rev. Hughes went to Birmingham-Southern College to participate in the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church meeting there. He appeared before the committee on credentials, only to learn that they were preparing a very unfavorable report on him, and would recommend to the conference that he be

"involuntarily located" -- which expression means "deprived of his ministerial credentials" or dismissed from the ministry without hope of transferring to another conference as a minister in good standing.

The following day, Thursday, while Rev. Hughes was off the floor momentarily to make a phone call, a pro forma vote, without discussion, was taken on the committee's report. As a result of this vote, Rev. Hughes was deprived of his status as an active minister of the North Alabama Conference and, in effect, of the Methodist Church. Whether this was entirely engineered by the powerful and dominant Methodist Laymen's Union, or was owing partly to a misunderstanding of the jailing of Rev. Hughes for failing to cooperate with the grand jury, is not fully known at this time. But at any rate, one of the goals of the Methodist Laymen's Union was reached. The previously prominent leadership of the Methodist Church in the program of improving race relations in Alabama was curtailed.

This curtailment was not erased by the subsequent action of the Conference two days later. On special request, the conference voted to restore the official credentials of Rev. Hughes only in order to allow him to transfer as a minister in good standing to the foreign missions, namely to the Southern Rhodesia Conference of the Methodist Church in Africa.

His reinstatement was thus conditioned on his departure from Alabama and his surrender, by January 1, of his position as executive director of the Alabama Conncil on Human Relations. As of a few moment ago, when he was contacted by phone, this is the position of the executive director. He has, as we all know, for years been intent on devoting his life to the foreign missions, but has been prevented by ill health from going abroad for that purpose. Now his chance for this field of activity has come in a rather strange way, but he is decided to depart by January 1.

This presents the ACHR with a number of problems, added to the overriding problem of meeting all of the financial obligations that have been assumed and incurred as a result of the litigation of the past two weeks. The court costs, lawyers' fees, long distance phone calls, secretarial help, and allied expenses have risen to more than double the original estimate of $3,000. We are faced with something in the vicinity of $6,000 or $7,000, and thus will need all of the help we can possibly secure from all possible quarters.

We shall have to explore the future course of ACHR, the possibility of obtaining a successor for Bob Hughes, and the consequences of this publicity and notoriety that has come to us all over the state and the region as a result of the court case. We shall have to consider also the problem of relocation of the state office, the protection of the sensitive records of the ACHR, and the prevention of a repetition of this effort at invading the privacy of the ACHR records in the future.

We cannot terminate this report without again paying tribute to the courage and fearlessness of our executive director in this critical test of his unimpeachable loyalty to the cause of ACHR and his integrity in respecting the rights and defending the sanctity of his constitutents. We trust that the board members will give some thought to some tangible ways of expressing our corporate admiration for his fortitude, and also of providing an appropriate send-off should his departure become a reality.

We shall also in the near future have to prepare a worthy citation for Charles "Church" Morgan, and James Shores of Birmingham, the law firm that took up Bob's defense at great risk to their own future, and carried it through with such vigor as to win at least a moral victory over the opposition. Others who served well in the battle will also come in for their off-the-record commendation, since this is their special wish.

CONFIDENTIAL:
FOR ACHR BOARD MEMBERS ONLY
TENTATIVE STATEMENT OF POLICY
Proposed by a Birmingham Board Member
For Comment and Discussion by Board

ALABAMA COUNCIL CALLS FOR STATE AND LOCAL BI-RACIAL COUNCILS

Periodic attacks on the Alabama Council on Human Relations by Ku Klux Klans, White Citizens' Councils and the Methodist Laymen's Union have forced the ACHR to work behind-the-scenes in quiet and unobtrusive ways, lest it expose its members to reprisals, threats, and violence. Recent events and the publicity accompanying them have brought the Council out in the open as a publicly known organization. In the future, it will be expected to take public stands on important issues and the ways to improve race relations and reduce race tensions. As a start, the ACHR wishes to release to the press this statement of objectives and policy in one area of concern.

The Alabama Council believes that the best solutions to racial problems can come only from state and local efforts. In default of these, pressure is constantly being brought to bear on Alabama and other Southern states to accept federally imposed solutions. Unless Alabama acts promptly to face and meet its own problems, its opportunity to do so may soon pass by. The time has come for less emphasis on "States Rights" as a shield, and more emphasis on "States Responsibility" as a buckler to be used in resolving its own internal conflicts.

As a step in the right direction, the ACHR calls on all state, county, and city officials and on civic leaders in our communities to join in an effort on state-wide and local levels to form bi-racial councils to study state and local problems.

These groups must be formed either within or outside governmental organizations. They should seek practical and effective solutions which take into account the moral, legal, and constitutional rights of all citizens, the historically inherited conditions that now exist and must be improved, the natural ambition of our Negro citizens to improve their lot educationally, politically, and economically, and to secure an opportunity to contribute their best toward the general improvement of the situation of all here in this state, and the inherent long-term interest that Alabama, the Nation, and even the entire world has in finding effective solutions to these internal problems peacefully, realistically, and without disrupting essential and necessary public and cultural institutions.

It is essential that these bi-racial groups, to be effective, include persons representing all responsible views on the subject. The formation of these councils will require courage of political leaders, but the situation requires this courage. Since some Negroes may consider this approach another recession from their immediate demands for total, all-out and immediate integration, similar courage will be required of them. This courage is equally in demand.

The broadest possible support with be needed. Where political leaders do not have the courage or the freedom to form these councils, civic leaders must act privately to fill the gap. Any efforts of dissident groups to employ dilatory or intimidating tactics to prevent proper action must be firmly and uniformly met.

The Alabama Council will endeavor to aid and support these councils in every way possible. Experienced consultants will be made available to the fullest degree financially possible. Suggestions and contributions* to this end should be addressed to the ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, 1224 COMER BUILDING, BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA.

* Contributions to the Alabama Council are deductible from Federal Income Tax Returns

9/19/60

PR - Are you going? H. Yes PR

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

September 17, 1960

to HCF

TO: ACHR BOARD MEMBERS
FROM: ACHR State President
RE: Next Board Meeting

Dear ACHR Friend and Board Member,

The next meeting of the ACHR Board, mention of which has been made in our last two communications, will be held at Talladega College on Saturday, October 1, 1960, at 10:00 A.M. It should be terminated by 3:30 P.M. to enable members from the far corners of the state to return home that day.

Those who wish to have accommodations at Talladega College on Friday night should contact Dr. Gray directly so that he can provide. He has kindly and graciously consented to tender us the hospitality of the campus for this important gathering.

Board members who cannot attend personally are requested to send a proxy, substitute or alternate so that all districts and interests will be represented.

By that time, we trust that our fiscal picture will have cleared a bit. If your group has not made a report to the state office on the results of the appeal for emergency contributions to the "Bob Hughes Defense Account" in ACHR, please see that some report goes to the state office, 1224 Comer Bldg, B'ham 3, before the middle of next week.

It will interest all to know that our state director is now taking a quiet and secluded, and much needed, vacation and rest. He will be back with us by Oct. 1.

Please come prepared to discuss the agenda referred to in the last memo.

Sincerely yours for better human relations,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President, Spring Hill College, Mobile

October 11, 1960

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

In trying to arrange for an interview for Bill Eger with Bob Hughes this week, we have learned that he has left his job here and that his home phone has been disconnected. His former office does not know how he could be reached, and we can only gather that he has returned to Chicago as he once said he might.

Paul Rilling had a letter from Arthur Dye this week, in which he said that he would not be in a position to consider leaving his present work for another three years. The field does seem to be narrowing somewhat, but Paul is keeping his eye out for additional prospects.

Karl Garrison in South Carolina could not get away to meet with Bob this week, but wanted you to know that he is very much interested in this work and will be waiting to hear further word from you about arranging a meeting. Since the Georgia Council is interested in interviewing him also, I told him that perhaps something could be worked out to combine both interviews in one trip.

Sincerely,

PMR/sm
cc: Bob Hughes

Mrs. Timothy Miller
Secretary to Paul Rilling

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorable Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

~~Twenty South Twelfth Street~~ 1500 Race Street

Philadelphia ~~7~~ 2, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

18 October 1960

Father Albert Foley
Department of Sociology
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Dr. Foley:

The Rights of Conscience Committee of the American Friends Service Committee has met and considered the possibility of aid to the Robert Hughes case. It is pleasant to report that the Committee is disposed to grant $500 to help defray some of the costs involved in his case and would ask you what procedure I should follow in forwarding the check for this purpose. To whom should it be sent?

However, the Committee feels that it must have for the record a statement on what legal costs have been involved, what procedings had been taken, etc. The Committee feels the concern to aid in this case, but also requires some more detailed information of the legal actions taken thus far.

My best wishes to you for success in your worthy and difficult undertaking, and until I hear from you again I remain

Sincerely yours,

G. Nicholas Paster
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

GNP:d
cc: Paul Rilling

January 6, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

Richard Shapiro has told me from time to time of your continuing efforts to negotiate the lunch counter situation in Mobile. Needless to say, I am quite eager to learn what you have been able to do and with what results. I tried to call you just before Christmas to get some firsthand comments, but was not able to reach you. Let me know the state of things in my old home town.

I have just learned from Bob that Gene Ethridge probably will be available for the Alabama Council as of June 1. He has always been my first choice for the job and I think this is excellent news. I will work with you as much as I can in the effort to keep things going between January 15 and June 1.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

January 10,1961

Father Albert S. Foley
President
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Springhill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

At the suggestion of Bob Hughes I am writing you about my visit to Talladega College where I am to speak on Saturday February 4.

My plan is to spend Friday night in Birmingham. Would you be good enough to make a hotel reservation for me, writing me the name of the hotel?

I hope it may be possible for some of your people to give me a lift from Birmingham to Talladego on Saturday.

Looking forward with pleasure to my visit to your state, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

maw/rct

cc: Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

January 17, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

We are extremely pleased here that the Alabama Council has apparently decided to employ Mr. Eugene Ethridge as its new state director. I personally agree that it is much better to have the right man in June than a less adequate person now. I have known Gene for some years and am convinced that he will prove an able and committed director.

Bob told me that during the interim, the administrative affairs of the Council will be in the hands of a small committee headed by the Rev. J. C. Wilson. Unless I hear to the contrary, I will address future correspondence to Mr. Wilson, with copies to you.

The financial arrangements for the coming year between SRC and the Alabama Council will remain as outlined in our letter to you of December 5. The $1,000 paid to the Washington attorney who assisted in the Hughes case was our contribution and was not subtracted from funds earmarked for the Alabama Council. There will be no reduction of our contribution in consideration of the few months that you will be without full time staff. This money will help you cancel out the dent that legal fees have made in your funds and will help provide a better base for the new director. I question whether paying Gene $100 a month plus travel to and from Mississippi for some four days a month of service is a sound use of these scarce funds. I realize that $25 per day is now the going rate for consultants, but it seems rather high for groups operating on the narrow margin that our state Councils do.

This is, of course, your concern, but I would think half this amount sufficient unless some loss in his regular salary in Mississippi would be involved in this arrangement.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

FATHER ALBERT S. FOLEY, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
DR. CARL LANDES, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
DR. R. D. CROCKETT, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 23, 1961

To: ACHR Board Members

From: Father Foley

Re: ACHR Policy Manual

Dear ACHR Board Member:

In accordance with the resolution passed at our last board meeting, anent the drawing up on a policy manual for ACHR guidance and direction, I am submitting herewith a rough and preliminary draft of what might ultimately become the policy manual. I have tried to capture, in these pages, some of the actual existing policies that have been guiding us implicitly and explicitly in our operations during the last few years, at least, in so far as I am acquainted with them through my membership on the board and my cooperation with the organization.

I am sending this around to the board members along with an evaluation form, in order to obtain their reactions to the proposed policy manual and their comments, additions, emendations and further elaborations deemed appropriate for inclusion in the projected manual. I know that this is a heavy imposition on your time, but I trust that you will be able to take out an hour or so to read through this manual carefully and to see whether it does capture the major guidelines for our policy or whether it is at variance from them in any significant way. I depend upon you for cooperation in this matter and I trust that you will be able to do this before the board meeting on February 3rd at Talladega College. In case you cannot attend the board meeting, I trust that you will, at least, send in to me, in care of Dr. Gray at Talladega, the form for the evaulation of the manual, so that we can thus collate the reactions of the board and at least spot those sensitive areas which need special treatment.

I would urge that this document be treated with the utmost confidentiality and that it be carefully preserved as a private paper, and not, under any circumstances, be allowed out for publication at this point.

If you do intend to attend the board meeting on the night of February 3rd and you require overnight hospitality at Talladega, I would urge you, please, to notify Dr. Gray at the President's Office at Talladega College as soon as possible, so that he can make suitable provision for you accommodation.

On another matter, the Southern Regional Council has alerted us to the need for immediate private action, on the part of private individuals, in regard to a matter that has come up in Washington. This is not a public or official action on the part of the Alabama Council on Human Relations owing to the fact that it is somewhat political in nature. But, since we, as citizens, are interested in what goes on in Washington, as it affects all minorities, especially the minority relations here in the south, we are greatly concerned with the building up of oppostion to the appointment of Dr. Robert Weaver as the Federal Housing Administrator. We have been told that, behind the scenes in Washington, there is quite a bit of opposition stirring among the conservative southern democrats. Dr. Weaver is slated to appear in about a week or ten days before the sub-committee in charge of screening him for approval as Federal Housing Administrator. The chairman of this committee is Senator John Sparkman of Alabama. We are being urged, as private citizens, to write to Senator John Sparkmen telling him that it would be a great move on the part of the liberal leadership in the south, as exemplified in him,to approve this administrator on the basis of his professional competence as one of the foremost authorities on housing in this country. As the author of a number of books in this field and as a long time career administrator, both in Washington and in New York, Dr. Weaver is emminently fitted for this post and should be appointed on his merits as a housing expert as well as on the basis of his diplomatic and high-level statesmanship in the field of human relations.

Trusting that you will communicate with me on any difficulties you may have about the policy manual that may have to be cleared up before the board meeting and hoping that, in any event, we will see you at the board meeting on February 3rd and find you prepared for some action one way or the other on this policy manual, I remain

Sincerely yours as ever,

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President

ASF: baw

January 31, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

I will fill out the comment sheet on the Policy Manual, but I thought I would send along some comments as well. I thought the manual an extremely useful and significant effort and one which I would hope all the state councils would undertake. In addition to its value in the future, it provides an excellent opportunity to rethink and examine the major direction and purposes of the council.

On page 3, Basic Assumptions, number 2. I believe this paragraph is worded in too negative a fashion. I would restate it more from the standpoint of what the council is than what it is not.

First paragraph, page 4. Although I would agree that the council grows from religious concerns, I believe it should be an officially secular organization so that agnostics, free thinkers, etc. with a strong social concern would be welcome to join. I would, therefore, eliminate even the mild religious commitment in this paragraph.

I would make the same comment concerning paragraph 6 on page 4.

I think that number 8 on page 5 is an unusually sharp and effective summary of the tactical premise on which our organizations tend to operate.

On page 6, number 10. I would eliminate this paragraph. I agree with it but it is negatively stated and would seem to detract from the validity or usefulness of the economic argument.

Page 6, number 11. I am of somewhat mixed mind on this statement. Again, I think it true, but am not sure I would include it

in a policy booklet, at least in these terms. Such terms as "extreme right wing" or "extreme left wing" would not be clear to all who might read the book as applying to subversion.

Page 11, number 7. I would not agree with this paragraph. I don't think too many opportunities of this sort arise, but I feel that they might sometimes be of considerable value. A minority viewpoint sometimes can make considerable progress if given public exposure on equal terms with the majority view. I believe that recent television programs in New Orleans bear out this possibility. I agree that such opportunities should be handled with caution and care.

On page 12, number 9. I would not include this paragraph. Again, I believe it to be accurate, but I think little can be gained from stating it specifically.

Page 12, number 10. I would not include this paragraph. Again, the use of such terms as "extreme" or "fanatical" are not clear. Obviously, some of those who have been moved strongly by the injustices of traditional Southern practices are in a sense embittered. Certainly care should be exercised to avoid identification with extreme or fanatical elements, but I would not list it in a policy booklet.

Page 14, number 6. I believe the idea of a balanced board is important and needs to be stated. I would suggest terms other than those of liberal and conservative. In the context of our present Southern culture, we would not want conservatives at all on the board. Of course what is intended are persons who differ as to tactics rather than commitment.

Page 15, number 9. I believe the audit is on an annual rather than a semi annual basis. The word annual is used further on in this policy statement.

Page 16, number 14. About half of the state groups require board members to pay their own travel expenses as a means of safeguarding the limited funds of the council. If you believe that payment is necessary to insure a fair attendance, fair enough.

Page 18, number 9. This statement gives the impression that nominations are called for from the floor only where one nominee is proposed by the nominating committee. I believe that normal parliamentary practice would provide for an opportunity for nominations from the floor even where two or more persons are nominated for the same position.

Page 18, number 10. This procedure seems to me unnecessarily formal and involved. I would simply appoint a parliamentarian were I doing it, and perhaps have one of your lawyers on hand for legal advice allowing to the chair determination of questions of

constitutionality and policy concordance.

Page 19, number 15. This is probably quibbling on details, but I wonder if it is wise to prohibit the expenditure of council funds for social events under all circumstances. Some of the groups in Virginia have had planned picnics and other social affairs as a part of the informal contact which they feel adds to the purposes of the organization.

Page 22, number 11, d. I would rather have it stated that the director is responsible for assisting the board or finance committee in its fund-raising efforts than that he would perform the office and staff functions of fund-raising efforts.

Page 22, 11g. Most of the state groups do not permit expenditures on checks signed by the director alone, or if such is permitted, he is required to check with the treasurer or president concerning checks above a certain amount.

Page 24, number 7. The intent of this paragraph is clear and is certainly correct. I would tend to shy away from prose that is quite this fiery.

Page 27, number 5. I would exclude this paragraph. I think that it is unnecessary to make such a specific mention of offensive jokes, etc. to anyone in a position of staff responsibility or leadership in the Alabama Council.

Page 27, number 6. I would eliminate this paragraph for the same reason.

Page 30, number 3. I would personally feel that the statement issuing strategy of the council must vary, depending on the issue under consideration and from time to time. I would think that it would be unwise to say that, generally speaking, the Alabama Council does not issue statements and to suggest that such would be issued only when the existence or welfare of the council might be concerned. I agree with the controls indicated in the paragraph on the director concerning the issuance of statements.

Page 31, number 9. I would certainly agree that the membership list of the council should not be released under any circumstances in the forseeable future. I tend to feel, however, that the officers should be publicly listed and that to refuse to list officers gives an unfortunate impression of conspiracy, secrecy.

I wonder if it might not be wise to include in the program area or among the activities of the director some recognition of his possible role as a negotiator between various groups during crises or community tensions.

I am sorry that I cannot be with you at your annual meeting. I hope you will keep me informed as to what decisions are made.

My regards to Mr. Ethridge.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Ouch!

HCF ✓
SM

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Mobile-Baldwin Chapter

February 14, 1961

NEXT MEETING: TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 21,1961. 8:00
PLACE: Stewartfield House, Spring Hill College
FEATURED SPEAKER: MR. HODDING CARTER, Editor, Writer, Publisher
Spokesman for the New South, through his newspaper
THE DELTA TIMES-DEMOCRAT of Greenville,Miss.

Dear ACHR Friend and Member,

By way of a report on the happenings of the recent past, we would like to announce that your local chairman has been reelected to the office of president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations for the coming year. The other officers were also re-elected in order to maintain continuity for the organization at a time when we have lost our executive director and are still endeavoring to secure a replacement to head up the central office.

The meeting at Talladega was attended by about ninety members and officers, and was featured by a special address delivered by Mr. Marion A. Wright, vice-president of the Southern Regional Council, and a retired South Carolina lawyer, now living in Linville Falls, North Carolina.

Our efforts to secure a successor for Bob Hughes have not been successful up to now. Our best prospect, Rev. Gene Ethridge, a native of Georgia, and now university pastor of the Presbyterian Westminster Fellowship at Mississippi State University, attended the annual meeting and was offered the position, but owing to his wife's reluctance to face the tension associated with the position as Bob Hughes' replacement, Rev. Ethridge declined the offer. We are still actively pursuing the search for a suitable director of ACHR.

Our annual state budget of $11,500 requires us this year to raise about $2800 above the usual sources of income. We will try to do this by way of recruiting new members, signing up new underwriters (at $5 a month, $60 a year), and new "junior underwriters,(at $2.50 a month, $30 a year). The board pledged itself to renew its efforts at expanding the membership and support of the organization in this way.We need the help of all members.

One way of doing this would be to bring a new prospect to our next meeting. Hodding Carter is well know for his many articles in SATURDAY EVENING POST and in LOOK magazine, "A New Reign of Terror Threatens the South", and "Eight Klans Bring Violence to the South," among others of a couple of years ago. He will speak on "The Challenge and the Opportunities of the South's New Frontier." We will all want to hear him and greet him with a full turnout of the membership.

Sincerely yours for better human relations,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D., ACHR State President
Mobile-Baldwin Chapter Chairman

February 16, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

I was saddened and disappointed to learn that Gene Ethridge had after all declined the Alabama position. The only available possibilities that come to my mind at present are as follows:

1. The Rev. Heslip Lee, Springfield Baptist Church, Springfield, Virginia. A native of Georgia, Mr. Lee has indicated a strong interest in getting into this kind of work. He was strongly considered for the Georgia position, but decided against it and has subsequently indicated his regret for so doing. I would consider him a well qualified and competent man for the position. I doubt that he would be as interested in moving to Alabama as back to Georgia, but I would suggest that either you or I communicate with him about the possibility.

2. The Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, 102 Prince George Avenue, Hopewell, Virginia. Mr. Jimerson is currently a prison chaplain at Ft. Lee, Virginia. I have mentioned him to you before. He has not yet sent his biography, but Dan Bowers tells me he continues to be actively interested.

We will continue to explore other possibilities as we come across them.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Eve. Zu King.

THE U. S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Alabama Advisory Committee

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1961

February 25, 1961

Dear Friend of Human Rights,

The Alabama Advisory Committee for the United States Commission on Civil Rights has asked me to prepare a preliminary draft of a report on the administration of justice in the State of Alabama, 1958-1961.

I am taking the liberty of sending the enclosed questionnaire to you in the hope that you will take time out to check your answers to the questions raised in it concerning the conduct of our public officials who are charged with the serious duty of administering justice in our communities.

Your answers will be anonymous and confidential. You need not sign your name. Please return the questionnaire in the self-addressed and stamped envelope enclosed herewith.

Owing to the fact that the report is due by April 1, I would appreciate a response in the very near future. Your responses will contribute to the report of the Commission and to their formulation of recommendations to the Congress and the President for legislative and executive action in the field of civil rights.

Please let us have the help of your informed judgment and your experience as an alert citizen.

Sincerely yours,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D.
Chairman, Ala. Advisory Committee to CRC.
Spring Hill College
3699 Old Shell Road
Mobile, 22, Alabama

March 20, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

I find that I am going to have to be in Washington from this Thursday - Sunday, March 26. This means that I will not be able to be on hand for your proposed interview with Allred and perhaps Jimerson, Saturday the 25th in Birmingham.

My participation in the interviews is clearly not essential but I would like to be involved in whatever way is possible. You should work this out according to your convenience and that of the men to be interviewed, but be informed that I would be free during any day of the following week. It might conceivably be possible for me to talk with one or both of them Sunday evening the 26th if they pass through Atlanta on their way back from Birmingham. In other words, my schedule should not alter your plans, but if I could be involved without inconvenience to those concerned, let me know.

I have heard, as of this morning, that Mr. Jimerson is strongly interested and I would therefore urge you to contact him in connection with your forthcoming interview if at all possible.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

P. S. Are you considering Whaley further?

March 28, 1961.

Father Albert S. Foley
Department of Social Sciences
Spring Hill College
Mobile 22, Alabama

Dear Father Foley,

Thank you so very much for the opportunity to meet you all in Birmingham. I am very much tempted to plunge in with the ACHR and to see what might happen.

I regret, however, to decline your offer. In the main my reasons for doing so are purely personal. Perhaps in time both my wife and I will be able to approach human relations work with more knowledge, more maturity, and with more confidence than we now have.

I wish you all success in your search for someone to fill Bob's rather large shoes. Please feel free to call on me if I can be of any assistance to the ACHR in the future.

Give my best regards to the members of the committee.

Sincerely yours,

William C. Allred, Jr.

Apt. 107 C Bernard St.
Chapel Hill, N. C.

cc: Paul Rilling
Harold C. Fleming

I will return the Alabama memos in a day or so.

April 6, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

I was interested to receive the news that you interviewed three possible directors March 25 and that you found all three to be adequately qualified for the work. I am not myself acquainted with the Rev. Bob Goodson and had only a brief interview with Jimerson. Be sure and keep us informed on developments. We are naturally very concerned that the Alabama Council find an able director, and I would like to be involved in further interviewing or selection where feasible.

I see you finally got your golf courses open. How are you coming on the lunch counters?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Mobile—Baldwin Chapter

April 13, 1961

Next Meeting; Tuesday, April 18,8:00 P.M.
Place: Stewartfield, Spring Hill College
Topic: Employment opportunities, Policies and Practices at Brookley Air Force Base.
Panel: Mr. Carney Givens, Chief, Employment Branch; Mr. John Derkits, Chief,Career DEvelopment Branch, both in Civilian Personnel Division.

Dear ACHR Friend and Member,

You will be interested in knowing that we have had an acceptance of the post of executive director of ACHR by Rev. Norman Jimerson, at present chaplain of the Federal Correctional Institution at Hopewell, Virginia. Rev. Jimerson is a minister of the American BAptist Convention, and has been working in Virginia for the past four years.

His appointment is still to be ratified by the final action of the ACHR Board at its meeting on May 6, but it looks as though the post vacated by Bob Hughes will be filled by this mature, experienced and dedicated applicant.

Our next local meeting will be headed up by Mr. Givens, the Civil Service Commission representative at Brookley, and Mr. Derkits, the chief of the Employe and Career Development Branch in the Civilian Personnel Division of the Directorate of Personnel at BAFB. They will welcome inquiries about the implementation of the Fair Employment Practices program recently reinforced by the "New Frontier" Administration in Washington.

Hope to see you at the meeting. Bring a friend and a new member.

Sincerely yours,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D.

ACHR State President and Local Chairman

April 20, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

It was good to get your note of April 17, indicating that you feel that Norman Jimerson has accepted the post of director of the ACHR. I was somewhat concerned about this situation, having talked to Jimerson about this in Richmond April 18, at which time he indicated that there was still some doubt, due primarily to the salary factor. He stated that he had written to the Alabama Council that he could not come for less than $7,500, a figure which seemed to me probably too large for the Alabama budget. At any rate, I hope that any confusion on his part has been cleared up by now.

I am at present scheduled to attend a board meeting of the Florida Council on May 6, although I would like to be present at the Alabama board meeting during this time of transition and decision. If there is still any area of doubt concerning the new appointment by May 6, let me know and I will try to revise my schedule to be with you.

It will be good to have this important post adequately filled again.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

FATHER ALBERT S. FOLEY, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
DR. CARL LANDES, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
DR. R. D. CROCKETT, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

May 18, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling,
Field Director,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St. N.W. Room 201,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

Have you had a chance to see a copy of a paper called THE JEFFERSONIAN which, on page 2 of its April 1961 issue, published a photostatic copy of a letter from you to Bob Hughes under the date of October 22nd 1959? In this letter you indicate your reaction to John McConnell's acceptance of a position on the State Board. The letter also mentions some messages concerning Mobile ladies which you were passing on to Mrs. Tilly and also it mentions Tom Waring and Harry Flieschman in connection with the Civil War Centennial.

The first page of the paper contains an article in the center which is under the heading "COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS PART OF RED NETWORK" and it speaks there of "a group of hard core leftists completely dedicated to anti-South principles and determined to mix Southern whites and Negroes." In proof of the leftist affiliations of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, the article states plainly that "the Southern Regional Council is a successor organization to the now defunct Southern Conference on Human Welfare which was cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as a Communist front organization. After dissolution of the Southern Conference because of unfavorable publicity received by reason of such citation, many of its leading lights transferred their energies and activities to the Southern Regional Council." It also states that "25 of the current and former directors of the Southern Regional Council have public records of affiliation with Communist

front organizations." Further on it states that "the objective of the Southern Regional Council jibes exactly with that of the Communist Party U.S.A., viz. the establishment of a self governing Negro state in the South and complete and indiscriminate fusion of whites with Negroes."

Another bit of evidence presented is that "James E. Jackson, Negro and convicted Communist party leader, has been active in Southern Regional Council affairs, particularly organization of state, county and community chapters." It further states that "Southern Regional Council has been named a Southern red front by the American Legion Americanism Commission." It also states that"many of the leaders of the Southern Regional Council have been active in the Highlander Folk School which is known as a Communist training school." "Many of the Negroes now in the forefront of the agitation in the South received their training in this school, undoubtedly at the behest of the Southern Regional Council." It further states that "until recently, one of the most ardent supporters of the Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations was the unfrocked Presbyterian minister, Claude Williams, who has a long record of Communist party membership and activity. Williams lives at RFD 1, Helena, Alabama."

The article concludes with a call for resistance to the Southern Regional Council and the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

THE JEFFERSONIAN, apparently, is the organ of the States Rights people and its States Rights candidate for the position of mayor of Birmingham was promoted quite strongly that is, John T. Golden. Since this is the first issue of the rag that has come to my attention, I really do not know many of the names connected with it but the editor is listed as a man by the name of Dave Fredericks and the address is given as P.O. Box 8032, Ensley Station, Birmingham 8, Alabama.

I would like to consult with you and the people in Atlanta, as well as with the Alabama Council on Human Relations' board about the advisability of instituting some answer or some action in this regard. I believe that we could get something done, both as regards robbing the mails and publishing letters that had been intercepted and, secondly, I believe that a libel suit or a threat of a libel suit by John McConnell, who is named, or by yourself who are also accused of being connected with these organizations that are listed as Communist and Communist front organizations, would possibly stop the reprinting of this sort of thing by other newspapers in the South

or in the State.

What I would like to ask right now is what the Southern Regional Council policy is in regard to this kind of printed accusation and also in regard to taking action through the Post Office Department for the publication of letters that have obviously been intercepted in the mails.

I believe that we ought to go after this interception of the mails with a view to finding out how our letters have been leaking out or have been intercepted and I think that the plugging of this leak might be a good thing for the Council all around.

Please let me hear from you about this matter and let me know what the legal counsel in Atlanta has to say in this connection.

With best wishes and warmest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours as ever,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President

ASF:jms

May 18, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

I remember that at the recent board meeting, there was some confusion concerning the conditions for matching funds for the Alabama Council.

I quote from our letter to you and Bob of December 5, 1960: "The funds will be made available to match dollar for dollar all local funds raised by the Alabama Council above $3,000 and up to a maximum local total of $5,400." In other words, you don't begin to claim matching funds until you get above $3,000 for funds raised since December first, exclusive of foundation or SRC grants. I hope this is clear. As I mentioned at the board meeting, the matching funds can be claimed as of June 1, 1961, and covering the period December 1 - June 1. In consideration of your particular circumstances, however, we would hope that you could meet these conditions by September and include funds raised between December 1, 1960 - September 1, 1961.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
cc: Norman Jimerson
Dave Vann

May 18, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

I received a copy of Dr. Kraus' letter to you of May 16. I responded to Rev. Oliver's memorandum back in January. I felt it well reasoned and deserving of an honest response. I don't believe I sent you a copy of my letter to Oliver at that time. In view of Kraus's comments, I am sending it to you now, leaving it up to your judgment whether or not it should be shared with Dr. Kraus.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enclosures

P. S. We were concerned to see the Jeffersonian reprint. We don't at the moment see any constructive action to take, but will be happy to have your thinking on it. Hope you will alert John about the matter.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

FATHER ALBERT S. FOLEY, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

June 1, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling,
Director, Field Activities,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

Thanks for your invitation to the conference at Dillard University next week. I have to go to Washington to appear before the Civil Rights Committee of the United Steel Workers of America in an effort to get them to do something about their 35,000 members in the Birmingham, Bessemer, Fairfield, Ensley area. I shall be leaving on the 5th or 6th of June and I do not believe that I shall be back in time to make the New Orleans conference on June 9 and 10.

I should like very much to hear Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers and also to hear what you have to say to the assembled "isolated liberals" from Louisiana and Mississippi.

I trust that the conference will be quite productive and I will like to hear about its results after it is over.

As you can see from the reactions thus far, we have not had too much response to the leaking of that report on the Administration of Justice in Alabama. The Washington Post carried a two column story on it last Sunday and gave the main points in that report, but did not seem to be too much impressed with it.

Here in Mobile, the Mobile Press and Register carried stories about it and also a follow-up story saying that the police in Mobile, Huntsville and the Tri-cities area had come out much better in the survey than those in Montgomery, Birmingham and the central parts of the State.

With best wishes and personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

ASF:jms

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.

June 20, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

I hope you had a good and profitable trip to Washington and meeting with the Civil Rights Committee of the steel workers. I noted that Jack Nelson of New Orleans was also in attendance at the same meeting.

Bob Hughes tells me that the letter photostated in the Jeffersonian is one that he does remember receiving and in all probability is one that he did not keep. This means that there is a good chance that the correspondence was picked up out of the wastebasket. I could not conceive, however, that Bob would not have torn the letter before discarding it and the photostat did not show signs of being pieced together. There is still the possibility that the letter was intercepted, photographed, and returned to the mailbox.

The advice of our attorney is not to take any action unless there is a repetition. He feels that the only action that would be possible would be to talk with the postal inspectors in Alabama and to encourage them to investigate the situation,, which would possibly have the effect of sobering the folks at the Jeffersonian. The Alabama Council could, of course, take such action if it so desires.

I understand that Norman Jimerson has decided to attend the Fisk Institute for the full two weeks, even thought this will involve giving up two weeks salary at his present position. I have indicated to him that I thought the Alabama Council would want to reimburse him for his travel expenses to and from Nashville and would want to take care of the half fee that would be required by Fisk and which should be paid directly to the Institute. This smaller figure will come to $40. Am I not remembering correctly that you indicated this would be appropriate?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

pmr/sm

Ala - F. Foley

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

June 24, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

Annette Cox wrote me just yesterday to say that her baby had been born, a bouncing boy, and that she had left everything in order in the office for her five weeks maternity leave of absence. She did mention, however, that the check from Southern Regional Council had not yet come in and she asked me to write to you to inquire about it.

I am sure we will not mind the delay if the check could come about August 1 with the full payment instead of the half payment, in view of the fact that we will need every available dollar to keep up with the payment of our expenses after that date.

I am sure that we will be able to pay Norman Jimerson's $40 expenses at the Fisk Institute and I am sure, also, that his attendance for the full two or three weeks would aid him considerably in his orientation to his new position.

I am enclosing a copy of the form for pledges to the Alabama Council on Human Relations which we have recently printed here at Spring Hill, at the suggestion of Mr. Nat Welch, our State Finance Chairman. We are going to use this as the basis for our fund raising efforts in the next few weeks in order to try to meet the deadline that you have set for the $2,500 in matching funds. We have already secured a few contributions and I trust that the letter I am sending to the Board will produce quite a few hundred more.

I would like to ask you, however, whether SRC would consider as funds raised and matching funds, the money pledged during this period but not paid in until the period chosen by the contributor in the current fiscal year. As you see, the pledge card allows the contributor to select a method of payment. He can be billed either monthly or quarterly or semi-annually and would, presumably, pay at that time. It would help us considerably if the SRC would

consider as funds raised the funds actually pledged, or some reasonable percentage of them.

I shall be leaving tomorrow for my summer assignment teaching Race Relations at Fordham University in New York and will be there unitl August 15. I shall then go to the University of Detroit for a Race Relations Conference and then down to St. Louis for the Sociological Conventions at the end of August. I should be back here by September 1. If you wish to reach me I shall be at Fordham University, Bronx 58, New York for the next seven weeks.

With all good wishes and warmest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours as ever,

Father Foley

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President

ASF:jms

Enc:

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY New York 58, N. Y.

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

July ,10, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

Many thanks for your answer to my request for inclusion of pledges in our matching funds, and also for the promise that the quarterly check for the full amount would go over to Birmingham on August 1.

As regards Bob Hughes' return to Alabama to induct Jim Zimerson into his job, I would be all for it, and would be glad to authorize the expenditure of what money might be necessary.

I have not heard from Bob in the last few months, though I wrote him to inquire as to the terminal date of his stay in Boston. I was under the impression that he was coming back to Alabama to say goodbye to his folks before taking off for Africa. I imagine that this might be mid-August, owing to the late summer school schedule in Boston.

Sorry to rush this off, but I have to get working on a lecture on the Freedom Riders that I have to give tonight. It is to be broadcast, and so I'll have to be a bit more careful than usual.

Best wishes fora pleasant summer.

Sincerely yours,

Father Foley

Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D.

P.S. I've been able to pick up about $400 up here already. Have promise of more.

Ala - F. Foley

July 7, 1961

Father Albert Foley
Fordham University
Bronx 58, New York

Dear Father Foley:

Your current quarterly check will be mailed here as of August 1st, for the full amount. Concerning the matter of pledges: let us say that the Alabama Council can use as matching funds two-thirds of all monies pledged and not yet paid but payable on or before December 31st of this year. Let us not advertise this arrangement. I am not sure we would want to establish this as a permanent policy for all state groups in the future.

If you think it a useful idea, we would be willing to pay Bob Hughes' round trip expenses to Alabama so that he could spend approximately one week taking Jimerson around the state in early August. We would expect the Alabama Council to take care of his travel and maintenance while in Alabama. Let me know your reaction as soon as possible so that I can raise the matter with Bob if advisable.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Spring Hill College
3669 Old Shell Road, Mobile 22, Alabama

September 23, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
SRC
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul,

If it has not already been done, I would like to invite you or someone from SRC to be with us for our Board meeting of ACHR next Saturday, September 30, at 10:00 A.M. in the Gaston Building 1527 5th Avenue North, in Birmingham. (Mr. Gaston agreed to let us meet there but insisted that we not use taxis or public transportation, owing to the fact that the taxi drivers are stooges for the police and report any whites going into the neighborhood for interracial contacts.) We are asking board members to come to the Comer Building and have told them that we will arrange private transportation from there to the Gaston.

We should have by that time the final report on our financial drive. I trust that we will be able to qualify for a major portion of the $2500 matching funds you promised us.

Incidentally, I shall be in Birmingham from Sept 26 to 30, directing an three-day executive development conference for the administrators of the Social Security Administration from the Midwest and Southeast. I shallbe staying at St. Paul's Church, but these sessions will be held in the Chamber of Commerce board room.

Hope to see you Saturday.

Sincerely as ever,

Father Foley

Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 4, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

As you have no doubt already heard, we held our board meeting of the ACHR on September 30 in Birmingham without incident. We had about 15 members present and the meeting was quite productive and much more optimistic than many that we have held in the last two years.

Norman Jimerson will, by this time, have come over to Atlanta and reported to you fully on the actual details of the meeting.

I would like to say that we regretted very greatly that you could not be there to receive our final financial report on the drive that has gone over the top in matching the $2,500 grant that SRC held out to us. I trust that the financial statements provided for you by Norman Jimerson will show how the contributions we secured managed to top the goal that was set for our fund raising effors.

I would like to say also, that I shall be in Atlanta next Sunday from about 10:15 a.m. until about 6:00p.m. I have to come there for a two-hour conference with a gentleman from Washington but after that conference is over I would like very much to be able to get together with you if you happen to be in town. I know these weekend engagements are above and beyond the line of duty but there are so many things that I would like to discuss with you at this time that I feel we should try to get together if it is at all possible. I will be at the airport and will call you from there to see if I can set up a meeting with you after I have concluded my business with the gentleman from Washington.

With all good wishes and warmest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours as ever,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.

ASF:jms

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 5, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

The gentleman from Washington just called to say he would be unable to meet me in Atlanta on Sunday, so I will not be coming up.

Hope to see you at a later date,

Sincerely yours as ever,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President

ASF:jms

THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Alabama Advisory Committee

Community Fact-Finding Questionnaire for City of _____ or County:

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE STATE OF ALABAMA, 1958-1961

I. LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE (Sheriffs, Deputies, Police &c)

1. Law Enforcement Officials and the Police-Protection Function.

(Check Answer under "Don't Know," "Yes," or "no.")

Don't Know	Yes	No	
( )	( )	( )	Are local law enforcement officials regarded generally as dedicated to their task of protecting the civil rights of all individuals in the community?
( )	( )	( )	Do the local officials seem to adhere to the Alabama Constitutional principle that "the sole object and only legitimate end of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of the right to life, liberty, and property?" Art.1,#35
( )	( )	( )	Have local officials in their work manifested equal concern for the protection of white citizens' rights and for protection of those of Negro citizens?
( )	( )	( )	Do local officials seem concerned mainly with protecting white citizens' rights and with disregarding those of Negro citizens?
( )	( )	( )	Are local officials generally regarded by Negores as posing a threat to their human and civil rights? (If "yes," please specify which seem threatened):

( )Right to Life ( )Right to freedom from bodily harm
( )Right to security of person ( )Right to freedom from intimidation
( )Right to privacy of home ( )Right to freedom from unreasonable search
( )Right to freedom of assembly ( )Right to seek redress of grievances
( )Right to freedom of speech ( )Right to freedom of religious worship
( )Right to free movement ( )Right to freedom of religious beliefs
( )Right to property ( )Right to freedom from false arrest

( )	( )	( )	Do the local officials enjoy the confidence of the Negro citizen enough to be summoned for protection in case of threat of harm or crime against them?
( )	( )	( )	Do some local citizens prefer to settle their own grievances where rights have been violated rather than call the police?
( )	( )	( )	Do some of the police measure for protection seem to pose more of a threat to Negro citizens than the things against which the police are guarding? If "yes, specify by checking:

( )Use of mounted posses ( )Special riot-training for officers
( )Use of vicious dogs asguards ( )Use of tommy-guns in police work
( )Use of vicious dogs in work of detecting crime, searching ( )Use of side-arms, shot-guns, &c
( )Other: ( )Use of horses in crowded streets with danger of trampling, kicking, injury.

( )	( )	( )	Have local officials been known to "run out of the county(city)" individuals advocating civil rights or American freedoms?
( )	( )	( )	Have local officials given appearance of being in collusion with right-wing, subversive, terrorist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan?
( )	( )	( )	Have local officials beenknown to hold membership in these right-wing, terrorist organizations?

2. Law Enforcement Officials and the Arrest Process:

Don't Know	Yes	No	
( )	( )	( )	Have there been any reports of arrests without warrants or without reasonable suspicion that a crime had been committed by the person arrested?
( )	( )	( )	Have law enforcement officials manifested disregard for the inalienable right of liberty by unjustified use of authority in ordering wholesale arrests?
( )	( )	( )	Have individual officials gained the reputation of being hasty about "picking people up" or "running people in" for trivial matters? (If "yes" check number:) 1-5( ); 6-10( ); 11-20( );30-50( ); over 50( ): Estimated number of officials on Force.. ( )
( )	( )	( )	Have there been cases involving brutality of law enforcement officials toward persons being taken into custody? (If yes, estimate number of cases since 1958:) 1-5( ); 6-10( ); 11-20( ); 21-30( );31-50( ); over 50( )
( )	( )	( )	Have law enforcement officials been reported for repeated use of physical violence in arresting persons in the community? (If yes, check kinds of violence and number of cases involving each, by placing number in ( )'s):

( )Beatings with night-sticks
( )Pistol whippings
( )Beatings with blackjacks
( )Beatings with chains
( )Throwing to ground
( )Using judo, karate, with pain &c
( )Sluggingswith fists
( )Kicking of victims
( )Strong-arm tactics
( )Twisting of arms, wrists
( )Stomping on victims, mugging them
( )Breaking victims' bones

( )	( )	( )	Have law enforcement officials in the area been using vicious dogs in arrests-- bloodhounds, police-dogs--letting dogs loose to attack victims,being them down &c
( )	( )	( )	Have arresting officials been reported as urging victims to "run" in order to have excuse for shooting them down for resisting arrest? No. of Cases:(____)
( )	( )	( )	Have there been cases in which police have killed persons being taken into custody, with the declarationn that the victim "grabbed for my gun"?
( )	( )	( )	Have law enforcement officials become extra-severe in arrest procedures in cases involving the infraction of segregation laws and customs in the area?
( )	( )	( )	Have law enforcement officials become known as being more severe on Negroes than on whites being arrested for the same or similar offenses?
( )	( )	( )	Have law enforcement officials been reported as "quick on the trigger" in shooting persons who were attempting to surrender after being told they were under arrest?
( )	( )	( )	Have law enforcement officials been reported as invading private homes to make arrests without have previously secured a warrant for the person or a search warrant for entering the home?
( )	( )	( )	Has there been an increase in the recruitment of law enforcement officials from among the class of persons apt to be most violent in dealing with the colored minority in the arresting process?
( )	( )	( )	Have male officers been reported as being rough and abusive in the arrest of female suspects, especially where the female is a Negro?
( )	( )	( )	Have white officers been reported as being tough and violent toward Negro juveniles when apprehending them and taking them into custody?

3. Law Enforcement Officials and the Booking, Jailing, and Detention Process Before Trial:

Dont Know	Yes	No	
( )	( )	( )	Have local law enforcement officials been reported to be holding persons in h jail incommunicado after arrest, without booking or definite charges?
( )	( )	( )	Have local officials become known for demanding excessive bail, for refusing to allow bail for bailable offenses?
( )	( )	( )	Have there been reported cases where persons were detained for more than 72 hours before being brought up for hearing, arraignment, or dismissal of charge?
( )	( )	( )	Have local officials been reported as making use of force and intimidation to get confessions out of persons arrested on suspicion?
( )	( )	( )	Have local officials become known for practising the "Third Degree" methods in the local jail? (If "yes", check the methods reported):

( )Hours-long questioning under lights ( )Slappings in face &c
( )Slugging with fists ( )Pistol-whippings
( )Lashings, whippings, beatings ( )Assaulting by kicking, mugging
( )Beating with weighted rubberhoses ( )Strong-arm twisting of arms &c
( )Shocking with electricity, wire, battery ( )Other excessive punishments:

( )	( )	( )	Have local officials been reported as using insulting and abusive language toward persons held in custody before trials?
( )	( )	( )	Have local officials been reported as denying to jailed persons their right to have access to their lawyers, or to get legal counsel?
( )	( )	( )	Have custodial officials been reported as denying medical aid to jailed inmates who have become sick or have been injured in arrest or in jail?
( )	( )	( )	Have custodial officials been known to place first-offenders or minor offenders in the same cell with hardened or violent persons in order to allow them to be beaten up or abused by their cellmates?
( )	( )	( )	Have there been cases of "jailhouse lynchings" -- the killing of persons being detained in custody before trial? (If yes, specify number: (___))
( )	( )	( )	Have custodial officials reported jailhouse deaths as owing to natural causes, or as due to the violence of fellow inmates?
( )	( )	( )	Have custodial officials reported jailhouse deaths as "suicides" of persons being held in custody before trial?
( )	( )	( )	Have local officials been reported as rounding up syspects and holding them for bail or bonds posted with local bondsmen with whom they are suspected of being in collusion and from whom they are suspected of receiving kickbacks?
( )	( )	( )	Have local custodial officials been reported as profiteering in the fees paid for the meals they provide for the jail population?
( )	( )	( )	Have local custodial officials been reported for leasing out jailed persons to work on public or private projects in the community?
( )	( )	( )	Have local custodial officials taken precautions to prevent the sexual abuse of youthful offenders by the more hardened offenders in the local lock-ups?

II. COURT OFFICIALS AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

1. Prosecuting Officials: State and County Solicitors

Don't Know	Yes	No	
( )	( )	( )	Have prosecuting officials been reported as using stool pigeons to gather evidence leading to indictments and prosecutions?
( )	( )	( )	Have prosecuting officials made use of data drawn from extorted confessions in violation of the constitutional provision against self-incrimination?
( )	( )	( )	Have state solicitors been known to secure indictments by grand jury for capital offenses in order to secure from defendants pleas of guilty to lesser crimes for which solicitor did not have sufficient evidence?
( )	( )	( )	Have prosecuting attorneys created biased atmosphere in courtrooms by appealing to racial prejudice of jurors?
( )	( )	( )	Have prosecutors weighted juries against Negro defendants by excluding Negro citizens from the list of names from among whom the jurors are chosen?
( )	( )	( )	Have prosecutors been reported as undermining or disparaging a Negro witness's credibility by making references to his race?
( )	( )	( )	Have prosecutors been known to include exhortations to the white jury that refer to their duty as "southern gentlemen" or defenders of the white "way of life" in cases involving Negroes as defendants?
( )	( )	( )	Have prosecutors been known to denounce white character witnesses for testifying on behalf of a Negro, as though the white were a traitor to his race?
( )	( )	( )	Have other actions by the prosecutor(s) been known to impair the tone of impartiality that should prevail in a court of justice? (If yes, specify):

2. Judges and Other Court Magistrates and Officials:

( )	( )	( )	Have any judges in the area ever disqualified themselves from presiding at a trial of a Negro on the grounds that the judge did not feel impartial?
( )	( )	( )	Have local magistrates in the lower courts been reported for differential administration of justice in the disposition of cases of Negroes as contrasted with those of whites?
( )	( )	( )	Have local magistrates in lower courts been reported for imposing stiffer sentences and fines on Negroes than on whites for the same or similar offenses?
( )	( )	( )	Have local magistrates been characterized by perfunctory behavior in disposing of cases of Negroes, without weighing circumstances, questioning witnesses or giving defendant a chance to present his side of the case?
( )	( )	( )	Have lower court officials seemed to operate on the assumption that a white person's word is always to be believed when it is in conflict with the opposite testimony of a Negro?
( )	( )	( )	Have court officials enforced segregation patterns in courtrooms?

II. 2. Judges and Other Court Magistrates and Officials: (Cont'd)

Don't Know	Yes	No	
( )	( )	( )	Have judges seemed to show partiality toward the opponents of colored lawyers?
( )	( )	( )	Have judges been reported as showing unconcern for rights of Negro defendants in the selection of court-appointed legal counsel for destitute or poor persons?
( )	( )	( )	Have local judges shown discrimination against Negroes in the pattern of their sentencing of white persons for crimes against Negroes?
( )	( )	( )	Have local judges shown disregard for the rights of Negroes by passing light sentences against Negro offenders who violate rights of fellow Negroes?
( )	( )	( )	Have local judges manifested partiality against Negro defendants in serious cases of capital offenses by instructing the jury to return the strictest possible verdict in these cases?
( )	( )	( )	Have judges manifested partiality against Negroes by imposing the maximum sentence when the victim ofthe Negro's crime happened to be a white person?
( )	( )	( )	Have the same judges manifested partiality against Negroes by imposing less than maximum sentences in cases wherethe victim of the same crime by a Negro offender happened to be a fellow Negro?
( )	( )	( )	Have any local judges made use of technicalities of the law and rigid interpretations of court procedures in order to aid white litigants in civil or criminal suits against Negroes?
( )	( )	( )	Have judges seemed to hinder the due process of law in cases involving Negroes by unduly "continuing" the cases, postponing the hearing of them, refusing to hand down a verdict for months and even years?
( )	( )	( )	Have local judges shown partiality against Negro litigants by making it difficult or impossible for the Negro to secure an appeal to a higher court?
( )	( )	( )	Have local judges seemed to condone the intimidation of witnesses or the suborning of witnesses? when these seemed able to aid Negro defendants?
( )	( )	( )	Have local judges rendered the defense of Negro litigants difficult by failing to guarantee the protection of witnesses favoring Negro defendants?
( )	( )	( )	Have there been instancesreported where Judges seemed to be influenced by right-wing, terroristic and subversive organizations like the Ku Klux Klan?
( )	( )	( )	Have any local judges been known to render a verdict against a suspected Klansman in a case involving a Klansman and a Negro?
( )	( )	( )	Have there been other instances of suspected maladministration of justice in a less-than-impartial manner in the courts of the area? (If yes, specify):

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

COMMENTS ON THE "POLICY MANUAL." NUMBER_____

TITLE AND PARAGRAPH TOPICS	STRONGLY APPROVE	MILDLY APPROVE	NO COMMENT	MILDLY DISAPPROVE	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	MUST CHANGE
I. NATURE AND PURPOSES						
1. Overall—General Nature						
2. Educational Means & Goals						
3. Individual, not Group, Memberships						
4. Cooperation with other Groups						
5. Communications Objectives						
6. Communications Liaison						
7. Research Objectives & Means						
II. BASIC ASSUMPTIONS:						
1. Need for ACHR Type of Work						
2. ACHR Main Business: Program						
3. ACHR Main Resources: People						
4. ACHR & Intergroup Prejudice						
5. Ethical & Moral Setting for ACHR						
6. Dilemmas in Ala. & Strategy of ACHR						
7. Realistic Approach to Hum. Relations						
8. Practical vs. Theoretical Programs						
9. Legal & Social Action left to other						
10. Economic Injury to State &c						
11. Middle-of-Road, vs Left & Rightwing						
III. PROCEDURAL ASSUMPTIONS FOR PROGRAMMING						
1. General Basis and Target						
2. Involvement of Multiple Personnel						
3. Development of Like-Minded Groups						
4. Educational Byproducts of Others						
5. Relations with Power Structure						
6. Adequate, Realistic Diagnosis						
7. Stages to Intercommunications						
8. Drawing on Others' Experiences &c						
9. Reliance on Social Science, Research						
10. Experimental Attitude to New Ideas						
IV. PROTECTION, SECURITY, PRUDENCE: ASSUMPTIONS						
1. ACHR Responsibility for Security						
2. Protection of Private Records						
3. Protection through Liaison &c						
4. Protection through Press Relations						
5. Prudent Scheduling of Meetings, Sites						
6. Care of Vulnerable Members &c						
7. Prudence vs Public Debates &c						
8. Avoidance of Overt Conflict, Violence						
9. Beaming Work to the Educable						
10. No Forum for the Embittered						
V. BOARD OF DIRECTORS' FUNCTIONS						
1. Policy-Making & Conduct of Affairs						
2. Financial Responsibility						
3. Observance of Tax Restrictions						
4. Fund-Raising Function						
5. Employment of Personnel						

P.2. COMMENTS ON ACHR POLICY MANUAL

TITLE AND PARAGRAPH TOPICS	STRONGLY APPROVE	MILDLY APPROVE	NO COMMENT	MIDDLY DISAPPROVE	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	MUST CHANGE
V. BOARD OF DIRECTORS' FUNCTIONS Contd.						
6. Conservative-Liberal Balance on Bd.						
7. No Endorsement of Legislation &c						
8. Decision on Appropriateness &c of Prog.						
9. Safety, Audit of Funds						
10. Employment of Legal Counsel						
11. Relations with Executive Committee						
12. Liaison With Other Organizations						
13. Development, Promotion of These						
VI. FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT						
1. Non-Administrative, Presiding Work &c						
2. Board-Chairman, Meet Convener Work						
3. Presentation of Board Agenda						
4. Determination of Quorum at Meetings						
5. Parliamentary Order &c						
6. Appointment of Committees						
7. Tie-Breaking Vote Power						
8. Parliamentarian, Legal Counsel &c						
9. Presentation of Slate of Nominees						
10. Selection of Central Site for Meet.						
11. Formulation of Suggested Policies						
12. Proposed Amendments to By-Laws						
13. Appointing of Resolutions Committee						
14. Legal Duties as Head of Corporation						
15. Re:Motions for Incompatible Usesof$$						
VII. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S ORDINARY FUNCTIONS						
1. ACHR Chief Administrative Officer						
2. Qualifications of Director						
3. Research, Investigative Functions						
4. Operation of Central Office, Locals						
5. Board Relations in Executive Work						
6. Fund-Disbursal Powers &c						
7. Reports and Periodical Summaries						
8. Coordination and Liaison Work						
9. Communications, Correspondence &c						
10. Distribution of ACHR Newsletter						
11. Other Office Functions:						
a. Financial Reports, Projections						
b. SRC Quarterly Reports						
c.-h. Other Routine functions:						
VIII. EXEC. DIRECTOR'S EXTRAORDINARY FUNCTIONS						
1. Supportive and Comfort for Victims						
2. Visits to scene of Incidents						
3. Counsel and Support for victims						
4. Correspondence on cases and incidents						
5. Encouragement of Achievers in HR						
6. Protective Function						
7. Resistance to Threats, Pressures etc.						
IX. APPROPRIATE HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMS						
1. Types of Program Devices Meetings						
a.-b. Annual and Montaly or Quarterly						
c.-d. Educ. Institutes and Forums						
e. Ministerial Convocations, Conferac.						
f. Special Clinics on Problems						
g. Observance of HR Days, Weeks, etc.						
h.-i. Teachers Institutes, Seminars						

TITLES AND PARAGRAPH TOPICS	STRONGLY APPROVE	MILDLY APPROVE	NO COMMENT	STRONGLY DISAPPROVE	MILDLY DISAPPROVE	MUST CHANGE
IX. APPROPRIATE HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMSc						
j. Child Development Clinics						
k. Police, Labor, Welfare Seminars						
l. Community Leaders' Institutes						
m. Youth Conferences, etc.						
n. Adult Education Study Groups						
o. State ACHR Board Members Workshops						
p. Community Building Programs						
2. Inappropriate Programs						
a. Constitution Day Observances &c						
3. Inappropriate Programs at SegregatedSite						
4. Non-sectarian Aspects of ACHR Programs						
5. Avoidance of Offensive Content, Humor						
6. Avoidance of "Southern" Music, Shows &c						
X. FISCAL AND FINANCIAL POLICIES						
1. Treasurer's Responsibilities						
2. Functions of Check Signatories						
3. a. Handling of ACHR "Cash" accts						
8. Reserve and Savings Accounts						
5. Emergency Use of Reserve Funds						
6. Fund-Raising Drives, Methods, etc						
7. Underwriters' Program						
8. No lotteries or gambling for Funds						
9. Check Payability policy						
10. Non-Competitive Fund Raising Devices						
11. Annual Audit						
XI. PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS						
1. Avoidance of Public Controversies						
2. Use of Educational Mass Media						
3. "Statement-Issuing" Policy						
4. Local Chapters & "Statement-Issuing."						
5. Furnishing of HR Materials, Literature						
6. Joint Sponsorship of Ads, Statements						
7. Ban on Press Coverage of Meetings						
8. Ban on Press Photographs &c						
9. Public Identification of Officials						
10. Private Notification of Time, Place and details of ACHR meetings						
XII. POSITION ON SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION						
1. General Stand vs Segregation and for "						
2. Advocacy, Propaganda vs Laws for Segreg						
3. Opposition to Unjust Segregation						
4. Caution on Unclear Cases, Matters &c						
5. On Principles Back of Civil Rights						
6. On Educational Background for drive to eliminate civic segregation						
7. On Lunch-Counter, &c Desegregation						
8. Other Recommended, Suggested Policies						

((~~[illegible]~~))

A L A B A M A C O U N C I L O N H U M A N R E L A T I O N S,

P O L I C Y M A N U A L

Preliminary Draft

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Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

POLICY MANUAL

Preliminary Draft

I NATURE AND PURPOSES

In accordance with its constitution and by-law, the Alabama Council on Human Relations is, of its very nature, a private, civic, eleemosynary organization that is non-political, non-profit, non-governmental and non-sectarian, open to persons of different religious faiths and variant racial backgrounds, provided they are in accord with the basic patriotic and humanitarian and religiously motivated goals of the organization.

It is of the nature of the organization that it is a voluntary one, dedicated to the promotion of economic, civic and racial unity and development through the general means of educational programming, communication media and research investigation. It seeks, through education, to secure in principle and in practise, for all citizens of Alabama, the dignity, the rights, and the liberties inherent in the constitutional guarantees of the United States of America and in the Declaration of Rights of the constitution of the state of Alabama, as well as in the basically accepted moral law and religious faith on which both of these historic documents are based.

It is of the nature of the Alabama Council that it is an association of individuals and not of official representatives of churches, colleges, other associations or institutions in the state of Alabama. The Alabama Council on Human Relations does not officially represent other organizations or groupings, either voluntary groupings or racial groupings. It does not aim at any sort of amalgamation of either churches or educational organizations or racial groupings. Rather, it seeks to promote affirmative and cooperative action for its common goal. It does not function to influence the religious faiths of individuals, nor to engage in common worship, nor to teach ecclesiastical doctrines, nor to carry on other religious functions. It is engaged in, of and by its nature, a civic and educational program with a view to promoting ideals and practises which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the state, will reduce racial tensions, will eliminate the bases of racial tensions and racial misunderstandings and interracial distrust.

It is of the nature of the Alabama Council to cooperate with other local, state and regional agencies in the attainment of these objectives and also to work towards their achievement through their own programs, activities and projects. More specifically, the educational purpose of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will be to clarify, explain and spread broadly the ethical, democratic and religious principles that provide us with the undergirding of our democratic way of life.

It will, in pursuit of this educational objective, endeavour to cooperate with existing educational organizations and institutions on all levels and in all sections of the state where-ever feasible. It will cooperate with public and private educational institutions and associations, both for youth and for adults. It will endeavour to make use of publications, periodicals and other forms of literature which are recognised as educational vehicles.

On the communications level, it will be one of the major objectives of the Alabama Council to provide as many channels as possible for the interchange of information and understanding between peoples of different racial and religious backgrounds. It will also provide settings for a meeting of minds and an exchange of ideas through local and regional and state-wide convening of citizens of different racial and religious background who would like to promote the educational objectives of the organization. It will also endeavour to supplement the ordinary communications work performed by the standard media of communication such as the newspapers, the radio stations, the television stations, the periodicals and magazines as well as the informal media of communications, especially where the partial presentation of the facts and information in these controlled media leads to a distorting of the true picture of conditions and events within the boundaries of the state and across the region.

On the communications level, too, the Alabama Council on Human Relations endeavours to interpret racial and religious situations by acquainting local, county, state,regional and national agencies and media with the basic facts and verified happenings within the boundaries of the state. It will also communicate with and cooperate with those public and private agencies that are seeking to ameliorate conditions, especially those who are interested in forestalling, mitigating or lessening the incidence of interracial violence in our state.

On the third level of research, it is of the nature of the Alabama Council to promote the study of human relations within the state of Alabama by gathering factual information and documented material from local records, from interviews, from news sources, from witnesses, from other reliable and standard sources of information, in order to have a firm and solid basis for judgement and decision on the part of both the Alabama Council's members and officers themselves and on the part of those public and private officials who are interested in the well-being of our citizenry within the state.

II BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

1. There is a manifest need for the work of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The realities of contemporary life in Alabama, with its attendant human relations problems, present a picture that is of intense concern to all citizens who are deeply interested in the future of democracy in our region, in our country and in its historic conflict with communism. The damaging wounds that have been inflicted upon American democracy by interracial violence, hostility, discrimination and prejudice, have been exploited by the enemies of democracy and have injured the cause of democracy across the entire world. Locally and within the state, these waves of violence, hostility and intergroup prejudice are a major barrier to the full implementation of American democracy and of the ideals of our religious heritage. Current trends in the worsening of interracial relations indicate an urgent need for remedial action to arrest this worsening trend and to bring our civic and social practises more in line with the ideals of democracy and with the purposes of securing the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all our citizens and to protect the inherent dignity and worth of all individuals within our community.

2. The main business of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is its program of activities. The end result of our organization is not just to create another paper organization within the state. It is not just to keep an office or to employ a staff. The end result and the product anticipated by those who founded the Alabama Council on Human Relations and its parent organization, the Southern Regional Council and the Committee on Interracial Cooperation, was to launch an active and realistic program for the betterment of human relationships within the state and the region. It is impossible to conceive of the Alabama Council on Human Relations as not being concerned with activities that are directed towards the end of improving human relations within our area. All of our activities should be directed towards that end and the accomplishment of this, both by the staff members and by the lay participants, by the officers and the board members and by the sympathisers and supporters should be regarded as the main business of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

3. The Alabama Council on Human Relations most important resources are the morally and religiously committed people associated with it. We assume that, since the Alabama Council is a voluntary association of concerned citizens, that the organization will be as strong or as weak as those individuals who join it, support it, cooperate in its activities, participate in its programs and promote its ideals. In order to do this, it is recognised that members must be morally and spiritually committed to waht is an unpopular cause at the present time but which is necessary, which is urgently demanded by the exigencies of our time and is, in point of fact, indispensable for our communities in the future.

Hence, the Alabama Council on Human Relations welcomes persons who are deeply committed to a belief in a personal God, to faith in the inherent dignity and worth of the individual human being and to an acceptance of the ideal of the brotherhood of men under the Fatherhood of God in the peace and security of His providential care.

4. The Alabama Council on Human Relations concerned with the reduction of intergroup prejudice. It is assumed as a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that it must be realistic in its approach to human affairs and the problems of human relations in our state. It cannot blind itself to the existence of a deep-seated, deeply rooted, culturally perpetuated interracial prejudice in our state. It must face this as one of the facts of life in the twentieth century, following, as it does, the ninteenth century with its tragic record of civil war, fratricide, interracial violence, lynching, racial riots and exploitation and oppression of a helpless minority by a majority group, intent on whatever goals it was pursuing in its activity. A full understanding of the meaning of prejudice and of its manifestations, its origins and its transmission is assumed as a prerequisite for intelligent programming in the betterment of human relations generally.

5. The Alabama Council on Human Relations automatically assumes that it is treating the whole range of human relations in an ethical and a moral setting. The Alabama Council assumes as a policy and as a frank standard of judgement that there are certain higher norms for the judgement of human relations than the laws passed by frenzied legislators in the fury of a reconstruction period or under the impact of some ungovernable prejudice against a minority. Though it is, of its nature, prohibited from political activity, the Alabama Council on Human Relations cannot help but judge the rightness and wrongness of legislation in the light of the religious heritage of America and in the light of the broader principles of democracy that have been grossly violated in some of the punitive legislation passed by the majority in its historic past and recent legislative assemblies.

6. The majority of Alabamans find themselves caught in a dilema as far as interracial relations are concerned. Most of the citizens of Alabama, especially the white citizens, are Christians who believe strongly in the religious truth of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men and who, for themselves, are very strong in their belief in the basic principles of freedom, of justice, of equal treatment before the law, of non-discriminatory administration of justice and of equal opportunity for educational, social, seonomic and political advancement. Most of these Alabamans have strong impulses to the maintainance of their social status and gain of political and economic goals, often at the expense of other people or other groups of people. It is a fundamental assumption of the Alabama Council work that is activity should be geared toward strengthening the

religious and democratic principles and convictions and towards the weakening of the opposite drives towards selfish, unscrupulous and often anti-social activities that are opposed to the basic principles of brotherhood.

7. Alabama Council on Human Relations officials, both staff and board members and officers are, of necessity, obliged to be realistic in their approach to human relations and, while being sufficiently idealistic in their religious and democratic beliefs, they must recognize that the majority of their fellow Alabamans are quite ambivalent in both their feelings, their behaviour, their motivations and also in their emotional reactions to certain kinds of situations in the face of which they have been culturally conditioned to react in a hostile manner. This realism must, of course, make allowances for the difficulties in the attainment of our goals, but it should not be a source of either discouragement or anxiety, since it is assumed as one of the basic facts of life.

8. The Alabama Council on Human Relations, as an American organization, assumes that there is a characteristic American way of doing things in American communities. The basic principle involved in community social action in America is that Americans tend to act specifically and empirically and pragmatically, rather than on the basis of long drawn and intricate theoretical assumptions. Some lip service is traditionally given to the broad, idealistic principles, but most of the action occurs as a result of specific social problems tackled by definite individuals in given situations on a partial and less than long range basis. Hence the assumption that the Alabama Council on Human Relations should not put all of its efforts into the devising of fool-proof, long range and large scale theories and plans which would take centuries to implement, but should, actually, concern itself with short range tactics for the attainment of immediately and approximately visible goals. It is an imperfect world in which we live and, no matter how perfect may be the plans for the Utopis of the perfect world, the realistics assumption on which we must operate is that we will always have with us a certain number of problems and we should tackle and try to solve those that can be solved rather than wring our hands in futility over the parlous state of the universe in general.

9. As an assumption, the Alabama Council on Human Relations concentrates on the educational approach in building better human relations, but it also recognizes the value of direct and legislative social action by other organizations and agencies. The Alabama Council on Human Relations is prohibited by the requirements of its tax-exempt status from engaging in political activity and propoganda, but this does not mean that both propoganda and political action are not valuable.

10. The assumption that underlies some of our programs, namely that the record of racial violence is economically injurious to the state and to the local communities, is not to be taken as more than a useful sales arguement, it should not be mistaken for a universally valid moral principle, nor should it seem to indicate that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is just another arm of the Chamber of Commerce, trying to improve business conditions in the state. It is assumed that our motivation in the Alabama Council on Human Relations will be higher than this.

11. The Alabama Council on Human Relations assumes that persons with subversive tendencies, either of extreme left-wing variety or of extreme right-wing variety, will not be compatible with the middle of the road objectives and demands of the organization. We assume that sufficient care will be taken to screen out both left-wing and right-wing extremists and subversives and that, while recognising the deluded good faith of those who take either of these two extremes, we also assume that neither extreme is compatible with the democratic way of life and that the demands of a democratically oriented organization requires the acceptance of the democratic point of view and the abandonment of the subversive left-wing and right-wing points of view.

III PROCEDURAL ASSUMPTIONS FOR PROGRAM PLANNING

1. The Alabama Council on Human Relations must recognize the importance of creating a sensitivity to and an awareness of the social problems connected with race relations in the state. Prejudice is a psychological phenomenon but it is socially and culturally developed through the experiences of people who grow up in a segregated culture or in a segregated society. The resolution of intergroup prejudice and hostility lies in the changing of culture patterns and in the reorganization of social institutions in conformity with the basic demands of our democratic way of life. It should be an assumption of our whole approach for planning for better human relations that the Alabama Council on Human Relations will endeavour to create an awareness of and a climate for cultural and social and, consequently, psychological change by intensive use of all the means of education. This is a general overall assumption drawn from social and psychological science.

2. A single individual cannot be expected to carry the entire burden of the social changes necessary in our communities. Consequently, the Alabama Council on Human Relations should operate on the assumption that its entire program and its entire work cannot be done simply by one executive director or by one local chairman. Nor can the Alabama Council on Human Relations intelligently expect one type of person, limited by his own role in the community, to achieve the community wide programming and planning necessary for social change. Religious leaders alone cannot ameliorate conditions that need correction, nor can teachers just in their role as teacher, achieve this goal alone. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should, therefore, assume that its very goals require the involvement of community organization leaders, of communications leaders in the mass media, of governmental officials and governmental bodies, of economic leaders and labor leaders, of civically minded club women and church women as well as the standard rank and file membership drawn, as it had been, from the ranks of educators, teachers and religious church-goers.

3. Just as one individual alone cannot resolve all of the social problems, one organization alone cannot achieve adequate marshalling of forces for social change. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should assume that it must coordinate its plans with and through other organizations. It must develop team work in relationship with these organizations. It must stimulate the development of other like minded organizations. It must be content, in many instances, to allow other organizations to invade its field and do effective work when that organization, through its leadership and its membership can more effectively get the job done for the betterment of human relations in the state.

4. While the Alabama Council on Human Relations work is mostly educational, it should assume, in its program planning, that almost all the major social institutions have important educational by-products, even though their main function may not be educational. Hence, it is important for the Alabama Council on Human Relations to plan with and through other social institutions besides the formal educational organizations and the religious organizations in their educational arms. Much good work for the betterment of human relations in the state can be achieved by social welfare institutions and the organi - zations of social workers and those concerned for the promotion of social welfare. Much important work for the betterment of human relations can be expected to emerge from governmental organizations, especially those that are linked to the Federal Government, or linked to the department of labor in the state government. Much important work for the betterment of human relations can also be looked for from literary organizations which tend to draw the more educated and the more broadly experienced segments of the population, those who are more widely read and more broadly experienced in national and international affairs. Coordinating, therefore, the Alabama Council on Human Relations program with these kinds of organizations can be assumed as a valid and useful procedure in programming for better human relations in Alabama.

5. No effective work in the field of social change can be accomplished without some involvement of what are called the "power structure figures" in the state wide community and in the local community. That is, those people who are in a position to make powerful decisions and use powerful influences on lower echelon leaders. A careful assessment of the power structure of our state and of our communities is, therefore, a prerequisite for effective programming, and some effort at appealing to these prestiged personalities on the basis of their higher ideals, must be assumed as integral to the effectiveness of the Alabama Council on Human Relations' programming.

6. Educational programing to improve human relations must be based on adequate diagnosis of the social situation in the state wide community and of the emotional needs of the people. In any given situation good educational programs must start at a point where the participants are ready and willing to start and they must go on from there, even though, theoretically this may not be the most ideal point for beginning.

7. While the Alabama Council on Human Relations programming does involve the providing for adequate opportunities for people of diverse racial backgrounds to meet on a basis of equality in order to discuss commonly felt problems, it must be recognised that some preliminary work usually has to precede this stage of development. Therefore, the Alabama Council on Human Relations should, while not approving or condoning the injustices of the segregation system, encourage the formation by other organizations of study groups, discussion groups and similar idea

clinics with a view to getting a social awareness aroused in people and preparing them for interracial or coracial meetings with persons of the opposite racial group.

8. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should lean heavily on the experience of other groups operating in the field of human relations and draw on their experience wherever feasible. Special provision must be made for the exchange of ideas, program plans and of successfully operating procedures used by other organizations.

9. It is also assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations will take advantage of the contributions of social science and of social research in the field of betterment of human relations. Part of the job of the Alabama Council on Human Relations members and staff and especially of the higher officers and board members should be to endeavour to broaden their acquaintance with the field of human relations and with the contributions that sociological and psychological science has made to this field.

10. It is assumed that there is no one easy single solution to this problem of prejudice or to the bettering of human relations. It has been found that exhortation and appeals to conscience alone by religious leaders is not the full answer to all the emotional and cultural factors that operate in the production of prejudice. The causes of prejudice are multiple, manifold and complex. The method of combating prejudice must similarly be multiple, manifold and of a sufficiently broad design to touch upon a wide variety of factors that cause prejudice. Mere factual information is not enough to counteract prejudice; it must be accompanied by other types of communication and experience as well as other types of learning processes.

11. While leaning heavily on the experiences of the past, it is assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations will be ready to make use of whatever available new, imaginative and creative methods are developed either locally, regionally or nationally by other organizations and individuals. For this reason, Alabama Council on Human Relations personnel should constantly be on the lookout for these social inventions that other communities are consequently improvising to meet parallel situations elsewhere in the region or in the country. These methods should be welcomed and experimented with and tested before being used broadly, but the assumption should be that we will be willing to try programs in this area that have been effective elsewhere and should not assume automatically, that nothing can succeed in Alabama that has not been invented and made in Alabama or tested and tried by years of experience in the past. The field of human relations is such a fluid and fast moving one that those who try to operate in it must, of necessity, be on their toes and alert for the adoption of any new social invention that can possible resolve the impasses to which we have come.

IV ASSUMPTIONS FOR PROTECTION, SECURITY AND PRUDENCE

1. While not using prudence as an excuse for cowardice, or as a mask for fear, it is recognized and assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations personnel will exercise good judgment in selecting the kind of activity that the organization will engage in. The board of directors is charged with the responsibility for the organization and with the responsibility therefore, for the damage which may be done by ill-conceived and ill-advised programs or activities. Between the meetings of the board, the executive committee is charged with this responsibility and is burdened with this liability also. The elected officials as well as the executive director are likewise burdened with this correlative responsibility and liabiliyt. Prudence should counsel these responsible parties to be careful that no grave injury will be caused to members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations because of imprudent exposure to the homicidal tendencies or excessive and irrational outbursts of violence that have been characteristic of right-wing, terroristic, subversive organizations operating in the field of race relations in Alabama. Frequent precautions must, therefore, be taken to secure a prudent selection of places of meetings, kinds of meetings and a prudent care for the safety of those who participate in programs and meetings sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

2. In accordance with the experience drawn from the past five years, Alabama Council on Human Relations officials should be careful to protect from unfriendly hands and eyes any information or data about the membership or the officers that might be used to their detriment. Security provisions, therefore, are assumed to be necessary in protecting the membership lists, lists of officials and the other documents, such as lists of subscribers, donors, contributors and supporters.

3. Provision for this security must involve friendly liaison with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the United State Marshalls and those law enforcement officials on county and city levels who can be relied upon to be faithful to their oath of office to protect the basic rights of lifo and liberty as guaranteed to all American citizens and guaranteed, therefore, to Alabama Council on Human Relations members as well.

4. Since a considerable amount of protection can be given to American citizens by the exposure of the plans of those who are endeavouring to violate their constitutional rights, it is assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations will maintain friendly contact with those members of the press and of the news bureaus of the television and radio stations who are courageous enough to expose the right-wing subversives who may attack the individual members or groups or assemblies sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

5. On the other hand, prudence will dictate that the Alabama Council on Human Relations should not rashly schedule programs or activities in areas that are dominated by Klansmen or their sympathisers, or by similar organizations. It should not, therefore, dangle before the blindly prejudiced people in that area, those innocent and naive persons, such as college students or high school students, who might be induced to participate in our programs. Prudence seems to dictate that these young and inexperienced people must be protected for their own good by avoiding exposure to the lightening blows that can be expected to come from men of violent impulses.

6. Prudence would also seem to dictate that great care must be exercised in regard to the more vulnerable of our members, those who are in economically or professionally delicate positions, those who depend upon others for their livelihood who might be sorely disturbed by participation in Alabama Council on Human Relations programs on the part of any of their employees or dependents.

7. Generally speaking, public debates with the partisans of an opposing philosophy in the field of human relations, should be avoided both by the personnel of the staff and by members of the organization. Acrimonious and bitter debate cannot prudently be expected to produce any good. The experiences elsewhere have shown that the demagogue or the race baiter usually gets the better of those public debates and those who appeal to sanity and unimpassioned approaches to the problems of our region come off second best when they are up against those who make use of the traditionally rabble-rousing methods of the demagogic oratory characteristic of our political platforms, our legislative chambers and, in many cases, of our broadcast debates.

8. Generally speaking, in accordance with the principles enunciated by social scientists, overt and damaging conflict and demonstrations of hostility that leave lasting and almost ineradicable bad feeling between peoples, should be avoided at all costs. Violence, for its own sake or for its ameliorative aftermath, should not be sought. The ruthless destruction of goodwill by the precipitation of conflict for its own sake, should not be a part of the programming policy of the organization. The misguided principle of "things must get worse before they get better", cannot be assumed to have a wholesome place in human relations program planning. Ideological conflict is, of course, inevitable in the case of people who hold opposing points of view, but with prevailing tolerance and with the humanitarian spirit with which we should approach human relations, prudence would seem to dictate that we disarm oppositions rather than defeat them in open battle or in the clash of open and damaging conflict.

9. Prudence will also recognize that persons who are beyond the age of learning, who are,in a way, mental cases, or who have serious psychiatric disturbances, should not be among those that the Alabama Council on Human Relations endeavours to reach in its programs. These persons should be left to the psychiatrists for treatment. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should direct its programming rather to the education of the young, the education of the educable and to the provision of learning experiences for those who are amenable to goodwill and who are capable of learning, and of being influenced by the kinds of things that the Alabama Council on Human Relations can help people better to do.

10. Prudence will also recognize that Alabama Council on Human Relations functions, meetings and assemblies cannot be a forum for the resentful, the embittered and the psychologically damaged individuals of our community, who sound off against those who have been responsible for whatever damage has been done to them. It will serve no good purpose for the Alabama Council on Human Relations to become identified with an extreme and fanatical element, either of embittered Whites, or of embittered members of other groups, who, in the rash impulses produced by their embitterment, tend to lash out at all organized government, organized religion, organized social institutions because they, within the context of organized social life, have been victims of man's inhumanity to man.

V BOARD OF DIRECTORS' FUNCTIONS

1. Besides the overall responsibility for the affairs of the organization between the membership meetings, the board of directors is the principal policy making unit of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The board of directors is responsible for the developing of policy and program, for the overseeing of the state office and the conduct of the financial and administrative affairs of the organization by the executive director and the other staff members, and also for the presentation to the general membership of any amendments to the Constitution or any specific changes of policy or any further developments of the policy as necessitated by the ever changing and ever developing problems of the state of Alabama

2. The board of directors, according to the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, is responsible for the financial well-being of the organization. It assumes the responsibility of raising sufficient funds to meet the budget each year and for maintaining sufficiently close relationships with the Southern Regional Council and, through it, with those foundations which have been the major source of its operating funds in the past. To this end, the board requires the observance of all of those prescriptions laid down by the Southern Regional Council for organizations which qualify for their funds. The board also assumes responsibility for the observance of the conditions on which these funds have been granted by the tax exempt foundations.

3. It is Alabama Council on Human Relations policy that the board, through its officers and executive director, should oversee the exact observance of our own tax exemption. Under the provisions of the internal revenue code of 154, it is assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is an organization operated exclusively for charitable and educational purposes. Our tax exemption will be revoked if any substantial part of our activities consists of carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, or participating in or intervening in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for office. This includes the publishing and distribution of statements pertaining to legislation. The board also oversees the filing of required information returns and the other provisions of section 6,033 of the internal revenue code.

4. In accordance with the practise of the board of directors in the recent past, the board shall also assume the responsibility for those fund raising activities which are necessary for the supplementing of our income from the grants accorded us by foundations. The chief responsibility for this fund raising activity is assigned by the constitution to a finance committee. But the only workable policy whereby the board can carry out this function is one that requires the president of the Alabama Council to be ex officio, a member and the head of this finance committee and to assume personal responsibility for the motivations and inspiration and productivity of the committee.

5. Among the things that the board must do in order to fulfill its responsibility for the affairs of the organization is the careful selection and appointment of the executive director and the approval of what office personnel he recruits for secretarial work as required. For this purpose, the board is, of necessity, required to accept applications, screen candidates and secure adequate assurances that the candidate for the sensitive office of executive director are, in all aspects, suitable for the job, both by prior training and experience and by moral integrity, emotional stability, and dedicated aspirations to meet the exacting demands of the position.

6. The board, as the chief policy making agency of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, is expected to incorporate within its membership persons who can be looked to for imaginative ideas and creative contributions to the board's deliberations, especially as regards the meeting of the challenges to democratic educational organizations in the recurring crises that characterise our region. For this purpose, the board should, in perpetuating itself and in choosing new members, have regard for a balanced constituency of both those who are conservative and cautious and those who are liberal and adventurous in the field of human relations. To overload the board with persons who are extremely conservative would be to place the organization in grave danger of falling far behind the times and the demands of the immediate present. To overload the board with persons who are extremely adventurous and extremely liberal would be to endanger the organization by reckless, ill-advised and, in many cases, overly idealistic programs, plans and projects. It is a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to expect that the board will be made up of a balance between those who are conservative and those who are liberal.

7. Among the things that the board must not and cannot legally do are those that are prohibited by the very constitution of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and are prohibited also by the demands of our tax exempt status. The board should not entertain motions for political activities or legislative programs to be presented to the state legislature or to city councils. The board can entertain motions concerning the endorsement of the principles behind certain kinds of legislation that are currently being discussed in the press or in the halls of the state house, but this is as far as the board can go. It may not, legally, by itself and of itself in the name of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, engage in that kind of political activity.

8. The board shall also be the decision making arm of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, especially as regards the appropriateness or inappropriateness of programs that are suggested by the members or by the executive director. It is the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that the prior approval

of the board must be secured for any new departures from the established policies and especially for the launching of any new and daring experiments in the field of human relations education.

9. The board also is, by policy, charged with the ultimate responsibility of the organization, for the safe deposit of its funds and for the auditing of the funds on a semi-annual basis in accordance with the demands of the Southern Regional Council and also the demands of prudence and justice in regard to the members and contributors to the organization.

10. The board shall also be the ultimate authority for the employment of legal counsel by the executive director. It shall authorise and approve whatever fees are paid to the legal counsel and shall require of the legal advisors a report on their activities undertaken on behalf of the Council or its representatives.

11. The policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations about the relationship between the board of directors and the executive committee is expressed in the constitution. The executive committee, appointed from the board of directors by the president, consisting of five to ten members and appointed for one year terms shall be charged with the affairs of the organization between membership meetings and the meetings of the board of directors. It is recognised that the executive committee is an emergency group and not by any means a device for circumventing the wishes of the majority of the board. It is a policy of the Alabama Council that the executive committee should be broadly representative of the board at large, even though its member shall be drawn principally from the Birmingham or Montgomery area. The president and the vice-presidents of the organization will usually be appointed to the executive committee and the president should adopt the policy of incorporating into the executive committee, those who are available and more immediately reachable members of the board of directors who can be convened at short notice, for the handling of emergency situations that may arise without warning.

12. It shall be the general policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations' board of directors to coordinate Alabama Council on Human Relations activities with those of other parallel organizations in the state in order to lessen the burdens of the executive director and also to involve more people in the broad assault on the inequities and injustices of the race relations system in Alabama. The board, through the research committee appointed by the president, should endeavour to marshall the resources of the research agencies connected with the Alabama Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists and with the public and private mental health associations as well as with the department of mental health in Montgomery. The board should also endeavour to set up coordination with organizations like the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Anti-Defamation League, as well as with the Montgomery

Improvement Association and with other organizations whose joint activity in other fields pertaining to the betterment of race relations is necessary for the successful amelioration of conditions in the state. In short, it should be a stated and implicit policy of the board to seek out and coordinate with and establish liaison, parallel activity and, in some cases, joint activity with other groups, whether they be public, private, church-linked or professional, that can be active in the field of race relations in Alabama.

13. It shall be within the competence of the board to explore ways and means of stimulating the formation of other organizations in the field that might conceivably be started on a small or large scale, or to help to promote the work of organizations already in the field but currently inactive or less active than they should be. This would include the stimulation of interest in the formation of municipal commissions on human relations, metropolitan commissions on human relations, county conferences on community relations, state commissions on human relations, advisory commissions for Federal agencies operating in the state of Alabama and especially race relations committees in each of the large national organizations that have branches in Alabama, such as the Red Cross, the National Chambers of Commerce, the Junior Chambers of Commerce, the National Probation and Parole Association, the Alabama Conference of Social Work, the Alabama Hospital Association, the Alabama Association of Juvenile Court Judges and the other association of Circuit Court Judges as well as the local and state wide bar associations. It will be the boards' policy too, to stimulate the formation of race relations committees in womens' organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the United Church Women as well as the board of Christian service and the Department of Social Relations in established church organizations. Generally speaking, therefore, it should be the policy of the board to take a broad view of the organizational approach to the bettering of race relations and not to believe that it is necessary for the Alabama Council on Human Relations to operate as a lone, unfriended and solitary organization, heroically holding the fort alone in the field of human relations.

14. It shall be the policy of the Alabama Council to bear the travel expenses of board members for those special meetings of the board which are not held at the time of the annual meeting. It is expected that board members, like other members, should attend the annual meeting at their own expense. However, overnight accommodations at the time of the annual meeting and of other board meetings shall be provided for board members at the Council's expense, whenever it is necessary for the members to stay overnight in order to attend a board meeting.

VI FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT

1. The president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is not the chief executive or administrative officer of the organization. He is simply president of the corporation, chairman of the board of directors, presiding officer for the official meetings, both of the board, of the executive committee, and of the general membership. The board customarily assigns the carrying out of its decisions not to the president, but to the executive director.

2. As chairman of the board, the president is empowered to summon the board for its two regular semi-annual meetings, and for its necessary special meetings. Special meetings shall be called by the president also when he receives written requests for these from five members of the board. These special meetings, because of the expense involved, shall not be summoned save in grave emergencies and for important changes in policy. Ordinary business between board meetings should be conducted by the executive committee in accordance with board policy as laid down in this manual and as understood from the mind of the current board.

3. The president, as chairman of the board, has the responsibility for presenting the agenda to the board membership in advance of each board meeting. This should be done either through his own communications, or through the announcements sent out by the office. This provision will allow members of the board to prepare for the deliberations at the meeting.

4. The president is empowered to determine the existence of a quorum of the board at a meeting by recognising the fulfillment of the constitutional minimum of eight members present.

5. The president shall conduct board meetings in accordance with parliamentary proceedings and Roberts' Rules of Order, allowing time for a discussion of each motion before it is passed, and providing for the recording of the actions of the board, especially those needed for the valid and legal use of Alabama Council on Human Relations' funds.

6. The president is authorised to appoint the committees needed for the carrying out of the board's action as well as those provided for in the constitution: the finance committee, membership committee, community relations committee, research committee, and nominations committee. The president should, by policy, be ex officio head and member of the finance committee. He should, by policy also, be head of the executive committee. But he should not be expected to be a committee of one for the carrying out of an unmanageable amount of the board's action. It is the approved custom of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that board members volunteer for specific committees. The president should, in practise, allow

chance for volunteers to sign up for committee duties, before proceeding to appoint members to the committees. Save in rare cases, no committee work shall be assigned to board members in absentia. Those present and passing motions for action should assume prime and prior responsibility for carrying them out, if they involve board-committee work.

7. Ordinarily, the president as presiding officer of the board, shall not vote on specific measures proposed as motions at a board meeting. However, he is, by policy, empowered to cast a tie-breaking vote, in cases where the board is equally divided on a specific issue.

8. The president shall ordinarily select a relatively central place for board meetings rather than sites in the extreme north or the extreme south of the state.

9. The president, as the presiding officer at the annual membership meeting, shall act as a representative of the board in presenting, through the nominating committees report, the slate of officers to be elected by the membership. Wherever possible at least two candidates should be nominated for each office so that a genuinely competitive election may be held. However, where only one nominee can be found, by the nominating committee the president shall call for nominations from the floor. If none are forthcoming, he shall entertain a motion for the closing of nominations and the automatic election of the single nominee. If two or more are nominated, a simple plurality shall be deemed sufficient for election, that is, no candidate needs to be obliged to obtain 51% of the votes or a clear majority.

10. To aid in the orderly conducting of the business of the board and that of the annual meeting, the president shall be empowered to appoint a parliamentarian for questions of procedure, a legal counsel pro tem, for questions of legality, and a policy-judge for questions of constitutionality and policy concordance. If the legal counsel or the policy judge raise questions of constitutionality of legality, the matter shall be tabled until the legal or constitutional questions can be resolved. If, at a general membership meeting, there is a question of change of policy, it shall be referred to the board's next meeting for its exercise of its policy making and policy changing power.

11. The president, inconsultation with the executive director and with the executive committee, shall be responsible for the formulation of suggested lines of policy or for policy changes. He shall also entertain suggestions for changes in policy both from other board members and officers and from the general membership. The board of directors, however, as the main policy making arm of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, shall be empowered to give the final decision on policy making and policy changing.

12. In accordance with the constitution and by-laws, amendments to the constitution shall be made at the meetings of the general membership. Suggested amendments require a majority vote for passage, or 51% of those present and voting. Amendments shall be submitted to the president or the board in writing. The member, committee, or officers submitting the amendment shall present it to the general membership in the form of a motion made by the member, committee chairman or officer in question.

13. The president shall ordinarily appoint a resolutions committee at the annual meeting for the purpose of giving official recognition to those who have been deemed worthy of commendation for their contributions to the Alabama Council on Human Relations during the preceeding year, including those who have proffered hospitality, to the Alabama Council on Human Relations for its annual meeting and for its board meetings. Resolutions may be entertained on all subjects legitimately within the scope of the Alabama Council on Human Relations' educational work. Politically related resolutions shall not be entertained by the president as presiding officer. In consultation with the parliamentarian, the legal counsel and the policy judge, the president shall determine the appropriateness of the suggested resolutions.

14. As chief officer of the corporation, the president shall fulfill those duties legally encumbent on the responsible officer of an incorporated legal entity in the state of Alabama. He shall sign the leases for the rental of the office space for the state headquarters. He shall see to the observance of the legal requirements for paying state taxes for workers compensation as regards office personnel. He shall also check on the regular payment of the social security, insurance, and other corporate obligations usually assumed by corporations in this state.

15. The president, as chairman of the board, shall not entertain any motions for the use of Alabama Council on Human Relations funds in any way not compatible with the limitations placed on their disposal by state law and Federal tax exemption regulations. He shall declare out of order any motion destined to use Alabama Council on Human Relations funds as gifts to benefactors, officers, members or employees. He shall not allow any motions appropriating Alabama Council on Human Relations funds for strictly social events, such as parties, social hours, entertainment or amusements. He shall check with legal counsel for the legality of any doubtful motions in this matter.

VII EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S ORDINARY FUNCTIONS

1. The chief administrative officer of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is the executive director. He is constitutionally selected by the board of directors, armed with sufficient powers, by virtue of his office and by delegation from the board, to perform his functions supplied with the necessary funds for carrying out his activities and backed up by the board in the performance of his official duties since he acts in their name and with their authority.

2. It is the stated policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to employ as the executive director, not merely a job-holder, but a dedicated person with sufficient background and training in the field of organizational work to be able to carry out the exacting requirements of his position. If he comes to the position without professional human relations training, he will be expected to supply this deficiency by special efforts and extra attention to self improvement. This may be acquired in special summer institutes, in night courses at colleges, in professional membership in the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials or by extensive reading on his own time in lieu of a prior professional development. Intensive contact, also, with recognised authorities in the field and with those persons who are sources of knowledge and wisdom in this delicate area may also be expected of the executive director.

3. The executive director shall be responsible for the necessary research and investigation needed for keeping the Alabama Council on Human Relations board and membership abreast of developments across the state and for guiding them in their own planning and activities. He shall also be responsible for the preliminary staff work involved in planning suggested lines of activity to be presented for consideration by the board of directors and by the executive committee.

4. The executive director shall be responsible for the work of maintaining the central office (about which, more later) and for organising local chapters and affiliates of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in the ten major regions of the state and in the principle cities in those regions. He shall assist local groups with their organizational problems, provide them with sufficient literature for spreading to interested person the knowledge of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and carry out those standard organizational requirements necessary to help launch new groups, revive interest in older and inactive groups and help in intelligent and coordinated program planning for the local chapters. In reference to the local chapters, he shall assist them in maintaining membership lists, in helping them with the strategy and the tactics necessary for their own situations and assisting them by counsel and advice in their many problems.

5. As executive director, the chief administrative officer is expected to direct the affairs of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and excute the decisions of the board in carrying out the program of the Council. He shall not launch out on new and untried programs or courses of action without prior consultation, both legal and prudential, or without board authorization.

6. The executive director shall be empowered to disburse the funds of the organization for his travel expenses in pursuit of his authorised activities. He shall, however, expend his travel allowance with economy and circumspection, not seeking accommodations at expensive hotels when more reasonable hotels afford sufficiently satisfactory accommodations, or where local hospitality, offered by Alabama Council members as a contribution to the Alabama Council on Human Relations, can help save the Council from unnecessary hotel bills.

7. It is the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to demand periodical reports from the executive director to the president and vice-presidents and also to the treasurer and secretary. Summaries of these reports must be sent out to board members at least quarterly,if not more frequently on demand by either the members themselves, the officers of the organization or as necessitated by the crises and emergencies that may arise from time to time.

8. The coordinating function of the executive director is also recognised to be part of his official responsibility. He is the chief liaison officer of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, keeping communications open between chapters and the central office and also between the Alabama Council on Human Relations and its parent organization, the Southern Regional Council, as well as with his counterparts in other states, such as the Virginia Council, the Georgia Council, the Tennessee Council, the Florida Council, and the North Carolina Council.

9. In pursuit of his communications and coordinations function, the executive director is expected to employ a sufficient secretarial staff or to elicit volunteer help, to keep up with the correspondence of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, to provide for prompt acknowledgement of contributions and funds received and to perform other needed notifications such as those for meetings of the board of directors and for the annual meeting of the organization.

10. The communications function of the executive director shall also include the distribution of the Alabama Council on Human Relations News Letter which is to be issued at least bi-monthly, or as crises and emergencies necessitate quick dispatches of urgent news and background materials for the board and the membership. The planning and programming function of the executive director will be discussed under heading #IX, in relation to the decision making function of the board as well as to his own staff planning.

11. Other routine and ordinary office functions expected of and required from the executive director are the following:

a) Assisting the treasurer in drawing up the financial reports of the organization and projecting the budget for the coming months, quarters and year.

b) Reporting quarterly to the Southern Regional Council on the Alabama Council on Human Relations' fiscal standing, activities, developments and special problems, in order to enable the Alabama Council on Human Relations to remain eligible for the grants and aid given by the Southern Regional Council that are contingent on these quarterly reports.

c) Assisting the nominating committee with suggested names for board replacements when needed and for the slate of officers at the annual meeting.

d) Supervising the fund raising efforts of the Council and its chapters as well as initiating special appeals, fund letters and other methods to keep the organization solvent.

e) Keeping careful watch over the outgoing expenditures in order to operate with in the limits of the available budgets and the on-hand balance at the bank.

f) Making deposits in the Alabama Council on Human Relations bank accounts and savings accounts in accordance with board policies and the treasurer's authorization.

g) Signing checks for all disbursals except those directed to himself which shall be signed by the treasurer of the organization.

h) Keeping records and archives save those preserved elsewhere as a security measure.

VIII EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S EXTRAORDINARY FUNCTIONS

1. Although the Alabama Council on Human Relations cannot demand courageous activity above and beyond the call of duty, it will be expected that the executive director will be the representative of the corporate concern of the full membership and of the officers in bringing immediate and effective comfort and support to the victims of injustice, violence and discrimination in the state. In line with the splendid example set by its first executive director, the Alabama Council on Human Relations will look for conduct bordering on the heroic as appropriate for a dedicated workers in this field of challenging endeavor.

2. In fulfilling this extraordinary function the executive director will be expected to visit as quickly as possible, those victims of violence, whether this be jailhouse brutality, attempted bombings, floggins and pistol-whippings, sluggings and attempted arson or cross burning, brickbat throwing, harassment and the many other unpredictable manifestations of the diseased minds of the violent men of racial hatred. Though the visitation of these people,in the wake of this kind of violence, may involve a certain amount of personal risk, the cause of better human relations and lessening tensions has been gallantly served by the tradition established by our first executive director and is expected to be carried on as a part of the activity of the executive director.

3. This function is likewise fulfilled by giving counsel and emotional support to those of the membership and to non-members who may be victims of economic pressure of psychological harassment or social ostracism. It is expected that the members will notify the central office when crises like these arise and will thus alert the executive director, who is presumed to be freer to move around than those of the membership who are tied down by jobs or professional activities elsewhere. Thus this special service which the Alabama Council on Human Relations has been performing can continue to be rendered to the victims of the racial tensions and conflict.

4. If it is impossible for the executive director to reach the place where these unfortunate incidents have occured, it is the recognized policy of the organization to expect that he will write letters of comfort and support to those who have been the victims of this kinds of mistreatment. He shall also alert other officers and members of the organization to bring their moral support to bear as well.

5. The executive director, in this same line, shall write letters of encouragement and support to those who are outstanding in their achievement in behalf of justice, fair-play or interracial harmony and who have thus exposed themselves to thedanger of violence or intimidation.

6. It is also expected that the executive director, as well as other responsible officers, will be ready to follow the example of the first director in courageously protecting the innocent and the vulnerable from harassment and intimidation by the unruly forces of the right-wing subversive terroristic organizations still operating in the state and still infiltrating our grand juries and, unfortunately, still holding high offices in some county and city governments. While the board does not anticipate a repetition of the"Ordeal by Bessemer Process", to which our first executive director was subjected, in his courageous defense of the privacy of the organization, it does state the policy that would hold up for emulation this courageous and fearless behavior on the part of the executive director.

7. It will also be expected that the executive director will not yield to force and pressure, threats and harassment directed against him personally, as against our first executive director, in the form of cross burnings, telephone threats and even attempted grand jury entrapment. Details of these and other courageous demands on the executive director are, of course, above and beyond the line of duty, but are held up as worthy of a dedicated worker fighting like a faithful soldier in a battle for right and justice in a spirit of heroic dedication to a quite worthy cause.

IX APPROPRIATE HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMS

1. In the light of past experience, systematic experimentation, and confirmed scientific hypotheses in the field of human relations, the following types of programs are deemed to be appropriate for sponsorship, promotion and encouragement by the Alabama Council on Human Relations board, staff and local chapters generally:

a) Annual state wide general meetings of the organization, with appropriate speakers, discussions, workshops, clinics, informative reports and visual aids.

b) Monthly or bi-montly local or district meetings of the local or district chapters, alone or in conjunction with other sympathetic organizations, for special programs as listed in "a" above.

c) Educational institutes of one day, two day, three day, week-end or even week long duration, after the pattern of the three day Mobile Human Relations Institute, conducted at Spring Hill College, or the Race Relations Institute conducted at Birmingham Southern College in past years by the coordinating committee of Jefferson county.

d) Forums of invited guest speakers who tour the state at the invitation of local chapters, discussing with them and judiciously invited guests pertinent aspects of current human relations problems, principles and programs.

e) Ministerial convocations and clergy conferences on an interracial basis, summoning representative ministers and other clergy to day long conferences on the religious aspect of human relations in the state or section of the state.

f) Special clinics on specific problems conducted by social scientists, intergroup relations officials or practitioners, psychiatrists or specialists in other organizational problems.

g) Observance of Race Relations Sunday, Human Relations Day, Human Rights Week, United Nations Days and even intensive cooperation with Brotherhood Week, American Democracy Month and patriotic holidays such as Independence Day, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday , Emancipation Day and other public observances that have pertinence for human relations programs.

h) Teacher's Institutes and Administrator's Conferences on human relations, mental health, civic responsibilities, moral and spiritual values undergirding democracy, intergroup relations betterment and similar topics.

i) College seminars and conferences, where feasible, for the sane and dispassionate discussions of the principles of democracy and their implications for human relations. Programs like the well-known "Panel of Americans" presentation would be recommended in this context.

j) Child development clinics for mothers of young children along the lines of the "Rearing Children of Goodwill" programs sponsored by other organizations, could be appropriately sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

k) Seminars for police officers, social workers, welfare workers, labor union officials and other similar persons involved in one way or another with the field of human relations.

l) Short term institutes for community leaders, especially for club women, co-sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations and Federations of local clubs, or leagues of women voters or other similar organizations interested in the community aspect of human relations problems and in the preservation of law and order as well as in community progress generally.

m) Youth conferences, youth weeks, special intergroup youth activities, sponsored in conjunction with public and private schools where feasible, are also recognised as appropriate for Alabama Council on Human Relations Sponsorship.

n) tudy groups and adult education groups and special community workshops in community relations that could be suggested to those programming in this field of adult education in conjunction with the extension divisions of colleges and adult education programs sponsored by many of our high schools.

o) Leadership training courses for the officers and prospective officer candidates for the state board as well as for the local chapters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations can be deemed as appropriate for sponsorship by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

p) Special community building programs centered around the idea embodied in the planning commissions of our various cities and counties can conceivably be listed as compatible with the Alabama Council on Human Relations basic goals.

2. Inappropriate programs that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is, by policy, opposed to sponsoring would include all those programs which seem to confirm and re-enforce the unjust and discriminatory aspects of the segregation system. This norm would, therefore,

rule out from Alabama Council on Human Relations participation and co-sponsorship or promotion certain kinds of programs that are recognised as having segregational overtones. This would include the Constitution Day observances sponsored by the Chambers of Commerce with heavy overtones of rebellion against the organic development of our Constitution through its amendments and through its historic and authoritative interpretation by the Supreme Court of the United States. Though the Alabama Council on Human Relations is in favor of the United States constitution, it is recognised that the sponsors of Constitution Day and the observances that are usually held on that day, had in mind a pro-segregation, states rights emphasis in the whole observance.

3. The Alabama Council regards as inappropriate also, those programs which automatically exclude whole segments of its' membership from participation. It frowns on those programs which, of necessity, have to be held in places which exclude either Negroes or Catholics or Jews from participation. Unless it is absolutely impossible to hold useful and necessary meetings and programs in any other type of setting, the Alabama Council on Human Relations is committed, by policy, to the avoidance of exclusive sites for its meetings and programs.

4. Because of the participation in the Alabama Council on Human Relations of people of quite a wide variety of religious persuasions, it is deemed by policy, inappropriate for the Alabama Council on Human Relations to sponsor programs that are composed of religious elements that are incompatible with or offensive to the feelings, faiths and preferences of groups of its members. Generally speaking, the Alabama Council on Human Relations is, by policy, a religiously motivated organization, but it also respects the religious scruples of those of its members who cannot participate in the worship services of other religious groups. Hence, as a civic organization, the Alabama Council on Human Relations should avoid giving the appearance of a prayer meeting with all of the traditional religious accompaniments for that type of activity. A sufficient amount of widely acceptable and mutually agreeable religious activity such as an invocation for Divine Guidance at the beginning of a meeting and observances, and an appropriate benediction are recognised as acceptable but specific observances that are offensive to the religious sensibilities of minority groups within the Alabama Council on Human Relations should be avoided.

5. In social activities sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations, great care should be exercised that songs, jokes and expressions or epithets offensive to minority group members should be sedulously avoided.

6. By all means, no one connected with the Alabama Council on Human Relations would approve the sponsorship of fund raising events in the form of minstrel shows or concerts that present even classical southern music that have words or themes offensive to the Negro minortiy.

X FISCAL AND FINANCIAL POLICIES

1. The treasurer of the organization shall be the chief financial officer. He is charged with the supervision of the financial affairs of the organization, the procedures of the safe custody of the funds in checking and savings accounts, and the drafting and signing of checks for the disbursement and transfer of funds.

2. The treasurer shall be empowered to sign those check made payable to the other authorised signatories of the checks, for example, the executive director or the one deputised in an absence of the executive director to sign checks in the name of the organization. In general it is a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations not to allow officials to make checks out to themselves or to "cash" only. Each check must bear the exact designation of the person, company, bill or item that it is destined to pay.

3. In general it is a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations not to authorize the conducting of financial transactions by cash only. Any cash donated to the organization for the payment of memberships fees or for contributions must first be deposited in the account of the organization and them disbursed by check for the payment of bills. Similarly, no check shall be endorsed over to others without first being made payable to the Alabama Council on Human Relations and cleared through its checking account.

4. It is the current policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that the major portion of its on-hand funds should be held in a reserve account or savings account in order to accumulate income in the form of interest. The transfer of funds to this account and the removal of funds from this account to the checking account shall be the responsibility of the treasurer and the executive director working jointly with the advice and consent of the board or the executive committee as regards overall policy.

5. In emergencies, the executive director, working with the treasurer shall be authorised to make use of the funds in the savings account for such security measures as may be necessary--emergency legal fees, travel expenses, or similar crises expenses not foreseen or provided for in the ordinary budget. These expenditures are subject to review and confirmation by the board or the executive committee at their next meeting.

6. While the Alabama Council on Human Relations does not favor special "drives" each year, it is obvious that its policy encompasses some fund raising efforts to supplement its regular income each year. These fund raising drives shall be decided on by the board when necessary, but should not be the ordinary means of fiscal stability and solvency. Efforts should be made to secure

regular sources of income equivalent to the budget outgo each year. jThe regular sources of income shall be the membership dues and fees, the contributions spontaneously forthcoming from the friends of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and the special support given to the Alabama Council on Human Relations by other organizations interested in its work.

7. The policy of securing a considerable number of "under-writers" who agree to contribute at least $5.00 a month towards the support of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will be continued and developed. These underwriters may be secured both from within the state and from our sympathisers outside the state, especially former members who have moved away.

8. In the fund raising activities of the Council, no method shall be used which will have the appearance of lotteries or gambling devices. No contests shall be sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations with prizes awarded for contributions. No grants of promises of percentages of the funds raised shall be made to the fund raisers, except in the presently unlikely case that the board will see fit to employ a professional fund raising company to solicit funds for some special emergency.

9. If individual appeals are made for money in the name of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, the checks must be made payable to the Alabama Council on Human Relations and not to the individuals soliciting the money, save in the case of those donors who expressly do not want their names on record as supporters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. This might be the case of certain persons who do not wish their partners to know of the donations to the Alabama Council on Human Relations .

10. In Alabama Council on Human Relations fund raising activities, no competitive devices shall be used which may seem to pit group against group, especially along racial lines, by way of stimulating emulation or interest in the drive. Sufficient commendation for and acknowledgement of the work of individuals or groups should be made by the office and also by the higher officers of the organization.

11. In accordance with current practise, an annual audit of the books of the organization shall be made by a firm of competent certified public accountants. This annual audit is necessary as a condition for grants from foundations and from the Southern Regional Council.

IX - PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

1. Owing to the fact that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is an educational organization rather than an action group aiming at social reform through legislation or direct action, it is the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations not to participate in public controversies over current political issues, not to enter the field as a protagonist in favor of political candidates or office holders, or against them and their legislative programs and current political decision. This does not exclude the advocacy of principles that are obviously violated by current political practises but the advocacy of principles should be kept on an educational basis and not to take on the appearance of direct combating of legislation or political decisions in the arena of political activity.

2. It is the current policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to pursue the study of ways and means of making use of the educational aspects of the vast networks of communication available for use in the state--newspaper ads and releases, radio programs, television programs, and even such things as billboards and direct mail advertising and similar outlets. In accordance with the practise of local groups, the use of one or other of these media of communication for educational purposes shall be construed as consonant with the overall policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations as long as this use is employed for an adult education purpose.

3. Generally speaking, the Alabama Council on Human Relations is not a "statement issuing" group. In those instances where the existence or welfare of the Alabama Council on Human Relations or the safety and security and proper understanding of its officials or members is involved, it may be necessary to issue public statements to correct misrepresentations and counteract slanders or neutralize attacking enemies. In these cases, the executive director, in consultation with legal counsel and upon advice and consent of a majority of the executive committee, including the president, shall be empowered to issue statements to the press, to the wire services, to the radio and television news outlets.

4. Local chapthers of the Alabama Council on Human Relations shall not issue statements on behalf of the state organization. They may, of course, issue statements in their own names after legal counsel and with due circumspection. In most cases, it will most probably serve the cause better if the local unit does not act alone, but enlists the collaboration and support of other like-minded organizations for the joint issuance of statements to the public. This policy would impel local chapters to secure more cooperation from ministerial associations or from Negro organizations such as lodges, fraternities and sororities and other similar grouping.

5. Pending the resolution of the question about the employment of a part time or full time communications arts expert, the function of providing explanatory, interpretive or recruitment materials and literature for Alabama Council on Human Relations membership drives or for fund raising activities, shall be the responsibility of the executive director for the state as a whole and of individual chapters for their own areas.

6. In the issuance of statements, or in the joint sponsorship of ads bearing on specific local issues, care should be taken that the Alabama Council on Human Relations and its local chapters do not co-sponsor statements or releases to the public along with questionable organizations of a left-wing variety. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should not become identified with any of the groups on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations. The state office and each chapter should have sufficient copies of the "GUIDE TO SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS" published by the United States Printing Office in order to be armed with sufficient information for checking these groups. It should also be the policy of AlabamaCouncil on Human Relations officers and local chapters to cehck with the F.B.I. for questionable organizations. The F.B.I. can, ordinarily, release information to the effect that this or that group is not on the subversive list.

7. It shall be the ordinary policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that there will be no press coverage of the meetings of the organization, either the annual state wide meeting or the local or district meetings. This is not to be construed as hostility to the press nor as an indication of a secret and underground organization. This policy represents the privilege of privacy that is a corollary of the right to free association, freedom of assembly and freedom from unreasonable search and invasion of privacy.

8. Under ordinary conditions, it is a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that no pictures of officers or guests shall be taken at our meetings, nor shall press photographers or commerical photographers be admitted to them.

9. In order to safeguard our participants from possible reprisals or intimidations, it shall be the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, until the climate of the state improves, that their officials and members shall not be identified as such at public introductions which they attend that are not sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

10. In general, the current policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is that no notices of its meetings or activities shall be given to the press or radio as regards to time or place of Alabama Council on Human Relations assemblies. This policy is a prudential and precautionary one in order to avoid giving easy targets to those hostile groups intent on disrupting our activities, or infiltrating our ranks with unfriendly intentions.

REPORT ON MEMBERSHIP AND FUNDING DRIVE

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

March 9, 1965

Local Council	Paid Memberships Sngl	Dual	Stdt	Pledged Memberships Sngl	Dual	Stdt	Total PERSONS	Received on Fees, Contributions	Bal. on Pledges	TOTAL	Orig. Quota
B'ham	45	35	1	6	9		140	$2019	$1420	$3439	$1500
E.Ala.	86	82	12	10	11	6	300	$2253	$1215	$3468	$1500
H'ville	6	7	0	?	3		28	$ 376	$1193	$1569	$1200
Mobile	27	11	2	0	4		59	$ 404	$ 792	$1196	$1200
M'gomery	20	14	0	0	0		48	$1048	$ 128	$1176	$1000
Mus.Shoals	26	4	3	0	2	1	42	$ 428	$1142	$1570	$1200
Talladega	24	4			1	1	35	$ 295	$ 327	$ 622	$ 500
T'loosa	32	28	2	5	4		103	$ 789	$ 290	$1079	$ 750
At Large	2	1	1	1	1		8	$ 26	$ 75	$ 101	***
Out state	10	6					22	$1543	$ 289	$1832	***
TOTALS	278	192	21	24	35	8	785	$9181	$6871	$16,052	

NOTES:

Membership fees received in the last quarter of 1964 were counted as though received in 1965. Otherwise only 1965 receipts are shown.

In addition to the above, we expect to receive $6000 grant-in-aid from the Southern Regional Council.

ACHR officers should be aware that we have to figure at least 15% shrinkage on the balance-on-pledges -- although we can hope that's pessimistic!

All this means that, as of this date, we can safely anticipate slightly more than $20,000 income for the year.

Budget for 1965

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

ACCOUNT	AMOUNT
Executive Salary	$ 8600.00
Conditional Raise (effective July 1)	600.00
Secretary's Salary	3600.00
Social Security	600.00
Travel	2400.00
Rent	1500.00
Office Equipment and Supplies	1800.00
Telephone	1200.00
Postage	720.00
Janitorial Service	180.00
Printing	500.00
Subscriptions and Literature	300.00
Essay Contest	500.00
Intern Associate (starting September)	1000.00
Miscellaneous	1000.00
TOTAL	$24,500.00

ANTICIPATED INCOME

SOURCE	AMOUNT
Alabama Contributions	$10,000.00
Memberships	2,500.00
Southern Regional Council Grant	6,000.00
Out-of-state Contributions	6,000.00
	$24,500.00

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT
MARCH, 1965

ACCOUNT	BUDGET	THIS MONTH	YEAR TO DATE
Executive Salary	$8,600.00	$ 608.04	$ 1,824.12
Conditional Raise	600.00		
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	241.52	504.79
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	160.62	464.65
Travel	2,400.00	134.97	569.09
Rent	1,500.00	100.00	300.00
Office Supplies, Eqpt	1,800.00	148.27	299.34
Telephone	1,200.00	136.22	284.70
Postage	720.00	175.00	285.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	30.00	45.00
Printing	500.00	56.20	179.57
Literature	300.00		42.55
Essay Contest	500.00		
Intern Associate	1,000.00		
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	15.00	125.00
Budgeted Totals	$24,500.00	$1,805.84	$4,923.81
Special Account (2)			884.02
TOTALS		$1,805.84	$5,807.83
Receipts		$2,904.47	$10,893.82
Balance on hand, January 1, 1965			1,172.91
		Total	$12,066.73
		Less disbursements	5,807.83
		BALANCE	$ 6,258.90

MEMBERSHIP

Paid last quarter of 1964	67
Paid January	45
Paid February	384
Paid March	228
TOTAL PAID MEMBERSHIP	724

(1) Budgeted amount was to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

(2) Annual meeting expenses. $698.41 of this was collected in sale of luncheon tickets.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT - APRIL, 1965

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships, Contributions	$2,296.00	$13,189.82
S. R. C. Grant	3,000.00	3,000.00
TOTALS	$5,296.00	$16,189.82

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$ 8,600.00	$ 608.04	$ 2,432.16
Conditional Raise	600.00		
Secretary's Salary	3,600	241.52	746.31
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	221.12	685.77
Travel	2,400.00	249.67	818.76
Rent	1,500.00	100.00	400.00
Office Supplies, Equip.	1,800.00	813.29	1,112.63
Telephone	1,200.00	113.73	398.43
Postage	720.00	50.00	335.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	15.00	60.00
Printing	500.00	441.84	621.41
Literature	300.00	17.78	60.33
Essay Contest	500.00		
Intern Associate	1,000.00		
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	115.00	240.00
Budget Totals	$24,500.00	$2,986.99	$ 7,910.80

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

Annual Meeting (2)		884.02
Refunds to Locals	609.50	609.50
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$3,596.49	$ 9,404.32

RECAPITULATION

Balance on hand, April 1, 1965	$ 6,258.90
Receipts during April	5,296.00
Total	$11,554.90
Expenditures during April	3,596.49
BALANCE ON HAND, April 30, 1965	$ 7,958.41

(1) Budgeted amount was to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

(2) $698.41 of this was collected in sale of luncheon tickets.

april - 1965

MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

Local Council	This Month	Previous	Total
Greater Birmingham	14	118	132
East Alabama	34	271	305
Huntsville	4	26	30
Mobile	2	65	67
Montgomery	6	49	55
Muscle Shoals	19	48	67
Talladega District	1	32	33
Tuscaloosa	4	100	104
Out of State	18	11	29
At Large	1	4	5
TOTALS	103	724	827

Read 6/16/65

PA
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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT --May, 1965

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships, Contributions, Misc.	$1,368.34	$14,558.16
S. R. C. Grant		3,000.00
	$1,368.34	$17,558.16

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$ 8,600.00	$ 608.04	$ 3,040.20
Conditional Raise	600.00		
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	241.52	987.83
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	190.32	876.09
Travel	2,400.00	278.95	1,097.71
Rent	1,500.00	100.00	500.00
Office Supplies, Equip.	1,800.00	88.93	1,201.56
Telephone	1,200.00	90.04	488.47
Postage	720.00	50.00	385.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	15.00	75.00
Printing	500.00		621.41
Literature	300.00	25.50	85.83
Essay Contest	500.00		
Intern Associate	1,000.00		
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	82.04	322.54
Budget Totals	$24,500.00	$1,770.34	$ 9,681.64

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

Transfer to Savings	2,000.00	2,000.00
Annual Meeting (2)		884.02
Refunds to Locals		609.50
Student Conference	228.95	228.95
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$3,999.29	$13,404.11

RECAPITULATION

Balance on hand, May 1, 1965	$ 7,958.41
Receipts during May	1,368.34
Total	$ 9,326.75
Expenditures during May	3,999.29
BALANCE ON HAND, May 31, 1965	$ 5,327.46

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

(2) $698.41 of this was collected in sale of luncheon tickets.

(3) Half of this refunded by NSA Southern Project.

MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

Local Council	This Month	Previous	Total
Greater Birmingham	6	132	138
East Alabama	16	305	321
Huntsville	4	30	34
Mobile	6	67	73
Montgomery	1	55	56
Muscle Shoals	10	67	77
Talladega District	0	33	33
Tuscaloosa	6	104	110
Out of State	8	29	37
At Large	1	5	6
TOTALS	58	827	885

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SUPPLEMENTAL FINANCIAL INFORMATION FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
June 26, 1965

ACHR's financial outlook for the next six months is as follows, using rounded figures:

Present resources and sure income:		
Balance, primary checking	$2,500.00	
Balance, alternate checking	2,000.00	
Balance, savings	2,000.00	
SRC grant, last half	3,000.00	
Sale of stock gift	1,300.00	
		$10,800.00
Probable income:		
Est. collectable of $4,632.50 outstanding on pledges	2,500.00	
Refunds from Head Start (1/3 time for secretary and director)	1,000.00	
Conservative estimate of income from new donors and new members	1,200.00	
		4,700.00
TOTAL BALANCE AND EXPECTED INCOME		$15,500.00

NOTE: The above does not take into consideration the possibility of receiving a grant of about $4,000 which has been applied for. The chances of receiving it can be described as good.

Anticipated minimum expenditures, last half, revised:

Executive's Salary	$ 3,648.24
Secretary's Salary	1,449.12
Intern's Salary	1,060.00
Payroll Taxes	1,050.00
Travel	2,000.00
Rent	600.00
Office Supplies	1,000.00
Telephone	600.00
Postage	450.00
Janitorial Service	90.00
Printing	500.00
Literature	100.00
Essay Contest	500.00
Miscellaneous	500.00
Moving Expenses, Intern and Family	300.00
TOTAL MINIMUM EXPENSE ESTIMATE	$13,847.36

NOTE: It should be stressed that the list of anticipated expenditures is the minimum.

Rec'd 8/11/65

PAID

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT --July, 1965

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships, Contributions, Misc.	$1,144.00	$16,796.66
S. R. C. Grant	1,500.00	4,500.00
TOTAL	$2,644.00	$21,296.66

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$9,200.00	$ 641.62	$ 4,289.86
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	261.68	1,491.03
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	231.20	1,297.61
Travel	2,400.00	328.26	1,650.74
Rent	1,500.00		600.00
Office Supplies, Equip.	1,800.00	70.06	1,347.91
Telephone	1,200.00	128.56	710.06
Postage	720.00	50.00	585.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	15.00	105.00
Printing	500.00		621.41
Literature	300.00	72.61	158.44
Essay Contest	500.00		
Intern Associate Salary	1,000.00	100.47	100.47
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	498.93 (2)	821.47
	$24,500.00	$2,398.39	$13,779.00

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

Volunteer Subsistence	60.00	200.00
Transfer to ANB		2,000.00
Transfer to Savings		2,000.00
Annual Meeting		884.02
Refunds to Locals	170.25	779.75
Student Conference		228.95
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$2,628.64	$19,871.72

RECAPITULATION

Balance on hand, July 1, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$ 2,582.99
Receipts during July	2,644.00
Total	$ 5,226.99
Expenditures during July	2,628.64
Balance	$ 2,598.35
Reconcilement: Add $4.41 from ANB account for balance in 1st Huntsville, July 31, 1965	2,602.76
Balance in Savings	2,000.00
Balance in ANB Checking	1,995.59
TOTAL BALANCE	$ 6,598.35

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

(2) Includes moving expense of associate director.

MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

Local Council	This Month	Previous	Total
Greater Birmingham	3	149	152
East Alabama	8	324	332
Huntsville	1	38	39
Mobile	2	92	94
Montgomery	2	59	61
Muscle Shoals	5	84	89
Talladega District	0	34	34
Tuscaloosa	2	122	124
Out of State	4	43	47
At Large	0	10	10
Enterprise	4	10	14
TOTALS	31	965	996

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT --August, 1965

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships, Contributions, Misc.	$1,341.50	$18,138.16
S. R. C. Grant		4,500.00
TOTAL	$1,341.50	$22,638.16

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$9,200.00	$ 656.47	$ 4,946.33
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	261.68	1,752.71
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	221.72	1,519.33
Travel	2,400.00	132.43	1,783.17
Rent	1,500.00	145.22	745.22
Office Supplies, Equip.	1,800.00	68.39	1,416.30
Telephone	1,200.00	124.14	834.20
Postage	720.00	100.00	685.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	15.00	120.00
Printing	500.00		621.41
Literature	300.00	47.00	205.44
Essay Contest	500.00		
Intern Associate Salary	1,000.00	461.35	561.82
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	63.03	884.50
	$24,500.00	$2,296.43	$16,075.43

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

Volunteer Subsistence	200.00
Transfer to ANB	2,000.00
Transfer to Savings	2,000.00
Annual Meeting	884.02
Refunds to Locals	779.75
Student Conference	228.95
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$22,168.15

RECAPITULATION

Balance on hand, August 1, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$ 2,602.76
Receipts during August	1,341.50
Total	$ 3,944.26
Expenditures during August	2,296.43
Balance in 1st Huntsville, August 31, 1965	$ 1,647.83
Balance in Savings	2,000.00
Balance in ANB Checking	1.995.59
TOTAL BALANCE	$ 5,643.42

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

Local Council	This Month	Previous	Total
Greater Birmingham	0	152	152
East Alabama	13	332	345
Huntsville	5	39	44
Mobile	0	94	94
Montgomery	0	61	61
Muscle Shoals	2	89	91
Talladega District	0	34	34
Tuscaloosa	0	124	124
Out of State	3	47	50
At Large	0	10	10
Enterprise	0	14	14
TOTALS	23	996	1,019

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT --September, 1965

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships, Contributions, Misc.	$1,204.94	$19,343.10
S. R. C. Grant		4,500.00
TOTAL	$1,204.94	$23,843.10

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$9,200.00	$ 671.32	$ 5,617.65
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	261.68	2,014.39
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	231.80	1,751.13
Travel	2,400.00	255.00	2,038.17
Rent	1,500.00	100.00	845.22
Office Supplies, Equip.	1,800.00	398.71	1,815.01
Telephone	1,200.00	86.93	921.13
Postage	720.00	80.00	765.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	15.00	135.00
Printing	500.00	86.92	708.33
Literature	300.00		205.44
Essay Contest	500.00		
Intern Associate Salary	1,000.00	374.54	936.36
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	424.00 (2)	1,308.50
	$24,500.00	$2,985.90	$19,061.33

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

Volunteer Subsistence	200.00
Transfer to ANB	2,000.00
Transfer to Savings	2,000.00
Annual Meeting	884.02
Refunds to Locals	779.75
Student Conference	228.95
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$25,154.05

RECAPITULATION

Balance on Hand, September 1, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$1,647.83
Receipts during September	1,204.94
Total	$2,852.77
Expenditures (1st, Huntsville)	2,466.04
Balance in 1st Huntsville, September 30, 1965)	$ 386.73
Balance on Hand, ANB, September 1, 1965	$1,995.59
Expenditures (ANB)	519.86
Balance in ANB, September 30, 1965	$1.475.73
Balance on Hand, September 30, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$ 386.73
Balance on Hand, September 30, 1965 (ANB, Birmingham)	1,475.73
Balance in Savings	2,000.00
TOTAL BALANCE	$3,862.46

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

(2) Included in this amount is the Hospitalization and Accidental Death Policy for Intern Associate.

MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

Local Council	This Month	Previous	Total
Greater Birmingham	0	152	152
East Alabama	8	345	353
Huntsville	2	44	46
Mobile	5	94	99
Montgomery	0	61	61
Muscle Shoals	0	91	91
Talladega District	0	34	34
Tuscaloosa	0	124	124
Out of State	2	50	52
At Large	0	10	10
Enterprise	0	14	14
TOTALS	17	1,019	1,036

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT --October, 1965

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships, Contributions, Misc.	$2,935.55	$22,278.65
S. R. C. Grant	1,500.00	6,000.00
TOTAL	$4,435.55	$28,278.65

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$9,200.00	$ 671.32	$ 6,288.97
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	261.68	2,276.07
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	237.13	1,988.26
Travel	2,400.00	431.94(2)	2,470.11
Rent	1,500.00	100.00	945.22
Office Supplies, Equip.	1,800.00	100.24	1,915.25
Telephone	1,200.00	107.91	1,029.04
Postage	720.00	150.00	915.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	15.00	150.00
Printing	500.00	552.72	1,261.05
Literature	300.00		205.44
Essay Contest	500.00		
Intern Associate Salary	1,000.00	374.54	1,310.90
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	328.42 (3)	1,636.92
	$24,500.00	$3,330.90	$22,392.23

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

Volunteer Subsistence	200.00
Transfer to ANB	2,000.00
Transfer to Savings	2,000.00
Annual Meeting	884.02
Refunds to Locals	779.75
Student Conference	228.95
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$28,484.95

RECAPITULATION

Balance on Hand, October 1, 1965 (1st, H'ville)	$ 386.73
Receipts during October	4,435.55
Total	$ 4,822.28
Expenditures (1st, Huntsville)	2,623.88
Balance in 1st, Huntsville, October 31, 1965	$ 2,198.40
Balance on Hand, ANB, October 1, 1965	$ 1,475.73
Expenditures (ANB)	707.02
Balance in ANB, October 31, 1965	$ 768.71
Balance on Hand, October 31, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$ 2,198.40
Balance on Hand, October 31, 1965 (ANB, Birmingham)	768.71
Balance in Savings	2,000.00
Total Balance	$ 4,967.11

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

(2) Included in this amount is travel expense of board members to September meeting.

(3) This amount includes payment of hotel meeting accommodations for Board meeting and Voting Rights Act Conference.

1966 Membership Enrollment

Local Council	This Month	Total
Greater Birmingham	4	4
East Alabama	35	35
Huntsville	3	3
Mobile	15	15
Montgomery	2	2
Muscle Shoals	1	1
Talladega District	3	3
Tuscaloosa	0	0
Out of State	5	5
At Large	0	0
Enterprise	0	0
TOTAL	68	68

Rec'd 12/10/65

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT --November, 1965

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships and Contributions	$ 520.50	$18,452.67
S. R. C. Grants		6,000.00
Foundation Grants		1,000.00
Miscellaneous Receipts	1,000.00	4,346.48
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$1,520.50	$29,799.15

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$9,200.00	$ 671.32	$ 6,960.29
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	261.68	2,537.75
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	211.16	2,199.42
Travel	2,400.00	321.59	2,791.70
Rent	1,500.00	150.00	1.095.22
Office Supplies, Equip.	1,800.00	74.37	1,989.62
Telephone	1,200.00	76.03	1,105.07
Postage	720.00		915.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	10.00	160.00
Printing	500.00	25.44	1,286.49
Literature	300.00		205.44
Essay Contenst	500.00		
Intern Associate Salary	1,000.00	374.54	1,685.44
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	25.85	1,662.57
	$24,500.00	$2,201.98	$24,594.01

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

Volunteer Subsistence	200.00
Transfer to ANB	2,000.00
Transfer to Savings	2,000.00
Annual Meeting	884.02
Refunds to Locals	779.75
Student Conference	228.95
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$30,686.73

RECAPITULATION

Balance on Hand, November 1, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$ 2,198.60
Receipts during November	1,520.50
Total	$ 3,719.10
Expenditures during November	2,201.98
Balance on Hand, November 30, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$ 1,517.12
Balance on Hand, November 30, 1965 (ANB, Birmingham)	768.71
Balance in Savings	2,000.00
TOTAL BALANCE	$ 4,285.83

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

Local Council	This Month	Previous	Total
Greater Birmingham	4	4	8
East Alabama	30	35	65
Huntsville	4	3	7
Mobile	9	15	24
Montgomery	1	2	3
Muscle Shoals	1	1	2
Talladega	0	3	3
Tuscaloosa	0	0	0
Out of State	2	5	7
At Large	1	0	1
Enterprise	0	0	0
TOTAL	52	68	120

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT --November, 1965

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships and Contributions	$ 520.50	$18,452.67
S. R. C. Grants		6,000.00
Foundation Grants		1,000.00
Miscellaneous Receipts	1,000.00	4,346.48
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$1,520.50	$29,799.15

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$9,200.00	$ 671.32	$ 6,960.29
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	261.68	2,537.75
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	211.16	2,199.42
Travel	2,400.00	321.59	2,791.70
Rent	1,500.00	150.00	1.095.22
Office Supplies, Equip.	1,800.00	74.37	1,989.62
Telephone	1,200.00	76.03	1,105.07
Postage	720.00		915.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	10.00	160.00
Printing	500.00	25.44	1,286.49
Literature	300.00		205.44
Essay Contenst	500.00		
Intern Associate Salary	1,000.00	374.54	1,685.44
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	25.85	1,662.57
	$24,500.00	$2,201.98	$24,594.01

Non-budgeted Expenditures:

Volunteer Subsistence	200.00
Transfer to ANB	2,000.00
Transfer to Savings	2,000.00
Annual Meeting	884.02
Refunds to Locals	779.75
Student Conference	228.95
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$30,686.73

RECAPITULATION

Balance on Hand, November 1, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$ 2,198.60
Receipts during November	1,520.50
Total	$ 3,719.10
Expenditures during November	2,201.98
Balance on Hand, November 30, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$ 1,517.12
Balance on Hand, November 30, 1965 (ANB, Birmingham)	768.71
Balance in Savings	2,000.00
TOTAL BALANCE	$ 4,285.83

(1) Budgeted amount to cover employers' share of FICA taxes only. Note that bulk of expenditure is withheld from salaries.

1966 MEMBERSHIP ENROLLMENT

Local Council	This Month	Previous	Total
Greater Birmingham	4	4	8
East Alabama	30	35	65
Huntsville	4	3	7
Mobile	9	15	24
Montgomery	1	2	3
Muscle Shoals	1	1	2
Talladega	0	3	3
Tuscaloosa	0	0	0
Out of State	2	5	7
At Large	1	0	1
Enterprise	0	0	0
TOTAL	52	68	120

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT --December, 1965

RECEIPTS

	This Month	Year to Date
Memberships and Contributions	$ 846.00	$19,298.67
S. R. C. Grants		6,000.00
Foundation Grants	5,000.00	6,000.00
Miscellaneous Receipts	1,106.02	5,452.50
TOTAL RECEIPTS	$6,952.02	$36,751.17

DISBURSEMENTS

Budgeted Expenditures:

Account	Budget	This Month	Year to Date
Executive Salary	$9,200.00	$1,006.98	$ 7,967.27
Secretary's Salary	3,600.00	261.68	2,799.43
Payroll Taxes (1)	600.00	211.16	2,410.58
Travel	2,400.00	635.14	3,426.84
Rent	1,500.00	150.00	1,245.22
Office Supplies, Equipment	1,800.00	60.21	2,049.83
Telephone	1,200.00	172.63	1,277.70
Postage	720.00	50.00	965.00
Janitorial Service	180.00	20.00	180.00
Printing	500.00	29.68	1,316.17
Literature	300.00		205.44
Essay Contest	500.00		
Intern Associate Salary	1,000.00	374.54	2,059.98
Miscellaneous	1,000.00	265.01	1,927.58
	$24,500.00	$3,237.03	$27,831.04

Non-budgeted Expenditures:	
Volunteer Subsistence	200.00
Transfer to ANB	2,000.00
Transfer to Savings	2,000.00
Annual Meeting	884.02
Refunds to Locals	779.75
Student Conference	228.95
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$33,923.76

RECAPITULATION

Balance on hand, December 1, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$1,517.12
Receipts during December	6,952.02
Total	$8,469.14
Expenditures during December (1st, Huntsville)	2,901.37
Balance in 1st, Huntsville, December 31, 1965	$5;567.77
Balance on hand, December 1, 1965 (ANB, Birmingham)	$ 768.71
Expenditures (ANB) during December	335.66
Balance in ANB, December 31, 1965	$ 433.05
Balance on hand, December 31, 1965 (1st, Huntsville)	$5,567.77
Balance on hand, December 31, 1965 (ANB, Birmingham)	433.05
Balance in Savings	1,000.00
TOTAL BALANCE	$7,000.82

1966 Membership Enrollment

LOCAL COUNCIL	THIS MONTH	PREVIOUS	TOTAL
Greater Birmingham	6	8	14
East Alabama	20	65	85
Huntsville	2	7	9
Mobile	1	24	25
Montgomery	0	3	3
Muscle Shoals	5	2	7
Talladega	0	3	3
Tuscaloosa	8	0	8
Out of State	7	7	14
At Large	1	1	2
Enterprise	0	0	0
TOTAL	50	120	170

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September 30, 1953

Hon. Lister Hill
U. S. Capitol
Washington, D. C.

Dear Lister,

This is a good'un we've done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allc
enclosure

STYLES BRIDGES, N. H., CHAIRMAN
HOMER FERGUSON, MICH.
GUY CORDON, OREG.
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS.
MILTON R. YOUNG, N. DAK.
WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, CALIF.
EDWARD J. THYE, MINN.
JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, WIS.
KARL E. MUNDT, S. DAK.
MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE
HENRY C. DWORSHAK, IDAHO
EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, ILL.
CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, GA.
PAT MCCARRAN, NEV.
DENNIS CHAVEZ, N. MEX.
BURNET R. MAYBANK, S. C.
ALLEN J. ELLENDER, LA.
LISTER HILL, ALA.
HARLEY M. KILGORE, W. VA.
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK.
A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, VA.
WARREN G. MAGNUSON, WASH.

EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK
THOMAS J. SCOTT, ASST. CLERK

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Washington, D. C.
October 3, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 5
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

Senator Hill is on an inspection trip visiting TVA installations and I am in his absence writing to thank you for sending him the copy of your Southern Regional Council's publication entitled "The Schools and the Courts" which I will bring to Senator Hill's attention at the first opportunity.

You may be sure he will appreciate your sending this to him.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

John E. Campbell

John E. Campbell
Assistant to Senator Hill

JEC:vl

November 23, 1953

Mrs L F Maynard
1461 Fulton Drive
Mobile 18, Alabama

Dear Mrs Maynard:

I do hope you will like our Southern Regional Council and become a member of it. I send a simple leaflet about it and a 1951 statement of policy. We have perhaps ninety or a hundred members in Alabama and sadly need more.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosures: What Kind of South Do you Want?
The South of the Future

Mr. Jame B Wallace ✓
Selma, Ala -

January 14, '54

Dear Mr. Wallace,

Our good friend Lewis Deer, who used to run the Arkansas Division of SRC, wrote us that at your request he had sent you a copy of the Q and A pamphlet, and I belive, of the Check List, too. Hope they had some of what you wanted.

If we can help you further in any way let us know. There is an Alabama Division of the Council, with two or three hundred members -perhaps half of them white and half of them Negro. Mr. Whitsett, at the Methodist Church in Sylacauga, is chairman of the group. It will be having its annual meeting on February 4, at Montgomery, at Alabama State College for Negroes. You'd be very welcome, though we can promise no large crowd. Still, schools will be the subject, and there will be some pretty good thinking ahead.

I send some leaflets about the Council, but we are for the moment out of anything really descriptive. "Fairminded white people and their Negro friends" is as close as I have ever come to defining us!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE DEAN

RECEIVED
FEB 3
Southern Regional Council

February 2, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This note is a reminder to you for the annual meeting of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council in Montgomery at the Alabama State College on Thursday, February 4. In the afternoon session, we should like for you to present a report on "The Activities of the Southern Regional Council in Educating Southerners for Democracy in Public Education". This will be the last item on the program for the afternoon. It will be preceeded by a discussion of "The Role of the Press in Preparing Alabama Citizens for Democracy in Public Education". The three participants in that discussion will present the discussions of the following sub-topics, "Role of the White Press", "The Role of the Negro Press", and"Role of the Collegiate Press".

Very truly yours,

C. G. Gomillion
Dean of Students

/m

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE
DEAN OF STUDENTS

RECEIVED
JAN 18
Southern Regional Council

January 14, 1954

Dr. G eorge S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your willingness to participate on the program of the annual meeting of the Alabama Division on February 4.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion

/m

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE DEAN

January 11, 1954

RECEIVED
JAN 12
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council has scheduled its annual 1954 meeting for Thursday, February 4 at the Alabama State College in Montgomery. The theme chosen for the program is "Next Steps in Public Education in Alabama". It is the desire of the Program Committee to have this theme discussed at the morning session from the points of view of (1) parent, (2) educator, (3) student, (4) minister, and (5) government official.

The Committee wishes you or some member of the Regional Office to discuss the theme from the point of view of the ideas and recommendations of the Southern Regional Council. This discussion would take up about one-half of the afternoon period, or about one hour. Please advise as to whether or not you, or Mr. Fleming, or Mrs. Tilly or someone else might be able to participate as indicated at the afternoon session.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion

/m
cc: Rev. Dan C. Whitsett
Mr. J. T. Brooks

Wrote him
Tried to
Lou -

W. G. F.
Left in M-G for F L G W C
Montgomery. Could you go?
If so, you answer Gomillion.
cc: Whitsett & Brooks
GSM

February 11, 1954

Mr. Bill Northcutt
Livingston College
Livingston, Alabama

Dear Mr. Northcutt:

We would be grateful for a copy of the January 22 Livingston Life which Mr. Gomillion praised at the February 4 meeting of the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Enclosed 3¢ stamp

ala

February 26, '54

Mr. H. J. Collins
Geneva, Alabama

Dear Mr. Collins,

That was most courteous of you to write about the visit from Dr. Parrish.

We wanted him to get people to thinking ahead on the whole matter. And we share your confidence that people in these States can work it out smoothly and in agreement.

Meanwhile, if we can be helpful in any way, we wish to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
FEB 23 1954
Southern Regional Council

County of Geneva

"Heart of the Wiregrass"

Geneva, Alabama

R. S. WARD
Judge Probate
Chairman Court of County Commissioners

H. GRADY GARNER
Commissioner
First District

MARVIN F. WOOD
Commissioner
Second District

T. J. MORRIS
Commissioner
Third District

G. R. FRENCH
Commissioner
Fourth District

W. R. DRAUGHON
Clerk and Register of Circuit Court
Clerk of Inferior Court

R. E. RICHARDS
Tax Assessor

J. E. BROXSON
Tax Collector

W. P. REGISTER
Sheriff

J. J. COLLINS
Supt. of Education

Feb 20 1954

Dr George S Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Dr Mitchell:

Dr C H Parrish Instructor University of Louisville was a caller at my office Feb 18 and gave us valuable information on racial relations. He is well informed and conducted himself in a most courteous manner on this vital subject. I feel assured that he is doing an excellent job in stimulating better relations between our races.

Geneva County Ala probably cannot be excelled in the active cooperation that we have among all people

Sincerely
J J Collins
Supt of Education

March 5, '54

Dear Mr. Nichols,

Most kind of you to write, and I am sure that Mr. Parrish felt rewarded by his visit to you and to Brewton.

His is a remarkable history. When the Louisville Municipal College was merged with the University of Louisville some three years ago he was the only Negro faculty member taken over to the combined institution. At first they denied him access to teaching, but pretty soon got over it, and he is a popular and regular member of the teaching staff. Our Council is poor, but when Parrish had a six-months' sabbatical we thought we ought to get him at work in spreading the discussion-group idea. And he has been useful, I am sure.

Do move ahead with your local group. It doesn't need organization; merely good-will. Much of consequence for the future of your area would flow from such small gatherings.

We think most highly of Whitsett, and of Turnipseed, both of whom are helpful to us in Alabama.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

RECEIVED
MAR 5 1954
Southern Regional Council

First Methodist Church
JOHN BRANSFORD NICHOLS, MINISTER
Brewton, Alabama

March 3, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I believe it was on Thursday, February 25, that Dr. C.H. Parrish of the University of Louisville came by for a chat. He planned to see others in Brewton, but I do not know how many others he interviewed. I enjoyed his visit and the conversation, and am glad that he is meeting an encouraging response in his travels.

We do not have a local interracial committee, but I have thought of asking several ministers and school men to meet together for discussion and planning. Such a small group could plan more wisely its own enlargement and work out an agenda for further discussions.

I shall be happy to hear Dr. Parrish's conclusions after he has completed his itinerary.

Tickler 54
Mar 20, 54
done

Sincerely,
John Bransford Nichols

April 10, '54

Mr. T. M. Patton
Lomax-Hannon College
Greenville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Patton,

Mighty kind of you to write about the visit from Mr. Parrish. We were glad to be able to send him out, and have had only pleased reports of his efforts to get more discussion, and better -informed discussion, going in Alabama on the Schools matters.

We hope to expand our work in Alabama in the next few months, and hope you will be interested. They will enlarge the Alabama Division of SRC, of which Mr. Dan Whitsett at Sylacauga is Chairman (I belive Mr. Gomillian is a Vice-Chairman), and will take on paid staff, and generally begin to be active. Do help out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

T. M. PATTON
President

W. M. SMITH
Secretary

Lomax-Hannon College

Auspices A. M. E. Zion Church
GREENVILLE, ALA.

BISHOP JAMES C. TAYLOR
Chairman, Board of Trustees

REV. WM. BASCUM
Treasurer

April 9, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 10
Southern Regional Council

Dr.S.Mitchell,Excutive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street,North East
Atlanta,Georgia

Dear Dr.Michell:

One of your representatives was to see us a few weeks ago.He talked with our leading citizens of both races concerning the pending decision of the United States Supreme Court relative to segregation in the public schools.I think that he made quite a hit.It was a pleasure to have had him visit our school and I did what I could to furnish him with the information he desired.

With warm personal regards,I am sincerely yours,

T. M. Patton

T.M.Patton

April 26, 1954

Reverend Thomas R. Thrasher
Church of The Ascension
McDonough at Clanton
Montgomery 6, Alabama

Dear Reverend Thrasher:

I do greatly appreciate your letter of April 23rd, and I am glad to know that things are coming along so well in Alabama.

Sorry not to get there for the meeting on the 22nd, but I am available and can consult with you and the others a lot.

I note that Mr. Trenholm was elected to the Board in the meeting in December.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
CC: Dr. Dan C. Whitsett

Church of The Ascension
McDonough at Clanton
Montgomery 5, Alabama

Rev. Thomas R Thrasher
Rector

April 23, 1954

RECEIVED
APR 26 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We had our meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council yesterday and we were very sorry that you were not able to be with us. I am sure it would have helped greatly to have your wise counsel and advice. However, it was our considered opinion that we wished to cooperate 100% with the program proposed, which has been made possible by the grant of money from the Ford Foundation. It is our opinion that October 1, 1954, is about as early as we would be able to get personnel and office and secretary, etc. all together. Therefore, we voted to accept your proposal as of that date. Meantime, the Board has its eyes open for possible Executive and Associate, with Dan Whitsett as Chairman and Mr. Shores and Mr. Hunter as his cohorts. A committee is in existence to receive suggestions and to investigate possible persons as our Executive Director. We are quite anxious to hear from you in regard to a possible Associate for Alabama and we hope that there may be a person that you know of in Tennessee who would serve the two states.

We are making no present effort to raise funds, but rather have the feeling that the fund-raising will be a necessary part of our program after our office is open. I believe that that covers the main things that we discussed and decided at our meeting yesterday. Of course, you know how pleased we all are at this "shot in the arm" for the great program you have labored so valiantly to set in motion.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Thomas R. Thrasher

trt:ep

(Copy to Dr. Dan C. Whitsett)

Thomas R. Thrasher
Secretary, Alabama Division
Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council

P.S.
I find from the minutes of the Executive Committee meeting in December that Mr. H. Council Trenholm was elected to the Board of the S.R.C. from the Alabama Division.

4

June 15, 1954

Professor John Griffin
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear John:

Our people in Alabama are considering as a man for the State Secretary job there, Robert Hughes, late BD from Emory, and now filling his first charge at Rockford, Alabama.

Can you find out for me what the Emory opinion of him was?

Gratefully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Hughes, Robert

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL SERVICE

June 22, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

You asked me to do some inquiring about Robert E. Hughes. I have talked to one member of the faculty who knew him fairly well when he was here--but has had little contact with him in the last three or four years since he left Emory. This faculty member, who is a good friend of mine, said that Mr. Hughes was a man with broad human sympathies and an inquiring interest in human beings. He pointed out that his many activities, such as the founding of a group to work at Grady Hospital on Saturday and Sunday nights to give comfort to those coming into the emergency clinics, demonstrate these qualities. He said, however, that he thought you would wish to inquire about his maturity in associating himself with others and his ability in tense situations. I don't know how you would go about making such inquiries, but I quote the comments to you. My friend said that he was not in any way seeking to prejudice the case against him, emphasizing that he had not seen him in several years, but that he was only raising such questions he thought you would wish to seek the answers on.

I enclose a data sheet which he filled out about himself in 1950 and a note from Mrs. Stowers, Field Work Secretary, who knew him fairly well.

Since I have dictated the above I have talked to Dr. Brewer. He said he would raise about the same questions that have already been raised. He has not seen the man in several years, but thinks that it may well turn out that he is an appropriate man for the job.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin
Director

JAG:bjk
Enc.

RECEIVED
JUN 24 1954
Southern Regional Council

EMORY UNIVERSITY

INTER-OFFICE MEMORANDUM

MEMO TO Mr. John Griffin SUBJECT Robert E. Hughes

FROM Helen Stowers DATE 6-16-54

Bob had made two copies, so I am sending one to you. Note date is 4 years old.

In 1951, Bob went to Cuba for summer under the Cuba Project.

He did some work under Mr. Laird while on the campus.

He was head of the Grady Hospital Service Group.

DON'T SAY IT - WRITE IT

4/3/50

INFORMATION SHEET ON ROBERT E HUGHES

Age - 22 years

Hometown - Gadsden, Alabama (Pop. - 45,000 and industrial)

Father's occupation - Medical doctor

Pre-College Information

President of MYF and Sunday School class.
Junior Assistant Scoutmaster

College -

Studies

(1) A. B. in June, 1949. University of Alabama. Double major - political science and history
(2) Two quarters graduate work in political science, specializing in international relations in 1949.
(3) Freshman in theology school, 1949-1950.

Activities (extra-curricular)

(1) Non-religious organizations - Alpha Phi Omega service fraternity, International Relations Club, Alabama Student Conference for Civil Rights, charter member and University of Alabama chapter chairman, Committee for the U. N. O. (interracial) Atlanta Intercollegiate Council.

(2) Religious - Four years, Wesley Foundation council and cabinet, Two years University Religious Council, president one year, Pi Tau Chi honorary religious fraternity, Katie Belle Harrison religious scholarship, Georgia Interdenominational Student Conference.

Note: I came to seminary last fall after a year or so of confusion. My intention was to "try it out" for a year, this being done on the advise of Dr. E. S. Jones. At present I feel I want to return next year and all my plans and desires are to finish here.

My highest hopes are to become a foriegn missionary though I realize this is dependent upon my own spiritual development.

I have never preached a sermon and if called upon to do so I will speak upon only what I sincerely believe. All I can say is that I am now seriously searching for the truth.

P. S. I do not type or write shorthand.

June ~~[illegible]~~ 24.

Call Reverend Mr. Duncan Hunter,

Alexander City, Alabama - 4-3331
Adams 4-2633 (home)

and talk with him about choice of

personnel for Alabama.

They had proposed a Reverend Mr. Hughes

for the Executive and Mr. J. S. Carroll

for the Associate. Hunter and Carroll

were in this office ~~Tuesday~~ Monday, 14th.

Dear Dr. Mitchell: I thought you might be interested in this material. It was relayed to me for use as I see fit. E.O.J.

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1954
Southern Regional Council

Emory O. Jackson

August 12, 1954

EDITOR, THE ALABAMA JOURNAL

The editorial under the title 'I Want To Go Back Home' appearing in The Alabama Journal, August 11, 1954, was misleading and cannot be substantiated by the facts.

You state that "nowhere in Alabama are race relations better than in Macon County.... in spite of isolated exceptions". The real truth is that this incident referred to is the exception and not the rule. You speak of a Negro who waived extraditions in Philadelphis because of a nostalgic urge to return to Tuskegee presumably to be booked for murder.

Let me point out at the very outset, that the present chief law enforcement officer for the county seems to put forth determined efforts to deal fairly with all persons. During his four years as sheriff of Macon County, no instance of brutality or maladministration have come to the attention of the writer.

It is amazing how your paper and is companion morning newspaper will blow up an isolated case of good race relations in Macon County all out of proportion to its news worthiness, to prove you points.

One wonders why your paper did not carry a single line concerning the beating of Willie Horn, a Negro boy, on July 2, 1954, by a Tuskegee City policeman (Scott) and his aides, because he associated with a white boy and had the temerity to visit with the white boy in his home. After severely beating this helpless boy for the heinous crime of inter-racial association, Scott directed him to run across a field, then shot at hims six times, stated Willie Horn. Willie Horn said

further, "Policeman Scott and Two more men, on in uniform and one in civilian clothes, all white men, drove, up and Mr. Scott asked me to get in the car. They carried me down the street by Conner Brothers. Mr. Scott proceeded to ask me what I was doing down to that white boy's house. I told him I went there to help him take some gas. 'I don't care what he asked you to do, we are going to take you down to the Area and kill you tonight.' He carried me to the beach at the Area and make me lay down with my face down, then he cut him a stick and then started to whipping me everywhere. The other man in civilian clothing went out and broke him a bigh pine stick. He then started hitting me in the head and every other place-both were beating me at the same time. I addition to beating me with sticks, Scott told me to start running out across the field, then he shot at me six times. Then they got in the car and rode off. I then started walking back up the road (Highway 80). When I had almost reached home, near the Buick place, Scott and the other Policeman picked me up. They then carried me up to Averett's Junk Yard and turned around. Scott tole me if I told my daddy what happened, he was going to kill me".

So, this is the sad story of a Negro boy who dared to assist a white boy home with some gasoline.

Now, this is only part of the story in this utopia of good race relations.

Suppose we take a look at the voter registration situation. The hundreds of Negroes making applications for registration certificates must wait for long hours in the hallways and stairways of the court house to get into the Prisoner Room (approximately 8x 10) which is used to register Negroes. In addition to waiting

long hours to get into the room to make application, hundreds must go back two to five times before they are finally passed by the Macon County Board of Registrars. White persons who are out-numbered by Negroes in the county five to one, make applications in a much larger room in another section of the court house.

During 1953, 1954 Negroes applications were made but only 27 received certificates of registration. Our records for 1954 show that 391 applications were made by Negroes, but only 135 certificates have been issued through the last registration day, Monday, August 2, 1954.

It would appear to the writer that any newspaper seeking a true picture of a situation, would get the ever-present "both sides".

I hasten to say, however, that there is an absence of violence in Tuskegee and Macon County

William P. Mitchell P.O. Box 467

Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

August 17, 1954

Mr. Emory O. Jackson
The Birmingham World
312 North 17th Street
Birmingham 1, Alabama

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Kind of you to send over what the man Graves had to say. A pity about that man.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 20, 1954

Reverend Thomas R. Thrasher
315 Clanton Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Thrasher:

We are sending you, under separate cover and at the direction of Mr. Fred Routh, some SRC letterhead to be used by the Alabama Division.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary

eab/

Liz — mailed 9/20/54

Please send a box of our SRC - Letterhead stationery to

Rev. Thomas. R. Thrasher
315 Clanton ave
Montgomery, Ala.

its for the use of our Alabama division.

Fred.

original in Bd. file

Ala(?)

December 17, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for the copy of the material which you submitted concerning program functions, etc. of the Southern Regional Council in your communication of December 13. I am hoping that the State of Alabama will be able to present its proposed program by January 1 as requested by the Regional Council.

Best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

CGG:p

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 13, 1954

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Development of State Programs

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

You will recall that the Board of the Southern Regional Council, in session November 10, requested affiliated state organizations to submit by January 1, 1955, their proposed programs for the coming year. This memorandum offers some background and suggestions to assist you in this task.

The following are the general functions of the Southern Regional Council and a list of specific criteria for state programs, each briefly discussed:

PROGRAM FUNCTIONS AS DEFINED IN THE STATEMENT OF POLICY AND AIMS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. To create in each state a representative body of white and Negro citizens to consider in full democracy the necessary steps toward genuine integration.

2. To serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race.

3. To strive to create an atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discrimination based upon race will no longer persist.

4. To stimulate local interest to work for local solutions in full democracy, in order that legislative and judicial rulings may be translated into justice in everyday life.

5. To seek practical solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements.

6. To encourage effective functioning of enlightened citizens through the civic life of their communities, rather than becoming a mass pressure organization.

7. To further its objectives through fact-finding, conference and persuasion, and through consultation with public agencies and officials.

8. To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots and hate organizations.

9. To present the facts about the region and their implications.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING PROGRAM PROPOSALS
OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED WITH SRC

I. Is the program proposed compatible with SRC's policy and aims?

See the preceding list of SRC functions as defined in the statement of policy and aims, December 1951. A leaflet reprinting the entire policy statement is enclosed.

II. Who made the plan?

See Item 1 in the list of functions. Your proposed program should reflect the combined thinking and approval of representative members of the state Board, including both races and the various religious and organizational interests represented.

III. Is the program oriented to the main challenge facing the state at this time - i.e., adjustment to the Supreme Court decision?

While it is expected that the state organizations will be broadly interested in the human relations problems and opportunities of their states, the challenge of the decision should be recognized as the focal point of action in this field. Obviously this will mean different things in different states. In some of the more advanced states, it may mean working with educational authorities, parent-teacher groups, and others on the mechanics and details of school integration as an accepted goal. In other more uncertain states, it will be necessary to aim program activities at building more acceptance for the idea of integration. In the deep South states, the work of persuasion must start on an even more elementary level and interest may have to be sought for such intermediate objectives as preserving the public school system, combatting intimidation and economic pressure on Negro and liberal white spokesmen, emphasizing church pronouncements and the importance of abiding by the law despite personal preference. However, these varying approaches all have in common the recognition that compliance with the Supreme Court's decision must be an ultimate goal of our operation.

IV. How practical is the program in terms of the organization's staff and resources?

There are clearly strict limits on what one professional staff person -- or even two -- can do by way of personal contact and the influencing of opinion. The central office's concept of staff function, in the light of these limitations, should be applicable to the state organizations as well. Generally, it recognizes that we are not aiming to influence directly people in the mass. Rather, we are trying to stimulate and assist key local people. Every community has its present or potential "spark plugs" whose racial views are enlightened. They may be ministers, church women, public officials, businessmen, civic and labor leaders, newspapermen -- in short, anyone who plays an influential role in the life of the community. These are the people with whom we work. Staff time should be spent mainly in planning with and activating such key people, through personal contact, SRC materials, and correspondence. (See Item 4 in the list of functions.)

The importance of bi-racial professional staff is evident in this definition of the job to be done. We can hardly hope to persuade perceptive lo-

cal people of our good faith unless we exemplify in our own organization the principles we are advocating. Nor, in this divided society, can we bring people of the two races together unless the insights of both races are reflected both at the policy and at the staff levels. Contrary to some assumptions about human relations activity, a Negro staff member may often approach white leadership more effectively than a white staff member; and a bi-racial professional staff will increase, rather than lessen, respect for our organizations and belief in our sincerity.

The ways in which bi-racial staff can be attained -- through additional fund-raising for salaries, through employment of consultants, etc. -- have been and will be dealt with elsewhere. But this should be an ever-present consideration in program planning.

V. <u>To what extent does the program involve lay community leadership?</u>

In view of our limited staff, much of the program load must be shared by Board members and other individuals related to the state organizations. Every such person should be an active influence in his or her community, working closely with state staff, and involving other local people in the program of the state organization.

Members of the state organization's policy group should also participate in statewide program. The most effective way to accomplish this is for the Board to establish its own subgroups which will be concerned with particular phases of the organization's activity, including fund-raising. Without such lay participation, at both the community and the state level, the staff will find it virtually impossible to implement an effective program.

VI. <u>Does the program aim at developing processes which in themselves lead to the elimination of racial distinctions?</u>

Every state and every community has its own particular character and circumstances to which program must be adapted; it is for that reason that we have put emphasis on the large degree of self-determination that must be exercised by each state organization in shaping its structure and program. Given that fact, however, it can probably be said that every effective community-action program will have as its effect a process in which white and Negro citizens of comparable achievements and interests are communicating and planning together as equals. The success, then, of a state program can be evaluated in terms of its effectiveness in encouraging and assisting this process in the public and institutional life of a state. Such local planning and discussion today clearly should center on the overriding question of adjustment to the Supreme Court's decision -- gathering the facts about the local school system and reaching agreement on practical steps to be taken.

The formation of new local interracial groups is sometimes an appropriate way to achieve this, but it is by no means the only way or the best way. It is often more fruitful to explore the opportunities for sound process within existing bodies and community activities. Examples.

A. Bonafide Negro representation on school boards and other official bodies.

B. Negro participation at the policy level in such agencies as community chests and councils, YMCA's and YWCA's, hospital boards, professional

associations, and other quasi-public agencies.

C. Bi-racial participation -- preferably through integrated membership, but when necessary through liaison committees -- in such private organizations as PTA's, teachers associations, councils of church women, ministerial associations, and the like.

D. The self-survey method, in which community leaders join together across the lines of race, religion, and interest groups to gather the facts about common problems and plan remedies. This technique is amply discussed in SRC literature and should be familiar to all state personnel.

Where full participation is not thought to be immediately possible, interim steps, such as Negro advisory committees or advisory interracial groups, may be temporarily useful but great care should be taken to insure that they do not become permanent "escape hatches" for those in authority. There is no substitute for full and unqualified participation by all segments of the community.

There are many ways in which the state organization can promote the growth of democratic process. Obvious examples are: conference with community leadership or persons with access to community leadership; informing individuals and the public generally of good precedents in other communities in the state or in the South; offering technical assistance in the form of materials and consultation (for example, the self-survey).

VII. Does the program tend to strengthen the representativeness of the state organization?

This refers to the fact that careful attention should be given to involving persons who are representative of as many religious, professional, and civic interests as possible.

VIII. Does the program seek to make maximum use of SRC materials?

There is a variety of ways in which the materials of SRC and related agencies can be useful in increasing the outreach and effectiveness of the state program.

A. To disseminate through the press and other public media information that will stimulate constructive action.

B. To promote understanding of the services and methods of the organization itself.

C. To assist local people in adapting to their community techniques that have worked elsewhere.

Thus the use of materials should be regarded not as incidental, but as integral to, the program.

IX. Does the program create a basis for self support?

The broad objective of SRC's work with affiliated state groups is the formation, within a comparatively short time, of effective, independent, self-

supporting human relations services in each Southern state. The period of subsidy is short. If the goal is to be achieved, the state organization must not only raise the required supplementing funds for today, but quickly establish itself as an indispensible service to forward-looking individuals and agencies throughout the state. And this can only be accomplished by good programming that gets results. In this sense fund-raising cannot be viewed as a thing apart from program; they must be planned together.

GSM/as/rnf
12/14/54

January 19, 1955

Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum
Muscle Shoals Theatres
Florence, Alabama

Dear Mr. Rosenbaum:

We are glad you found the Answers for Action bulletin helpful. We have re-done the map, in this later printing, and think it much better than the old one.

I send over two copies of the pamphlet. If you can send us forty cents we will be grateful.

We are all proud of the helpful part that Rabbi Mantinband is playing in Mississippi, and remember his pleasure in his stay in your territory.

Our members in Alabama are supposed now to be building up the strength of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, affiliated with SRC. The Alabama Council has an office at Room 206 Moore Building, Montgomery, and has employed a Mr. Robert Hughes as its Executive.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
AFA sent under separate cover this date.

JAN 18 1955

B'NAI B'RITH

Joseph Cahn, Executive Secretary

Established 1843 - District Organized 1873

DISTRICT GRAND LODGE NUMBER 7

OFFICERS:
Aaron Topek, President
Houston, Texas
Morris L. Strauch, 1st Vice President
Memphis, Tenn.
Bernard Klein, 2nd Vice President
Beaumont, Texas
Harry Friedman, 3rd Vice President
Texarkana, Arkansas
Stanley Rosenbaum, Treasurer/Comptroller
Florence, Ala.
Label A. Katz, Immediate Past President
New Orleans, La.
John Horwitz, District Counsel
Oklahoma City, Okla.
AND STATE ASSOCIATION PRESIDENTS

TELEPHONE UPTOWN 9528
5342 ST. CHARLES AVENUE
New Orleans, La.

Stanley Rosenbaum
Office of the Treasurer/Comptroller and
District Membership Retention Chairman
River View Drive
Florence, Ala.

STATE ASSOCIATION PRESIDENTS:
George Haiman, Mobile, Ala.
Ben Kluglose, Little Rock, Ark.
Sol Shnaider, New Orleans, La.
Albert Feldman, Booneville, Miss.
Louis B. Horwitz, Ponca City, Okla.
James Levenson, Jackson, Tenn.
Hyman Marcus, San Antonio, Texas

January 17, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have been a member of your organization for some years and I am always interested in your publications. A recent brochure of yours had a map in the back which I found very valuable, showing the percentage of Negro population in every county in the South. I have lost this map and I have occasion to use it. Kindly send me two more copies of it if you have them.

Thanking you, I am,

Sincerely,

Stanley T. Rosenbaum

Stanley Rosenbaum
Muscle Shoals Theatres
Florence, Alabama

SR:df

January 26, 1955

Father Albert S. Foley
Department of Social Sciences
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

George Mitchell has turned over to me your letter outlining the Community Relations Workshops which are being held by Spring Hill College at the downtown evening division. George says that I'm the guy who does the sort of consultant work for which you ask.

Actually I am assistant director of the Council in charge of developing our twelve state organizations. Within the next six weeks to two months, I shall make a swing through Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana and shall plan to be with you on a Monday evening. I will notify you well in advance of a specific date and will be glad to discuss with your group either the program of the SRC or any other facet of community relations which you would care to assign to me.

I am a former professor of human relations at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida and have had considerable experience in community relations work by being one of the original instigators and first board members of the Dade County Council on Community Relations. Furthermore, I was the director of community research and planning for the Department of Human Relations at Miami.

I remember Spring Hill College in a nostalgic sort of way for way back in 47 or thereabouts I attended a debating tournament called, as I remember, the Azalea Tournament. I am glad to see that you are taking an active part with our Alabama Council on Human Relations

for I believe the Catholic Church has a lot to contribute in its concept of man's relationship to God and man's relationship to man to such a group. Father Twomey in Louisiana and Monsignor Brunini in Mississippi have both been very helpful to us and very generous with their time.

I look forward to being with you some Monday evening in the not too distant future.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

JAN 25 1955

January 23, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
64 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George,

Each Monday for the next four months we will be running a "Community Relations Workshop" in conjunction with our evening division downtown. We have enrolled a number of community leaders and teachers for the operation and we definitely need some help. We estimate that the total enrollment will be around forty, with some variations depending on the areas being discussed and worked on.

Could you send me two dozen or so copies of "Your Community Looks at Itself" as a started?

I would like to have some sample copies of other publication of SRC and application blanks too for orders and memberships.

If you know any resource persons who will be on tour between Atlanta and New Orleans during the next four months, we'd like to have some warning about them so as to contact them as possible consultants for the workshop or discussion leaders or speakers. We plan on evening sessions from seven to ten every Monday night, starting January 31.

Best wishes for a happy 1955. We had a fine meeting yesterday up in Montgomery for the planning of the Ala Council on Human Relations annual meeting in February. All is not dead andhopeless in "Bama".

C ordially yours,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D.
Department of Social Sciences

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

Rae gives me

this as FDR's

answer to Fr. Foley

as you requested.

OK

EAB.

February 8, 1955

Father Albert S. Foley, S.M., Ph.D.
Department of Social Sciences
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

As things now stand I shall be in Mobile to speak with your group on Monday, the 28th of February. There will be no cost involved for I will be on a return hop from New Orleans and will pause in flight at Mobile. If there is any specific topic you would like me to handle, please let me know. Otherwise, I will plan on speaking on developments in the South in the past ten years and more particularly the work of the Southern Regional Council.

Have you thought of using Bob Hughes as a panelist for your workshop group, explaining the work of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and its possibilities and potentialities for assisting Alabama and Mobile in adjusting to the problems that we all face.

Trusting that this date will not be inconvenient to you and that I can be of service to your group, I remain

Respectfully yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf

February 4, 1955

COPY

Dear Father Foley:

We have forwarded to you some information which may aid you with the workshop discussion in community relations. It was impossible to send as much material as you requested. I have taken the liberty of referring your letter to Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Georgia and requested that he send you available information.

It may be that Dr. Mitchell could recommend resource persons who would be travelling down your way. Dr. Mozelle Hill of the Department of Sociology could perhaps be called upon to serve as a consultant. I will let the latter know of your desire for assistance.

With very best wishes for your success, I am

Cordially yours,

Robert A. Thompson
Acting Executive Director

Father Albert S. Foley S. J.
Department of Social Sciences
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

RAT:mm

FBR

FEB 7 1955

Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama
February 3, 1955

COPY

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

As I am in process of directing a workshop in community relations in conjunction with our evening division, I would like to have some material on the Atlanta community (is race) relations picture.

Could you possibly send me three dozen copies of "The Negro School Child in Atlanta", and the full report on which the pamphlet is based?

If there are any other materials on housing, employment, police treatment, access to public facilities, etc., available, I would like to have two or three dozen copies of each for use in the workshop -- in which we have prominent citizens and community leaders as well, both white and Negro.

I would like to know also whether there would be any prominent Negro leaders from Atlanta or Atlanta University or the other Negro colleges there who might be travelling down this way, or available for consultants or resource persons down here. One of our big handicaps in the workshop is the lack of a full-scale Negro university in the vicinity on which we might draw for help.

Thanking you for your kindness, I remain

Cordially yours,

Father Albert S. Foley S. M. Ph.D.
Department of Social Sciences

J. E. PIERCE
284 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

March 7, 1955

Mr. J.E. Pierce
284 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Pierce:

Thank you for your letter of March 4th to Dr. Mitchell. We are sending under separate cover to the people listed in your letter copies of the following materials:

5 copies Answers for Action
5 copies New South, August 54, The Churches Speak
5 " " " September 54, A Legal View, Segregation in the Schools
5 " " " November 54, Integration in the Armed Services
5 " Promotion Leaflet, Changing Patterns
5 " Toward the South of the Future
5 " New South, February 55
5 " Promotion Leaflet, New South

Under separate cover we are sending the same materials to you.

We are delighted to know that this group is working on behalf of the interests of the Southern Regional Council in the thirteen counties of Northeast Alabama.

For your personal use we are sending a memorandum on the development of state programs and a copy each of "The Negro and the Schools" and "Schools in Transition."

With personal good wishes and sincere appreciation for your interest,

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf
cc:CNP

Copy to C.H.P. for your info. 7R 9T.H

MAR 4 1955

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send to the members listed below copies of what ever free material might be availbale so that they can conduct a spirited campaign for new member. It is well that something on the organization and function of the Council be forwarded.

I have found that many of them do not know of the work of this organization and it was their request that something be given them so that they will have a better approach to proppective members. If possible send several copies of the same thing and I believe this will help much in achieving their goal.

These men will work the thirteen counties in Northeast Alabama.

The ones requesting literature are:

Dr. R. E. Tidwell, Stillman College and Dr. Irving Lo, of the same college.

Dr. Walter E. Brown Wilson Lake Shore Drive, Sheffield, Alabama
Mr. R. M. Clark, 509 Alabama Street, Florence, Alabama

Mr. L. J. Martin, 704 East Ninth Street, Tuscumbia, Alabama

Revdrend, H. D. Anderson, P.O. Box 265, Tuscumbia

Father Aloysius Plaisance, St Bernard College, Cullman, Alabama

Thanks very much for this favor

Yours Truly
J. E. Turner

March 15, 1955

Mr. Emory Jackson
312 North 17th St.
P.O. Box 1968
Birmingham 1, Ala.

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is the Tom Stokes column.

I surely hope that Pierce and/or Dr. Donald Strong will be interested in working on an article illustrating the real source of the kind of race baiting material which so frequently appears. I would think that material they have available on the total size of the electorate in certain counties in Alabama and the restrictions on the Negro franchise related to the Alabama legislators who come from these counties would make a very telling story.

Thanks for your new packet of clippings. They really are incredible.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH:/rnf

March 15, 1955

Dr. James E. Pierce
284 South Jackson
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Pierce:

We have been working out a plan to bring together the staff in the states early in June.

Partly for the felt need of further conference on all our joint problems, and partly to give an opportunity for the new state staff to get acquainted with W. W. Alexander. Dr. Will started in 1919 the work which preceeded the Southern Regional Council. He farms now in retirement near Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Harry Jones has arranged for accomodation for us at a point about four miles from Chapel Hill. Time proposed: from before supper Wednesday, June 1st, till the afternoon of Friday, June 3rd. Details later on travel, but in general by train one would go to Raleigh or by plane to Raleigh-Durham.

Travel into and from and maintenance at the spot (quite reasonable) for state staff would be at the expense of state organizations.

We would warmly expect you, and any one regularly-serving professional staff of the other race. Please begin the process of clearing the travel with your Executive Committee, and let us know if you can come.

Sincerely,

George S.Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

March 21, 1955

Mr. Freeman Drake, Sr.
P. O. Box 17
Standing Rock, Alabama

Dear Mr. Drake:

I am glad you are working to get the Alabama Council on Human Relations further along. Be in touch with Mr. Hughes, who is its head man in the office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Robert Hughes

Standing Rock. Ala.
P.O. Box 17.
Mar 16th 1953.

Mr. George S Mitchell
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Mr Mitchell
I am just so proud of my affiliation and membership with you all. I answerd mr C.G. Gommillions request of me on being one of the solicitors for the Chambers Countys membership drive in which I accepted but. I have no automobile for to get around. it suits me fine. and I am asking financial guidance protection and a better know how for I am going look step forward up and speak with my mouth open. for the anual meeting I spent $15-00 to get one man from Chambers one man one lady from randolph County to attend with great success. it arroused both Countys.

now mr mitchell you told it group in montgomery that there were help protection and money for us but we would have to do something to get it I am asking for a share for this drive you know it takes time to conquer a mind and enterst of the people and care for this is a complicated feild to work in to as you spoke to about avolding the wrong boys. such is one of my highs interest and highs ambition.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Very truly yours.

Freeman Drake, Sr.

MAR 1[illegible] 55

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Dear Mr. Drake,

I am glad you are working to get the Alabama Council on H man Relations further along. Be in touch with Mr. Hughes, who is its head man in the office.

Sincerely,

FILE COPY

August 26, 1955.

Mr. Walter E. Brown
Wilson Lake Shores
Sheffield, Alabama

Dear Walt:

I am the one who feels remiss for not having written sooner in appreciation of the hospitality that you and Shirley provided and the other good offices of the local group. I was much impressed, as was Fred, by the quality of the members that you have rallied in the tri-cities area.

I like your idea of securing a speaker who can give a clear and persuasive account of the legal situation. The problem about Morris Abram is that he is extremely busy at this time and we have called on him for so many things that I am reluctant to make yet another request. Since he knows that I know how busy he is I think you might stand a better chance of getting an acceptance if the invitation came from there. I have no doubt that Morris and Stanley Rosenbaum are well acquainted through their work in the Anti-Defamation League. Perhaps Stanley would be the logical local person to write Morris.

Let me know how this idea works out. If nothing comes of it, I'll be glad to help further in finding a good speaker.

All best regards to you all.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

Stanley Rosenbaum

Wilson Lake Shores
Sheffield, Alabama
August 22, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have allowed more than a month slip by without taking action on Southern Regional Council affairs. Belated as this may be, I want to express my appreciation as well as that of others in this area for the fine contributions you made.

You may be interested to know that Powell (the other speaker we had that evening) is reported to have been greatly surprised that there were so many there who feel that integration is inevitable. He is not exactly rolling on the ropes, but at least he may have a wee doubt in his mind.

In that connection, I am afraid we all have doubts because we cannot predict the future well enough. For that reason it would be very useful for us to hear a man from the legal profession discuss and predict as well as he can the nature and results of future court actions. Especially if his point of view is optimistic, it would give our group a better basis for future activities, it might cure some of our pessimisms, and it might give Powell the willies.

You mentioned Morris Abrams (?) as a possible speaker. I think he would be an excellent choice. If he were to come, we would make a special effort to invite men in the legal profession, especially those who might be called on to give advice to the school authorities, to attend the meeting and to meet him personally. Would you recommend that we write directly to Mr. Abrams, or would you use the influence of your office.

Your visit with Fred and Bob was one of the most pleasant things that we have experienced in quite a while. I hope you can find your way here again. My warmest regards to Fred, and our thanks.

Sincerely,

WEBrown

Walter E. Brown

November 8, 1955

Rev. Duncan Hunter, Chairman
Alabama Council on Human Relations
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Rev. Hunter:

The Executive Committee of the Council at its last meeting on October 28-29, 1955 approved an arrangement whereby the Chairman of each affiliated State Organization would be asked to nominate a member from his particular state to serve on a Finance Committee for the Southern Regional Council. It was agreed also that each state council would receive one half of the funds raised in its particular state by this proposed SRC committee.

The Executive Director has asked that I write to you and solicit your cooperation in selecting such a person from your state to serve on this proposed committee. The SRC Finance Committee must be formally a committee of the Board of Directors of SRC. But it is agreed that by no means all of the members of the committee need be members of the Board. So you are at liberty to suggest anybody in your state who could be helpful and who likely would be. We have no concern as to the race of members of this committee, and hope that some states will name persons from one group and others from another group.

It is very important that we proceed speedily to get an SRC Finance Committee into action.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rrh

November 11, 1955

Father Albert S. Foley, S. J.
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley,

Your letter requesting some American Friends Service Committee help for the forum series has reached me by a rather circuitous route and I am able to answer it now after some delay. George Mitchell says yes if we can fit it into the schedule, so both the American Friends Service Committee and SRC will be delighted to help.

The difficulty is that I have very few Monday nights remaining on the schedule, and I realize it must now be very late in your planning. But if it will work, let us by all means put it officially on the schedule. I'm noting the Monday nights which I have left available: December 19, January 16, January 30 (difficult and uncertain), February 6, March 6, March 13, and March 26. In addition, I expect to be officially working in Alabama during the week of March 19 to 23. I could be at the college on March 19, if it is worked out with Rev. Hughes of the Alabama Council office.

Rev. Hughes mentioned to me that the Mobile Council meets on the third Tuesday night of each month, and suggested that if we could arrange the forum for a third Monday, I might meet with both at the same time. I mention this in case it will mean any difference in your scheduling.

I hope this will be of some help to you even at this late date. In any event, my very best regards for your program.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

November 28, 1955

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.
Department Social Science
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Ala.

Dear Father Foley:

I am taking the liberty of answering your letter to Miss Irene Osborne of our staff in which you invite her to be present in Mobile on December 19 and 20.

Unfortunately, Miss Osborne is quite ill and is on leave of absence from SRC recuperating at her parents home in Ohio. She will be on leave until the first of the year. I hope it will be possible for you to work her into your schedule sometime after the first of the year and we shall write you as soon as Irene returns to this office and we have had an opportunity to discuss her proposed schedule.

I have reminded George Mitchell that you are expecting him on December 5. He looked at his calendar and said he remembered, so you may expect him out there then.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

December 2, 1955

Dr. Ira Lunan Ferguson, Ph. D.
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Ferguson:

Thank you for sending us the outline of your manuscript entitled "A Negro Dispels the Confusion Surrounding Desegregation".

The outline is very provocative, and we would be glad of an opportunity to read the manuscript. However, I can offer little hope of assistance in publication. Publishing a book -- even one of modest size -- is far beyond our means. All I can suggest is that you attempt to interest some of the established publishing houses which have demonstrated receptivity to materials of this kind. We should very much like to see a book of this sort in print.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

P. S. If you have not done so, you might consider submitting your manuscript to the Beacon Press, Boston, Mass. I am told that Miss Jeannette Hopkins there takes a special interest in material dealing with race relations.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
ALONZO J. DAVIS, DEAN

November 15, 1955

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NOV 17 1955

Gentlemen:

On the basis of interviews over a period of four years, plus my own research and observations, I have just completed a little book (approximately 25,000 words) entitled "A Negro Dispels the Confusion Surrounding Desegregation", written in popular style.

I am enclosing herewith the outline for your review with a view to publishing it. Would you be interested in my submitting the manuscript for your approval?

It is understood of course that you may use your editorial prerogative, from changing the title, if you so desire, to rearranging the chapters or other changes you see fit. I sincerely hope that this treatise, directed as it is to the popular market, will appeal to you. As you doubtless know, the literature in the area of race relations is concentrated on the academic level--where it is least needed and does the least good. To date, we have no popular work to counter Talmadge's new little book. It is to fill the void now existing in the popular field that I have written this book.

Very truly yours,

Ira Lunan Ferguson

Ira Lunan Ferguson, Ph.D.
Professor of Hygiene & Education

C O N T E N T S

Chapter I. HOW WILL WHITES BENEFIT FROM DESEGREGATION?

The Untapped Reservoir Which is the Negro
Benefit #1: A Clear Conscience
Benefit #2: Release from Fear
Benefit #3: Reduction of Areas of Ignorance
Benefit #4: Economics
Extravagance of Dual Facilities
Diversion of Negro Buying Power
Preventing Under-Production and Marginal Consumption
Cease the Concomitant Depression of Southern White Labor
Benefit #5: Extending Civic Liberty

Chapter II. EXPLODING THE INTERMARRIAGE FALLACY

Interview Responses of 2,023 White Southern Women
Opinions of White Southern Men
Integration Will Definitely Curb Miscegenation

Chapter III. DO NEGROES REALLY WANT INTEGRATION?

"Protective Flocking": Safety in Numbers
The Injustice of Denial
Prejudice is Learned
There is no "separate Equality"
Cultural Deprivation
Learning Democracy by Living Democratically
"Uncle Toms"--The Exceptions That Prove the Rule

Chapter IV. A MANUAL FOR NEGROES IN NEWLY INTEGRATED SITUATIONS

You Represent the Entire Negro Race
Must You Forever Discuss Race?
Cleanliness Is Next to Godliness
Work 60 Minutes in Every Hour
Be Courteous!
Don't Get Too Familiar!
Your General Decorum

Chapter V. A MANUAL FOR WHITES ON HOW TO TREAT NEGROES

Remember the Golden Rule; It's as Simple as That!

C O N T E N T S (cont.)

Must You Stare?
Negroes Have Other Things to Talk About Besides Color!
"Darky" Jokes are Taboo
Never Use the Common Opprobriums
"Colored" or "Negro"?
First Names
Observe the Social Amenities
Negroes Expect and Want to be Treated Just Like Anyone Else

***

Father Albert S. Foley, S. J.,
Department of Social Sciences,
Spring Hill College,
Spring Hill Station,
Mobile,
ALABAMA.

December 7th, 1955.

Dear Father Foley,

Back safe and sound. Saw the man Kauffman, not especially hopefully! Liked your nice friend who drove me in.

Hopped a free ride to Atlanta from the airport, and so got by for the whole trip at a total expense of $49.63; thanks mainly to the gracious hospitality of the College. Your check was too large for an even half of the expense, and we honorably (and intending to!) send you back the 5.18 of extra. 'Twill help some next poor sinner.

Enjoyed the people greatly.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.
Encl.

THE ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

December 17, 1955

COPY

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. L. H. Foster, President, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

IN RE: Correction in Date

Dear Friends:

I have just noted in my communication of December 16 that I inadvertently used the date of February 10 when the date should be Saturday, February 11 for the Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. I

I dispatch this "correction memorandum" today in order that there may be no confusion.

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:wjj
cc: Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Rev. Max T. R. Thrasher
Mr. J. T. Brooks
Dr. F. S. Routh

1954-55

112

ALABAMA

Officers of Alabama Division:

Chairman - Rev. Dan C. Whitsett, Sylacauga
V. Chairman - Dr. W. A. Bell, Miles College, Birmingham
Secretary - Rev. Thos. R. Thrasher, 1574 Gilmer Ave., Montgomery
Treasurer - Mr. J. T. Brooks, Alabama State College, Montgomery

People who have contributed large amounts in past.

Mr. Donald Comer
Avondale Mills
Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. M. H. Sterne
Rt. 2, Box 616
Birmingham,

Organizations who have contributed or with whom we have had contact.

Alabama CIO Union Council

Talladega College, Student Body and various faculty and student organizations

Alabama Conference, Woman's Society of Christian Service, The Methodist Church

Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces (Miss Roberta Morgan)

ALABAMA

Rev. Duncan Foster
First Methodist Church
Alexander City

Mr. Clay Long
P. O. Box 468
Andalusia

Mrs. C.B. McKissack
919 Brown's Ferry Road
Athens

Dr. A. R. Mead
Athens College
Athens

Dr. Paul Irvine
425 North College Street
Auburn

The Rev. and Mrs. F. D. Bedinger
2800 North 19th Street
Bessemer

Mr. and Mrs. Julian E. Adler
4313 Overlook Road
Birmingham 5

Dr. W. A. Bell, President
Miles College
Birmingham 8

Rev. J. B. Calhoun
503 North 66th Street
Birmingham 6

Mrs. Jordan Cowin
15 Alden Lane
Birmingham 9

Mr. H. G. Dyer
408 Dyer Drive
Birmingham

The Rev. Henry M. Edmonds
1819 8th Avenue, North
Birmingham

Mr. A. G. Gaston
Box 2621
Birmingham 2

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
624 Masonic Building
1630 Fourth Avenue, North
Birmingham

Mr. Emory O. Jackson
312 North 17th Street
Birmingham

Mrs. R. C. Johnson
509 11th Avenue, North
Birmingham

Dr. Allen N. Koplin
UMW - Welfare and Retirement Board
203 American Life Building
Birmingham

Dr. Beryl R. McClaskey
Ridgely Apartment
Birmingham

Mrs. Odessa McKenny
61 South 17th Court
Birmingham 5

Mr. William Mitch
520 Comer Building
Birmingham 4

Miss Roberta Morgan
309 North 23rd Street
Birmingham

Mrs. Mabel Barker Murphy
1030 Fourth Street, North
Birmingham

Mr. W. C. Patton
1121 Cahaba Street
Birmingham

Mrs. Richard H. Pearson
1325 North 32nd Street
Birmingham

The Rev. Julian Clyde Perry
306 South 18th Street
Birmingham 3

Mr. and Mrs. Tom S. Pippen, Jr.
505 Windsor Drive
Birmingham

Atty. and Mrs. A. D. Shores
1630 4th Avenue, North
Birmingham

Mrs. M. H. Sterne
Route 2, Box 616
Birmingham 5

Father Frank Wade
Box 2109
Birmingham

Miss Estella Warren
2015 6th Avenue, North
Birmingham 3

Mr. Eugene M. Wells
(Sec'y- Treas, Ala. Industrial
Union Council)
28½ South 20th Street
Birmingham 8

Mrs. S. R. Jones
303 North Orange Avenue
Dothan

Mrs. C.S. McDowell
Eufaula

Mrs. J. B. Parham
Eutaw

Mrs. Thomas R. Horne
Box 714
Fairhope

Mr. E. L. Colebeck
First Federal Building
Florence

Mr. And Mrs. Louis Rosenbaum
Schools Theatres
Florence

Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum (Theatre Manager)
Riverview Drive
Florence

Miss Brownie Lee Jones
P. O. Box 924
Gadsden

Mrs. W. F. Benson
Geneva

Mr. Robert A. Lambert
Brick Springs Road
Greensboro

Mr. and Mrs. Javail Dent
507 Harrison Street
Greenville

Rev. Jude McCauley, M.S.SS. T.
St. Joseph's Preparatory Seminary
Holy Trinity, Alabama

Mr. Charles V. Hendley
830 West Holmes Street
Huntsville, Alabama

Dr. J.R. Long
Marion

Rev. Leighton P. Arsnault
115 South Conception Street
Mobile

Fr. Albert S. Foley, S.J.
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile, Alabama

Fr. C. Franklyn Lynette, S.J.
Spring Hill College
Spring Hill Station
Mobile

Mr. W.H. Madison
P.O. Box 511
Mobile

Dr. Hallie Farmer
Alabama College
Montevallo

Mrs. J. M. Bentley
3339 Wilmington Road
Montgomery

Mr. P. M. Blair
1316 South Hall Street
Montgomery

Mr. and Mrs. J.T. Brooks (Faculty members)
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Mrs. N.W. Burks
1215 Tuscaloosa Street
Montgomery

Mr. and Mrs. E. B. Campbell
754 South Jackson Street
Montgomery

Rev. David F. Conrad
1605 West Haven Lane
Montgomery

Dr. and Mrs. R. D. Crockett
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Dr. V. E. Daniel, Dean
Alabama State College
Montgomery 1

Department of Home Missions
A.M.E. Zion Church
111½ Monroe Street
Montgomery

Mr. R. B.DeWitt
776 South McDonough Street
Montgomery

Mr. Charles G. Dobbins
2386 Wildwood Drive
Montgomery

Mr. and Mrs. E. E. Evans
1433 Cleveland Avenue
Montgomery

Rev. Uriah J. Fields
2716 Rutland Street
Montgomery

Miss Edith Gibson
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Mr. and Mrs. Isaac S. Hathaway
1318 Tuttle Avenue
Montgomery

Rev. G. Franklin Lewis
514 South Union Street
Montgomery

Mr. and Mrs. Rufus A. Lewis
801 Bolivar Street
Montgomery

Mrs. L.F. Maurer
713 "C", Gunter Air Force Base
Montgomery

Mr. T. J. Mayberry, Jr.
734 Elmwood Street
Montgomery

Dr. and Mrs. T. Fletcher McLeod
700 Terrace Avenue
Montgomery 6

Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Pierce
284 South Jackson Street
Montgomery

Prof. T. H. Randall(High School Principal)
484 South Jackson Street
Montgomery 5

Mr. and Mrs. I. B. Rutledge
641 West Edgemont Avenue
Montgomery

Mr. Z.F. Shelton (Post Office Clerk)
1820 Graham Street
Montgomery 6

Dr. and Mrs. C. T. Simpson
818 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery

Mrs. Willease Simpson
1037 Pelham Street
Montgomery

Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Taylor
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Bishop James Clair Taylor
113 Monroe Street
Montgomery

Rev. and Mrs. Thomas R. Thrasher
1574 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery

Mr. A. S. Turnipseed (Meth. Min.)
1429 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery

Dr. and Mrs. A. W. West, Jr.
746 South Jackson Street
Montgomery

Mrs. A. W. West, Sr.
729 South Jackson Street
Montgomery

Mrs. L.H. Whitted
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Mr. C. R. Williams
117¢ Monroe Street
P.O. Box 101
Montgomery

Dean A. R. Carter
State A and M College
Normal

Mrs. W. C. Carter
Prattville

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Rockford

Rev. R. A. Daly
410 Sylvan Street
Selma

Mr. and Mrs. Walter E. Brown
(Research Chemist)
Wilson Lake Shores
Sheffield

Miss Mary C. DeBardeleben
Shorter

Mr. Freeman Drake, Sr.
Standing Rock

The Rev. Dan C. Whitsett (Fellow)
107 East Spring Street
Sylacauga

Rev. and Mrs. John R. Bross
Talladega College
Talladega

Mr. W. D. Gay
Talladega College
Talladega

Mr. Samuel Burney Hay
Box 483
Tuscaloosa

Dr. Prince P. Barker (Physician)
Veterans Administration Hospital
Tuskegee

Mr. and Mrs. D.L. Beasley
Box 232
Tuskegee Institute

Dr. A.J. Davis
Box 846
Tuskegee Institute

Rev. V. A. Edwards
Box 925
Tuskegee Institute

Mrs. Curtis Franklin
Box "B" Veterans Hospital
Tuskegee

Mr. Charles G. Gomillion (Fellow)
Dean of Students
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute

Mr. Lewis W. Jones
Tuskegee Institute

Dr. Reuben A, Munday
P.O. Box 937
Tuskegee Institute

Mr. and Mrs. L. A. Potts
Box 448
Tuskegee Institute

Miss Adella R. Shields
Box 297
Tuskegee Institute

Mrs. Bettie G. Stokes
Box 477
Tuskegee Institute

Mrs. Maree N. Toland
Box 873
Tuskegee Institute

Mrs. Hattie S. West, Dean of Women
Box 96
Tuskegee Institute

Mrs. J. S. Crock
Union Springs

Miss Bethel Fite
Extension Division
University of Alabama
University

Mr. David Eddy
Southern Union College
Wadley

Mr. Griffin E. LLoyd
Wetumpka

January 30, 1956

The Rev. Gerald R. Duncan
Route 2 Box 477
Birmingham 9, Alabama

Dear Mr. Duncan:

I am sending you separately several published pieces of material which should be helpful to you. Please return the green pamphlet, since we have only one or two file copies left.

The best person at Emory with whom to discuss the Council is Dr. John A. Griffin, who has had a long time acquaintance with this work.

If specific questions arise, I shall be glad to have you write.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:

P. S. - Note that the lists of Directors shown on the older material are out of date.

Route 2 Box 477
Birmingham 9, Alabama
January 23, 1956.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing in regard to your letter of January 12. My schedule is such that I will not be able to visit your office before my paper is due. Therefore, I will appreciate your sending me any information that will not involve too much work for you.

I would also like to know if there is anyone from Emory University who is affiliated with the Council. If so, I might be able to talk with him.

Thank you for your help and cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Gerald R. Duncan

(Rev.) Gerald R. Duncan

GRD/bd

Ala

February 14, 1956

Mr. Walter W. Anderson, Jr.
1200- 12th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I do appreciate your writing.

There is nothing like a rule-book and nobody really knows what to do.

I will give you a few observations of what passes here as accumulated experience.

There will be a swing-back quite soon toward reasonableness. Way to swing back is to get some white and Negro people together - quietly and circumspectly.

Then begin to nail down the facts. Work with the facts together. Why, when, what, where, who and how?

In making friends as you find the facts together you bring surging health back into a community and throw out embryonic lines that will grow into a firm skeleton of understanding.

I will give you a queer observation which may not be a rule but which I find works. When there is trouble most people say there is something wrong with the white people - we had better fan them down. I say some cause of disturbance exists among the Negro people and their restlessness has been communicated to white people. So the real way to work out tension is to solve the Negro grievances.

So get your little group to work on exactly what the Negro grievances are and how they can be removed step by step.

Another good thing to remember is that Negro grievances almost never get aired. Contrive to get them stated and discretely circulated.

Of course, the propsect of desegregation at the University must be conceded. In my view disgraceful that they closed out the girl and didn't close down the University!

I guess Bob Hughes is your best source of continuing advice.

But you will find that such is the good sense and judiciousness of your local Negro community that systematic consultation with them will come close to leading you aright.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

MEMO

February 28, 1956

TO: HCF, FBR, RHA, GSA

FROM: GSM

On February 27, Duncan Hunter, Alabama Chairman, telephoned George Mitchell.

Among those who have become members of the Alabama Council was a man from Boaz whose political opinions were deeply suspicioned. Man has a wife teaching at what I think he calls James College, who seems pleasant and stable enough. Emory Jackson tells the Alabama Council that the Boaz individual is the correspondent for Alabama for The Daily Worker. Hunter wishes SRC's views as to whether the man's membership should be returned to him or not. Mitchell made reference to his outgoing letter of yesterday touching on that point. Hunter said Alabama Council makes no requirement in belief of principles of Alabama Council for membership. Mitchell said that if it could be established that the man was in fact correspondent for The Daily Worker that would seem sufficient proof of his being a Communist and would seem to warrant a letter to him stating that the Alabama Council would not care to have as a member one in disagreement with its own methods of protecting American freedoms.

They had no luck in finding an Alabama person to be their Finance Committee representative. Had their own State organization's feeble Finance Committee, but no one on it of stature. Would continue to look.

Had not heard that Bob Hughes might be called back into his church slot soon.

As to Mr. Gray, who is their Associate, one-half time. Began in that status February 1. But has been so occupied with the boycott that he has given the Alabama Council only one day of actual service during February. They were concerned about suitable pay for Gray and were concerned about having as their Associate in half-time pay status one who was nearly full-time engaged in pushing the boycott. Suggested that by a conference with Mr. Gray they see if Mr. Gray would request that his status be altered to that of consultant for a temporary period retroactive to February 1. Then let Mr. Hunter write us that Mr. Gray worked a certain number of days in February. And successively thereafter. Or the letter to us could come from Bob Hughes.

Ala

Mr. Thomas D. Russell, President
Alabama State Chamber of Commerce,
225 Dexter Avenue,
Montgomery, Alabama.

29th February, 1956.

Dear Sir:

We write you out of a deep concern for the present threat to the moral and economic well-being of the South arising out of controversies over segregation. It is our hope that your organization, which is committed to the progress of Alabama, will use its influence to promote discussion and understanding between genuinely representative members of both races.

Reasonable men and women in the South are disturbed by the extremist views which now dominate the public life of our region. They recognise that we will not solve our problems or advance the interests of the South by indulging our prejudices and passions. They are distressed by the absence of leadership on the side of calmness, constructiveness, and good will. They believe that racial differences can be worked out in every community by responsible white and Negro citizens.

Yet these people of good will are all but voiceless and powerless in the emotional climate which prevails. Our public policies on segregation are being dictated by fear and hysteria. The choice befwenthe South is falsely represented as a choice between absolute segregation and immediate, all-out

Mr. Thomas D. Russell, President
Alabama State Chamber of Commerce. 29th February, 1956.

integration. Defiance, resistance, nullification, repression, and intimidation are the order of the day, and it is no surprise that they bring in their wake violence, which everyone claims to abhor, Unless this trend is reversed, the South faces the prospect of grave economic and cultural damage.

In the last fifteen years, the South has embarked on an unprecedented period of economic growth: industrialization, business and financial development, and a general rise in prosperity. Not only continued progress but the gains that have already been made are imperilled by today's secessionist policies.

Will the new industries sought by the Southern States be eager to build expensive plants in areas where the existence of public schools is in doubt, where tension and violence threaten, where public officials advocate political and economic reprisals against all who disagree with them, where the very maintenance of law and order is uncertain?

Can we hope to sell our State bonds in the national market at reasonable interest rates while the air echoes with threats to abolish the schools and other public facilities?

In the face of such conditions, can we hope to hold and attract the talent we need to develop our resources -- the ablest teachers, scientists, professional people, executives in business and industry?

Can the South hope to take its rightful place in economic, religious, cultural, and political councils while our leadership seeks to isolate us from the rest of the nation and the world?

If the South is to continue to progress as a modern industrial society, we must meet the great question of our time with maturity and responsibility. We must, as a reasonable people, weigh the alternatives before us

Mr. Thomas D. Russell, President
Alabama State Chamber of Commerce.

29th February, 1956.

calmly and realistically, giving full consideration to their consequences. We must chart our public course with a sane regard for the changing demands of our age rather than blind, emotional attachment to the past.

The first step in this critically needed process is a calm sharing of views and ideas by informed representatives of both races within the South. Each community should be given both opportunity and encouragement to work out in this way its adjustment to the legal requirements of the Supreme Court decision.

For each Southern community there is a wise, workable program, neither rebellious nor precipitate, which sensible local people can agree upon. They will need to work together to find the facts, and then they will reach a decision together. Thereafter, with surprising acceptance, the workable plan can come into effect. You and your associates represent one of the South's strongest forces for orderly procedure. We sincerely urge that you lend the resources and influence of your organization toward the carrying-out, in detail, community by community, of this general plan.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.

GSM:rl.

Copy: Rev. Hughes
Dr. Gomillion

June 20, 1956

Dr. Stanley H. Smith, Chairman
Division of Social Science
Tuskegee Institute,
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Smith:

We have received your recent letter notifying us of your change of residence from North Carolina to Alabama and your affiliation with Tuskegee Institute. We are pleased that you wish to continue your relationship with our State affiliate of the Southern Regional Council.

The Alabama affiliate of our organization is:

The Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street,
Montgomery, Alabama. Telephone 2-0450

The Director of the Alabama Council is the Rev. Robert E. Hughes, a young Methodist minister with real ability in the field of human relations and a deep dedication to democracy. If you will explain your change of address to him, I am sure he will be glad to add you to the membership list of the Alabama Council. We have changed your address so that you will receive New South at Tuskegee.

Dr. Charles Gomillion of Tuskegee is a longtime member of the Southern Regional Council and a founding member of the Alabama Council. He will be glad to talk with you about the work of the Alabama Council and how you may fit in with it.

We are interested in your proposed study on "An Understanding of Race Relations in the South" and also "The Evaluation of the Attitudes of Negro Teachers Toward Desegregation." We would like to see them for study upon their completion.

Once more, thank you for your continuing interest in the field work in which are both engaged.

Sincerely,

FBR:maf

Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director

State - Alabama

Extra copy sent to Rev. Robert E. Hughes.

September 23, 1957

Dr. James E. Pierce
830 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Jim:

Sorry, but there was a mix up on the question of a formal voucher requesting payment to you of $180.00 for services rendered to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Bob Hughes just called me and said that he had intended for the letter itself to serve as a requisition and that no voucher should have been enclosed in his letter. He was out of the office with the flu, hence the delay in straightening this matter out.

Sorry for the delay.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

September 23, 1957

Dr. James E. Pierce
830 Carter Hill Road
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Jim:

We have received your letter requesting payment of $180.00 for consultant services rendered to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. We also have received the letter from Bob stating that this amount is correct. Unfortunately his secretary did not include a copy of the expense account. I regret that we are tied with bureaucratic red tape - but we are. I have asked Bob to forward the expense account to us, but apparently he is on vacation. Would you please therefore send us an itemized expense account and we will then send you a check for $180.00.

Your trip through the south of Alabama sounds exciting and promising. We are alarmed at the increasing incidence of violence in Alabama. Bob has suggested that he undertake a documentation of this growth of violence and we have given our hearty approval. We are about to get out a memo to all state organizations asking that they do the same. This should serve as good ammunition for the new commission provided for in recent civil rights legislation.

Thank you for the invitation to stop by. Whenever I get to Montgomery you are one of the first on whom I call.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Alabama

September 23, 1957

To: Mrs. Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

This will authorise you to pay Dr. James Pierce $180.00 for consultant services and travel rendered to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. This money should come from unspent funds of the Alabama Council for the current fiscal year.

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Received 21st September 1957

Mr. Fred Routh, Asso. Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Following the request of Reverend Robert E.Hughes, I did some work for the Alabama Council on Human Relation which carried me to Mapleville, Alabama and to six counties in Southern Alabama. I sent him the expense account and the per diem allowance agreed upon by him. I also received a copy of the letter sent you whcih he enclosed a requisition for $180.00. I have not heard from this latter correspondence. I am anxious to know what disposition was made of Bob's request.

The investigation of the incidence at Maplesvill revealed that it is one of those vicious attempt on the part of the people there to intimidate the Negro and to keep them servile. I feel that Bob has sent you a copy of the report I sent him relative to the situation there.

The trip to South Alabama was made to solicit funds for the organization in order that we might continue the programof the Council. While the financial end was somewhat discouraging, I do feel that under the circumstances there was a ray of hope. Nothing is being done in the area to promote compliance with the Supreme Court's decision,but there is some meager sign of progress. An educational program is much in need to arouse the people especially the race on matter which will insure increased opportunity in the growth and living condition of the people of the community. I was able to feel the pulse on the people I talked with. It is a bit encouraging. there is the need for channels of communication and some effort to arouse them of the many opportunities available for improvement. Both white and colored I talked with seem to feel tyat something should be done but none wants to rock the boat.

I shall appreciate an immediate response from you and trust that you may find it convenience to come through sometime on your intenary. Trust that things are moving along very well with the organization.

Respectfully yours

J. E. Pierce

J. E. Pierce

February 10, 1958

Dean C. G. Gomillion
Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dean Gomillion:

Paul Anthony, the Administrative Assistant to the Southern Regional Council, will attend the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on February 15th. He will review recent events in the South and developments among the state organizations and SRC.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

CC: Rev. Robert E. Hughes

FBR:fcl

Ala Council

January 20, 1958

Dean C. G. Gomillion
Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dean Gomillion:

Thank you for your letter of the 15th inviting me to the annual meeting on February 15th. Unfortunately it will not be possible for me to attend for I have a previously scheduled speaking engagement in Pittsburgh.

I note that you ask for a summary of what the other Councils are doing. Prior to the 15th this office will have supplied each state organization office with a summary of the activities of all the state organizations as outlined in their first quarterly report. It would be good if you, as an officer of the Alabama Council and a Board member of SRC, could review this with Bob Hughes and present an account of what the Council's are doing.

I am indeed pleased that Mr. Dabbs is to be the key-note speaker for he is a challenging thinker and an able orator. I shall miss hearing him and seeing all of you over there.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

January 15, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

The program committee of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is now putting together its program for the annual meeting at Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama, on Saturday, February 15, 1958. Mr. James M. Dabbs has been invited to deliver the keynote address. You are being invited to use twenty to thirty minutes to report on what human relations councils are doing in states other than Alabama. This report would follow a series of brief reports (5 minutes each) on what they have planned for 1958 -59. The theme of this session is likely to be "Human Relations Councils in Action".

The annual meeting is scheduled for the period 10:00 A. M. - 3:00 P. M. We should like for you to be present during the entire period. Please inform me as early as possible as to whether or not you will be able to participate.

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion

CGG:fk

What fine Alabama units did during 1957 and

Fred - What complications would be involved for the new South to have memberships (& subscriptions) due at each annual mtg? For some this would be joining initially, pay in future installments (?) over a year's period. Do any of this have what you required consider & how we would be set up. Then then again each year. Fel. and Fel. Therefore other states arrangement division are such successful does N.S. feel? Will want to hear about the weekly men. Bldg. trustees and what you did to keep em in line. I sent my a prayer for you folks that afternoon. I hope to have the application to the next $100 over by Thurs. How did the "T Bird" shake down? BSD

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Ala

December 26, 1957

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: R. E. Hughes, Executive Director

RE: Annual meeting, Executive Committee transactions.

The State Executive Committee met on Dec. 6 in Montgomery at the Ala. State Teachers Assn. Bldg. with the eight members present undertaking the following transactions. Mr. Fred Routh of the Southern Regional Council attended for laison and advisory purposes.

1. Annual Meeting: The date for the annual membership meeting is set for Sat., Feb. 15 at Talladega College in Talladega ~~with~~ through the benevolence of Dr. Arthur Gray, president and A.C.H.R. board member. Mr. C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee, Dr. Dan Whitsett of Sylacauga and Dr. H. C. Trenholm of Montgomery will serve as the program committee. Any suggestions for the program this year are solicited and should be sent to Mr. Gomillion, chairman, at Box 31, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

2. New Officers and Board Members: Due to the fact that Rev. Hunter and Mr. Gomillion have served their maximum terms, three years, as president and vice-president respectively they will have to be replaced at the annual meeting along with five Board vacancies. Rev. Tom Thrasher of Montgomery, Dr. Roger Hanson of Birmingham and Rev. J. E. Lowery of Mobile will serve as the nominating committee. Any suggestions for officers and Board members will be welcomed by this committee and should be sent to Rev. Thrasher, chairman, at 315 Clanton Street, Montgomery

3. Membership Distribution: The Exec. Dir. reported that the active membership of the Ala. Council is encouraging considering the "climate" in the state and is distributed as follows:

TV-	37	
1-	100	(W. Piedmont)
2-	48	(E. Piedmont)
3-	107	(B'ham)
4-	15	(W. Blk. Belt)
5-	41	(E. Blk. Belt)
6-	15	(Wiregrass)
7-	52	(Mobile)
M'gy-	87	
Total	502	
Associate Mem (Out of State)	17	
Total	519	

Local chapters which have been meeting monthly are located in the Tri-Cities, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, Montgomery and Mobile. Most of the districts, which bring members and interested persons together over an area of 8-10 counties, are meeting twice a year.

4. Executive Director's Tenure: Last summer when it appeared that the Council would not be able to continue its full-time staff past January 1, 1958, the Executive Director notified the Methodist Board of Missions that he would be able to fulfill earlier commitments made to them for foriegn service sometime after that date. However, in November he experienced a flare-up of a stomach ulcer after which the Board notified him and his wife that they would be unable to accept them for a minimum of two years. Therefore he will be able to continue with the Council at its sufferance for the foreseeable future. The Executive Committee agreed to continue the present relationship as far as financially feasible.

5. Financial Situation: The Exec. Dir. reported that our financial situation was reasonably sound at the present time primarily due to the success of our financial campaign of last spring and summer which "caught on" in some areas only in the Fall. However, he cautioned against complacency as new income sources must be constantly sought after and cultivated.

The following constitutes a breakdown of budgetary expenditures for the period Feb. 1 - Dec. 5, 1957. This represents approximately the first ten months of our fiscal year ending Jan. 31, 1958 and expenditures for staff salaries for two months for which the Council had been responsible since Oct. 1, 1957 when affiliation with the S.R.C. ceased.

FINANCIAL REPORT - FEBRUARY 1, 1957 - DECEMBER 5, 1957

	Budget	Expended	Balance
Salary			
Executive director	$1,453.92	$ 726.96	$ 726.96
Office secretary	663.44	274.12	389.32
Office Rent	750.00	625.00	125.00
Electricity	36.00	36.39	-.39
Telephone	540.00	439.73	100.27
Office Supplies	870.00	406.89	436.11
Travel	1,325.00	1,084.14	240.86
Miscellaneous	100.00	00 00	100.00
Total	$5,738.36	$3,593.23	$2,145.13

Note: Above does not include $114.00 for New South subscriptions.

Deposits in bank (Homewood Br. 1st Nat., Birmingham)	$1,786.65
Cash on hand	1,200.00
Total funds on hand	$2,986.65

Funds Available	$2,986.65
Budgetary needs (for rest of fiscal year)	2,145.13
Excess funds over needs	$ 841.52

6. Financial Future: Our present salary and operations require approximately $800 per month which represents in the Executive Director's judgement the maximum economy that we can expect while retaining a full-time director and secretary. It is possible to cut operations expenditures still further, but to do so would be to reduce effectiveness of the staff to raise the question of justification of current staff salaries outlay from the standpoint of the organisation.

Using the $800 per month yardstick, it appears that from the anticipated carryover from this fiscal year, limited S.R.C. grants, contribution commitments, anticipated profits from normal membership renewals and from "unpressured" membership contributions that we will be able to continue our present operations five months into the new fiscal year or into July. It is the period from July on which we must keep in mind and soon begin making adequate preparation for as the summer months are not conducive to fund raising. Thus the Executive Director recommended to the Executive Committee that the Board meeting on the eve of the annual meeting concern itself with concrete plans in this area.

7. Rearrangement of Membership Dues: Due to the fact that probably 75% of our current membership will expire between Feb. and June, Pres. Hunter asked the Exec. Dir. to explore the possibility of making all memberships come due at the Annual Meeting in early February each year. This would lighten the load of the State Office and follow the pattern of a number of other organizations. This will be discussed at the Feb. Board meeting.

8. Birmingham Chapter Harassment: The Exec. Dir. reported that Birmingham City police were summoned to the site of the Oct. meeting of the B'ham Chapter by Klansmen. The five detectives gave the fifty persons assembled at the 18th Street (Negro) Y.M.C.A. the alternatives of arrest, adjourning or segregated seating with the group choosing adjournment under protest at that particular time.

Membership meetings have been cancelled until after the first of the year pending the completion of legal research on the matter.

The local Executive Committee requested that the State Committee advise it of the implications for the state organization in any subsequent legal case. The Exec. Com. recognized that adverse publicity and investigations would possibly arise for the A.C.H.R., but that the decision on proceeding was up to the local group and the state organization would stand behind them in whatever course chosen. This matter is still pending.

* * * * * *

IMPORTANT

The A.C.H.R. Board of Directors will hold its semi-annual meeting on Friday evening, Feb. 14 at Talledega College, Talladega, Ala. Please enter this in your calendar now and plan to attend and stay for the annual Membership Meeting the following day.

April 10, 1958

Rev. Welton Gregory
The Methodist Church
Atmore, Alabama

Dear Mr. Gregory:

Thank you for your kind letter of April 2nd telling me that the next meeting of the ministers' group is to be held at Alabama State College on April 15-16. I should like very much to attend, but unfortunately am committed to a meeting both days. On the 15th I am at Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia, and on the 16th at a youth conference here in Atlanta. I have checked with other members of our staff here at the central office and each of them is committed to previous engagements. I am sure that Bob Hughes will adequately represent our point of view.

It is my firm conviction that what you and the group are doing is one of the most important things being done in Alabama at this time. With Christian concern you are reopening on an honest basis the lines of communication between the white and Negro community. In this period of transition nothing is more important than that we know each other as children of God.

I wish you every success in your meeting and regret I cannot attend. I would appreciate a copy of the proceedings of the meeting when they are prepared.

Respectfully yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

cc: Robert E. Hughes

FBR:fcl

Atmore Alabama
April 2, 1958

Dear Dr. Routh:

Perhaps you have heard by now what your visit to a ministers meeting on April 6th last year has produced. I refer to the meeting at Camp Rilea near Montgomery on a stormy day which, disrupted many persons and interfered with our meeting, yet did not hinder to greatly our program.

That day you told us that we could not expect to accomplish our purposes through meetings of white ministers only - and suggested that any future meetings should be interracial. Our first interracial ministers' meeting on a state wide basis was held in December with 45 ministers, representing 7 denominations participating. Perhaps Bob Hughes has passed to you a copy of the proceedings in that meeting.

Our next meeting is to be at Alabama State College, Montgomery April 15-16. - beginning around 11:00 A.M. on the 15th and continuing through noon on the 16th.

It would be wonderful to have you or another representative, in the event you cannot come, to share in this meeting with us.

Gratefully, Welton Gregory

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

File

A STATEMENT BY THE GREATER BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

For release Apr. 29, 1958

The attempted bombing of a Jewish Synagogue in our city is cause for grave concern on the part of responsible people in Birmingham and throughout the entire state. When groups of individuals seek to satisfy their prejudices against minority groups through such violent means, the rights and freedoms of everyone fall into jeopardy in that we are all members of some minority group, be it religious, racial, occupational, political or other.

This incident is the second in which unexploded dynamite bombs have been discovered on Jewish synagogue property during the past year and when viewed along with the twenty-one unsolved bombings occurring in Jefferson County since 1947, it is apparent that this trend, unmatched by any city in the South, is growing both in rate and scope. Obviously Birmingham can ill afford to permit such a trend of violence to continue to grow indefinitely lest in time it becomes completely unmanageable.

Now is certainly the time for every responsible organization and group in our community to recognize the danger inherent in our situation and to join with the Birmingham Ministers Association and the United Mine Workers of America in reaffirming our faith in and support of the established processes of law. We heartily commend our local, county and state law enforcement officials for the vigor with which their investigations of this latest incident have been launched. We publically appeal to those who have participated in this and other similar events to look beyond whatever they may regard as their grievances to view the moral implications of their acts for the observance of law and order.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Ala Council

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama
June 13, 1958

Memorandum
To: Alabama Council leadership personnel
From: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Re: Confidential reports

Various persons occupying leadership positions with the Alabama Council have in recent months expressed a desire and need for information about activities of various council units, unpublicized developments, etc.

In the past we have depended upon visits to local chapters and district organizations by the Executive Director for most of this information, but due to the fact that he visits these units on an average of only once every three months, this method is inadequate. The "Newsletter" is likewise inadequate in that confidential information cannot be used as some of the 1,300 copies invariably find their way into the hands of opposition forces.

In view of the above, the State Office proposes to send out confidential reports from time to time to our state officers, board members, district and local officers, and a few selected individuals - some 40 persons in all. These reports will include information on the "what" and the "how" of program ideas carried out by local chapters and suggested tips, actual and suggested meeting programs and materials, state-level program development and emphases, activities of the State Office, meaningful activities of

councils on human relations in other states as available, background information on current and potential trouble spots, activities of friendly and opposition groups operating in the state, etc.

We will be frank in presenting the unfavorable, as well as constructive, events. This material will not be distributed regularly, but only as significant information is available and as the State Office can get them out.

In a time when there are forces looking for groups such as ours to smear, the course of wisdom calls for certain reasonable precautions concerning these reports. They will be mimeographed in our own office, probably will not indicate their origin outside of a return address on the envelope, and will be marked "personal" on the envelope and inside. You are requested to exercise discretion in how the material is used, in where you keep them, and in how you might dispose of them. By such we will not be endangering the work of committed individuals and groups unnecessarily. Only with this understanding will this office distribute such information.

In order to be finally placed upon this mailing list you are requested to state on the enclosed addressed postal the address to be used in sending you these reports. By returning this card, we will assume that you agree to observe the above-mentioned precautions.

Through this information service we trust that we shall in some way assist you, our leadership, to face your problems and opportunities more wisely and effectively. To this end we welcome your suggestions.

END

File Alabama Council

Exerpt from: STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM, Martin Luther King, Jr. (Harper & Bros., 1958)
p. 32 ff.

Around the time that I started working with the NAADP the Alabama Council on Human Relations also caught my attention. This interracial group was concerned with human relations in the State of Alabama and employed educational methods to achieve its purpose. An affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, and the successor to the Alabama Inter-Racial Committee, the Council on Human Relations sought to attain through research and action equal opportunity for all the people of Alabama. Its basic philosophy recognized "that all men are created equal under God. Interpreted into the life of our nation, this means that each individual is endowed with the right of equal opportunity to contribute to and share in the life of our nation. No individual or group of individuals has the privilege to limit this right in any way."

I joined this organization, and attended most of the monthly meetings of the Montgomery Chapter, which were held in the meeting room of my church. After working with the Council for a few months I was elected to the office of vice-president, and served in this capacity until other responsibilities intervened. The president of the Council was Rev. Ray Wadley, the young white minister of St. Mark's Methodist Church. A native Southerner, he was later shifted to a small, backwoods community after his congregation protested his activities in the field of race relations. Two other prominent white members of the Council were Revs. Thomas P. Thrasher and Robert Graetz, both of whom were to be prominent in the subsequent bus struggle.

Although the Montgomery Council never had a large membership, it played an important role. As the only truly interracial group in Montgomery, it served to keep the desperately needed channels of communication open between the races. Men often hate each other because they fear each other; they fear each other because they do not know each other; they do not know each other because they cannot communicate; they cannot communicate because they are separated. In providing an avenue of communication, the Council was fulfilling a necessary condition for better race relations in the South.

I was surprised to learn that many people found my dual interest in the NAACP and the Council inconsistent. Many Negroes felt that integration could come only through legislation and court action - the chief emphases of the NAACP. Many white people felt that integration could come only through education - the chief emphasis of the Council on Human Relations. How could one give his allegiance to two organizations whose approaches and methods seemed so diametrically opposed?

This question betrayed an assumption that there was only one approach to the solution of the race problem. On the contrary I felt that both approaches were necessary. Through education we seek to change attitudes; through legislation and court orders we seek to regulate behavior. Through education we seek to change internal feelings (prejudice, hate, etc.); through legislation and court orders we seek to control the external effects of those feelings. Through education we seek to break down the spiritual barriers to integration; through legislation and court orders we seek to break down the physical barriers to integration. One method is not a substitute for the other, but a meaningful and necessary supplement. Anyone who starts out with the conviction that the road to racial justice is only one lane wide will inevitably create a traffic jam and make the journey infinitely longer. My work with the NAACP and the Alabama Council on Human Relations grew out of the conviction that both organizations met a real need in the community, and each carried out its work at a high level of dignity and wisdom.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

The Methodist Layman's Union

REGARDING:

Letter of criticism against Ala. Council on Human Relations. Signed by L. G. Scarboro and White Windham

DATE
May 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Criticisms - General

P.R
F/I
please return
for filing - WJ.

BC: Bob Hughes

July 28, 1959

Rev. Myron W. Fowell
Executive Secretary
Social Action Department
United Church of Christ
14 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Fowell:

The Rev. Robert Hughes has told me of your helpfulness to him in arranging for a member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to speak to one of your important meetings.

We have a very warm regard for the Alabama Council and for the devoted efforts that Bob and his associates are carrying on against truly formidable odds. So I wanted to add a word of thanks for the cooperation you are giving them.

Cordially yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

November 18, 1959

Mr. Nathaniel Bension
P. O. Box 6187
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Bension:

Dr. George Mitchell sent your letter on here to us at the Southern Regional Council office. As former Director of the Council, George felt that the matter you raise should come to the attention of the organization as a whole.

We are glad to know of your concern with these problems and to make contact with you. We badly need help from those in University positions throughout the South. I took a graduate degree, by the way, from the University of Alabama. You will undoubtedly know Donald Strong who was one of my instructors at that time.

It is certainly true that there is a definite need to share information concerning progress in inter-racial developments across the South. We recently had some success here in Atlanta in the desegregation of the public library. One reason was the gathering of information showing a number of successfully desegregated libraries in Southern communities.

Our agency and others are making what contribution they can to the spreading of information. You are right, of course the success of such information does depend upon how it arrives.

It would be hard for us to suggest financing for the idea you suggest without further exploration of some of the specifics involved. May I suggest you explore this in more detail with the Rev. Robert Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. His address is Room 1218, Comer Building, Birmingham 3.

The Alabama Council is one of the SRC's cooperating agencies. Mr. Hughes is an experienced professional worker in this field and could explore the idea with you and perhaps suggest some foundation or other donor who might respond. At any rate, I think you would appreciate knowing Bob and his work in Alabama. I will pass on your name to him in hopes that your paths may cross fairly soon.

We would, of course, be glad to hear from you here and I hope to meet you on a future visit to Tuscaloosa.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Blind copy to:
Bob Hughes

11-6-59

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

This letter is addressed to you as directed by the current Who's Who in America. I am from Ohio, lately resident in Pennsylvania, and now teaching at the University of Alabama.

A number of us here share the opinion that if Selma, Alabama, knew that Negro postmen were normal in Biloxi, Miss., it might change Selma's norm depending on how the information arrived in Selma.

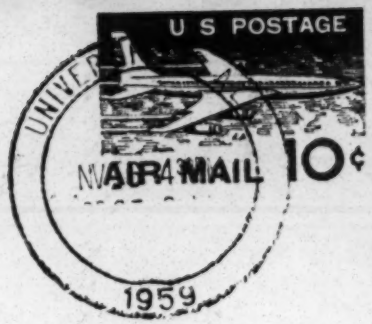
We therefore want to start a reticule of tellers and hearers of such tidbits from interracial practice on a neighbor-to-neighbor basis all over the state and beyond.

Would you put us in touch with someone to pay for the time and travel of two good men for three years — says, $60,000 to $75,000?

Expectantly yours,

Nathaniel Benson

~~Pt~~ Benson
P.O. Box 6187
University, Ala.
U. S. A.



Mr. George S. Mitchell
Glencoe, Scotland.

FIRST FOLD

SECOND FOLD

AIR LETTER • AÉROGRAMME • PAR AVION

November 20, 1959

Mr. Barry Weeks
A.F.L. - C.I.O. Council
Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Weeks:

At the request of Bob Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, we are sending you county by county statistics of Negroes and whites of voting age, in the state of Alabama.

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field
Activities

PMR/sm
cc: Bob Hughes

WHITES AND NEGROES OF VOTING AGE IN ALABAMA

COUNTY	NON-WHITE POPULATION OVER 21 1950	WHITE
Autauga	4,042	5,717
Baldwin	4,493	19,028
Barbour	7,158	8,012
Bibb	2,801	6,681
Blount	429	15,399
Bullock	5,425	2,633
Butler	6,024	9,464
Calhoun	8,304	37,397
Chambers	7,175	15,710
Cherokee	736	8,821
Chilton	2,027	12,888
Choctaw	4,822	4,914
Clarke	6,434	7,832
Clay	1,010	6,934
Cleburne	380	6,051
Coffee	3,114	13,561
Colbert	4,519	18,063
Conecuh	4,435	6,734
Coosa	1,828	5,262
Covington	3,157	19,988
Crenshaw	2,801	7,604
Cullman	249	26,268
Dale	2,454	9,418
Dallas	18,145	12,597
DeKalb	443	24,601
Elmore	5,543	12,247
Escambia	5,425	11,276
Etowah	7,672	47,214
Fayette	1,497	9,279
Franklin	700	13,460
Geneva	1,686	12,660
Green	6,628	1,820
Hale	7,041	3,680
Henry	4,029	5,646
Houston	7,211	19,698
Jackson	1,242	19,381
Jefferson	121,667	226,280
Lamar	1,204	8,141
Lauderdale	4,022	23,831
Lawrence	3,010	10,905
Lee	8,954	16,207
Limestone	4,013	14,737
Lowndes	6,512	2,057
Macon	14,539	3,081
Madison	10,333	30,662
Marengo	10,226	5,456
Marion	384	14,271
Marshall	604	24,740
Mobile	45,493	93,506
Monroe	5,914	7,184
Montgomery	34,079	51,869
Morgan	4,641	26,602
Perry	6,351	3,757
Pickens	5,547	7,324
Pike	6,866	10,062
Randolph	2,728	9,860
Russell	10,135	11,800
St. Clair	2,363	12,123
Shelby	3,356	13,250
Sumter	8,700	3,600
Talladega	9,318	23,317
Tallapoosa	5,083	15,015
Tuscaloosa	14,157	42,200
Walker	3,850	30,882
Washington	2,835	4,929
Wilcox	8,218	3,056
Winston	63	9,484

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
LEROY LINDSEY, SECRETARY-TREASURER
E. C. PIPPIN, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
WYLIE E. CHAFFIN, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

FA 4-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

November 24, 1959

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

The county by county breakdown on Negroes and whites of voting age for the State of Alabama has been received, and will be invaluable to us.

We certainly appreciate this and hope we haven't put you to too much trouble.

Sincerely,

Barney Weeks

Barney Weeks
President

mw

oeiu-18

cc: Rev. Robert E. Hughes

December 18, 1959

Mr. John Leflore
1504 Chatague Avenue
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. Leflore:

I had hoped that I would have a chance to see you on my recent trip to Mobile to speak to a meeting of the Mobile district of the Alabama Council. Unfortunately this was a quick trip and did not allow enough time for me to call on a number of my friends.

As you probably know, I am now working on the staff of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, and I was particularly anxious to get your analysis of the way things stand in Mobile and Alabama generally. I also brought you greetings from Ruby Hurley here in Atlanta. I did have a good opportunity to talk over things for a brief period after the meeting with Father Foley, John McConnell and Ed Kahalley and Joe Langan. Ed tells me that he will be running again for the County Board next summer. I have found him to be an honest, capable, liberal young man, and hope his campaign will go well.

I do hope that I can see you sometime before too long. It has already been too long since the last time. Do call or come by the office the next time you are in or pass through Atlanta.

Merry Christmas.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling

PMR/sm

December 18, 1959

The Rev. J. Echols Lowery
306 North Warren Street
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Rev. Lowery:

I am sorry that we did not have an opportunity to get together during my recent quick trip to Mobile to meet with the local Council on Human Relations. Although I had a good opportunity to talk to Father Foley and others, I particularly wanted your analysis concerning the state of human relations in Mobile.

Following the meeting, Father Foley and I had the opportunity to talk at some length with Joe Langan, Tom Cochrane, and Ed Kahaley. Joe, of course, thinks that things are in fairly good shape so far as race relations are concerned, but in spite of his good intentions and fine record, I have not always found him to be in close touch with the needs of the Negro community.

Ed Kahaley tells me that he will be running for the County Board next summer. I have always found Ed to be capable, liberal and honest in his civic and political activities and I hope you will consider the possibility of giving some help to his candidacy.

Now that Rev. King is moving to Atlanta, I hope that we may have more opportunity to see you up this way. I know you would enjoy dropping by the offices of the Southern Regional Council, at any rate, do call me when next you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling

PMR/sm

December 21, 1959

Mr. Edward J. Kahalley
133 Item Avenue
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Ed:

The rush for the airport the next morning was such that I had no time to call our mutual friends. I have written to them as you requested, as of Friday.

It was good to see you again. My regards to your wife and growing family.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling

PMR/sm

CIVIC AND WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS THE PRESS

JOHN L. LEFLORE
POST OFFICE BOX 1091
MOBILE 6, ALABAMA

January 10, 1960

Mr. Paul W. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Your letter of more than a fortnight ago was certainly appreciated; it came as a surprise and contributed its share to bolstering my spirits for the Christmas period with its heavy work schedule.

I am happy to know that you are connected with the Southern Regional Council and are so close to Mobile. This should enable your friends to exchange visits with you without much difficulty . I have a daughter who teaches in the public school system of Atlanta and a daughter-in-law studying at Atlanta University. I plan making a trip to Atlanta during March or April, and hope to see you while there. How is my friend, Harold Fleming? Mr. Fleming spoke for us several years ago. We had hoped to have him as our guest speaker on another occasion but the Hon. John Patterson made political history when he put the NAACP under an injunction in Alabama which temporarily halted our activities. Independent movements, with new and often untrained leadership, do not afford the effective answer in many instances, so progress toward goals of equality under the law and respect for the dignity of the individual is either stymied or retarded.

You may be interested to know that we have asked the Mobile City Lines to consider giving Negro citizens employment as bus drivers and mechanics, in view of this group affording at least 40% of the patronage enjoyed by the bus company. A veiled threat of a "walk" campaign had to be invoked to cause the management of the bus company to consider the important question. It is still pending. Conference with transportation manager held last Wednesday.

Regret that was unable to attend Mobile chapter of ACHR meeting at which you spoke last month. Had previously-arranged engagement out of town.

With every good wish and kindest personal regards, I am

Your friend,

John

J. L. LeFlore

cr. ref "Ala"

via air mail

February 16, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

What with travel and meetings, it has taken several days to clear up some questions about the Alabama Council request.

Evidently Father Foley didn't make it clear that the proposal he left with you was a draft which has not been approved and which is expected to undergo major revision. A space for my signature was provided simply as an indication of the Alabama Council's hope that SRC would endorse the proposal.

As a matter of fact, we have a number of reservations about the proposed project and have so indicated to Father Foley and the other officers of the Alabama Council. Judging by your letter, I think it likely that our doubts are similar to yours. However, some parts of the project have a lot of merit and are supported by successful precedents elsewhere in the South.

Since the proposal has yet to be revised, it might be better for me to reserve more detailed

comments until the final document is before you. At that time, I will write you further.

As you may know, the Alabama Council has applied for, but not yet received, federal tax-exemption. This is another reason why formal consideration of a proposal now would be premature.

The questions you raise about the human relations councils in general are pertinent, and deserve a more complete answer than I can give here. Instead, I should like to send you as soon as possible a memorandum on the accomplishments, problems, and usefulness of the state councils. I will also be writing you separately and shortly about the South Carolina proposal.

Unfortunately, I see no likelihood of my getting to New York this month, but when my next trip there is scheduled I will write ahead in the hope that we can get together.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

February 9, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It seems to be a day for writing you. Father Foley recently brought in an application on behalf of the Alabama Council of Human Relations for an intensive publicity campaign entitled "Emergency Project in Education for Democracy". The application states that it is endorsed by you. Although I am not at all sure how our board would react to such a request, my big question is whether an all-out publicity frontal attack will win friends and influence people, or whether it may stimulate segregationists to close the ranks solidly. I am thinking of the Life article on Hoxie, Arkansas and the set-back it produced. Sometime I'd like to get your ideas on what help you feel any Southern Human Relations Council can give to white "moderates" and to Negroes under stress. I am also wondering why State councils have relatively few members.

So far as you know, have any other Southern states experience with the mass media approach to improvement of relations between races?

Are you scheduled to be in New York during the next three weeks or so? If so, I hope that we may get together.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

file Ala.

SPRING HILL COLLEGE
3669 Old Shell Road Mobile, Alabama

January 13, 1960

Dear Welton,

Thanks for your letter of recent date about the proposal for the Emergency Education Program. I can appreciate the apprehensiveness of some folks in regard to it, and I agree that we should take counsel with the rest of the board and with the membership.

I duplicated the enclosed and distributed it to our membership at the meeting last night, and also sent out copies to those who were not at the meeting, and to some selected recipients of ACHR mailings across the state. As long as I had to duplicate it, I thought I might as well share it with them.

Our own people evinced none of the apprehensiveness of the Montgomerians, but then, we are 202 miles from the big bus boycott and all of its disorders.

Will speak to Maxwell Hahn next week when I see him next week. Best wishes and warm regards,

As ever,

Father Foley

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

3669 Old Shell Road Mobile, Alabama

MEMO

To: ACHR Friends
From: Father A.S.Foley
Re: Enclosed Proposals

Dear Friend and ACHR Member,

Thought you might be interested in seeing copies of the enclosed 1)resolution adopted by the board of directors at the December 5,1959 meeting in Montgomery; and 2)the proposal prepared for presentation to an interested foundation for a grant to ACHR concerning the "EMERGENCY PROJECT IN EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY."

These should come up for some discussion at the annual meeting next month at Talladega, and since they represent somewhat of a departure from the hitherto cautious and conservative approaches to adult education used by ACHR, all of us should be interested in feeling out the opinions of the membership in all districts.

The proposals assume that, if we have something to say and it needs saying to a large body of our fellow citizens, now is the time to say it for all to hear. The breakdown of communications has left the field to those who have immediate and sensational access to the mass-media of communications in the state. Yet these same mass-media can and should be used by honest men of good will to communicate their sound ideas and messages to the people, both to counteract the influence of the extremists, and to do something positive for the saving od democracy in our area.

We would like to hear from you and your fellow members on the ideas embodied in these enclosures.

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Long-Range Policy For Communications

Objective: To achieve the basic goals of the Alabama Council in promoting better understanding and mutual respect and cooperation between citizens of Alabama, and to reach a wider proportion of these people than are reached in the small-group meetings of the local councils, the Alabama Council on Human Relations Board of Directors proposes to launch an extensive program of multi-level communications aimed at using both the facilities of the mass media of communications, and other forms of communication, with a stream of well-designed communiques.

Areas of Action: The stream of communiques will be concerned with the major current issues in the field of race relations in Alabama: voting rights and civil rights; the preservation of our public schools; the enlightenment of the citizenry on the effects of the economic retardation consequent on the closing of the schools and other types of racial violence; the stepping up of the understanding of the New Southerner, both the New Negro in the South and the New White Southerner, in order to counteract the distortions of the stereotypes of both groups in the past, etc.

Methods and Needs:

1. The Alabama Council proposes to set up a special communications division, either in the state office or as a new "front" organization in case the heat would be too great for the state office.

2. A full-time or part-time communications-arts expert will be employed to draft a long-range program and design shorter-term projects in the field of communications -- including newspaper releases, special material geared to editorial writers, special mailings to educators, legislators, power-structure figures, economic leaders, businessmen, and clergyment as well as laymen of specific areas and churches; other materials for radio, TV, car-cards, billboards, and comparable outlets, all designed to better the climate of mutual understanding and respect in the state.

3. Consultive services will also be rendered by the communications-arts expert to local councils to help them meet effectively the problems in communications that they face when confronted with local issues and the building up of local tensions.

4. The advisory committee appointed to assist the communications director will be enlisted to help him understand the problem-areas that need to be handled and also to aid him with counsel and guidance where controversial materials might possibly endanger lives or create needless tension, etc.

5. Other office personnel on a part-time or full-time basis might also be needed -- layout artists, script-writers, ad-writers, re-write men, etc.

6. Publication under an Alabama imprint of materials prepared elsewhere, but otherwise unacceptable in Alabama because of the "out-of-state"publication-imprint.

Finances:

1. The Alabama Council board suggests that specific presentation of these plans and needs be made to foundations interested in supporting new and imaginative and creative approaches to the problem of bettering the spirit of democratic relations between the citizens of the Deep South.

2. Other Sources of finances are also to be explored for more immediate subvention in some of the more readily manageable elements of this program. Aid from SRC (Southern Regional Council) for special projects might be solicited while awaiting action from board of foundations which might not meet again until the spring.

3. More of this coming year's budget might also be earmarked for this more urgent type of project than for some of the current projects that are not productive of any effect in the present state of race relations in the state.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

EMERGENCY PROJECT IN EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Proposal Statement

1. Background. Almost everyone who comments on the deterioration of relations between Americans of different racial provenience in the South today points to the breakdown of communications as one of the major factors and symptoms of this worsening of the climate of democratic life. Very few whites and Negroes can be brought together in small-group meetings for a promotion of mutual understanding and respect. Large-scale interracial meetings are almost completely abolished. Yet the urgency of resumed communication between the races is apparent to all who are concerned with warding off in the decade of 1960-1970 a twentieth century version of what happened in the decade of 1860-1870.

2. The Immediate Need. In view of the recent declaration of the U.S. Department of Justice that it will press for the integration of schools in Alabama such as the Huntsville public school attended mainly by children of the federally-employed staff of the Redstone Arsenal, and in view of the reiterated declaration by Governor Patterson that he will close the schools that are ordered integrated by the Federal courts, Alabama is faced with a crisis in democracy that is in many ways comparable to that of Arkansas two years ago, and of Alabama itself at the time of the Autherine Lucy riots at the University of Alabama

There is urgent and immediate need for an Emergency Project in Education for Democracy beamed at the basically sound middle-of-the-road citizens who can be induced by the extremists of the right-wing philosophy to support their undemocratic program, and who could also be induced to support the basic American principles of democracy, if these were presented to them in the right way and with the effective use of all that modern psychology and technology makes available to Americans in the field of communication.

3. The Proposed Solution. With a view to bettering the climate of democracy and promoting mutual understanding, respect and cooperation between Americans of divergent racial background in Alabama, we propose to launch a full-scale emergency program of educational and informational projects known as the "SAVE Movement--to Save Democracy in Alabama."

The S-A-V-E Program will be concerned with presenting the basic principles of American Democracy in their current application to the present issues in the field of race relations in Alabama:

1. The Public School Integration Issue. The program will be aimed at arousing public opinion to protest against the proposed closing of the public school for the sake of avoiding the integration to be ordered by the federal courts. S-A-V-E will be spread across the state in a move to Save Alabama's Vital Education.

2. The Voting Rights Issue. The S-A-V-E program will blanket the state with a plea for the basic rights of American citizens to vote, appealing to the principles of the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, to urge citizens to "Support Alabama's Voter Equality."

3. The Economic Issue. Tied in with the above, and representing the most practical and easily understandable motivation for immediate action, the economic impact of school-closing and of worsened race relations will be played upon to stress

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

EMERGENCY PROJECT IN EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Proposal Summary

Significance: To launch an emergency educational and informational program designed to help save democracy in Alabama during the coming crises in race relations precipitated by the Department of Justice's proposed integration of public schools in Huntsville and by the governor's determination to close schools thus integrated.

Amount: Minimum grant requested: $37,000. Maximum desirable: $75,000

Period: Spring 1960 to Spring 1961

Sponsor: The Alabama Council on Human Relations, a non-profit, educational corporation, 1218 Comer Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama, formerly affiliated with the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga.

Submitted by:

_____

Rev. Welton Gregory, President, ACHR
Methodist Educational Director
1125 Woodley Road, Montgomery, Alabama

_____

Rev. Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D., Vice-President, ACHR
Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala.

Endorsed by:

_____

Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council

Directed by:

_____

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
State Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, 3, Ala.

urgent need for democratic fair play and respect for the rights of all citizens. The S-A-V-E Program will be projected also as urging citizens to "Save Alabama's Vital Economy."

4. Methods. The following components of the program will indicate the means to be used in the emergency project to educate Alabama citizens for Democracy in the 1960's:

1. A state-wide series of television spot-announcements and specialized programs, expertly designed and technically sound in mass appeal with the full impact of modern know-how in this medium.
2. An even broader series of radio announcements, talks, programs, complete with jingles and catchy tunes, to reach the day-time audience and the rural listeners to radio stations in areas not covered by Television.
3. A well-designed and carefully laid-put series of quarter-page and half-page newspaper ads in the dozen major newspapers which blanket the state, spelling out the meaning of Democracy in the context of the current issues confronting it on the state.
4. A multiple series of highways billboards whose text and illustrations proclaim the message of Democracy's principles as applied to the present crises in education, voter-rights, and economic development.
5. An integrated series of newspaper news-releases, special materials geared to editorial writers and publishers, and to television and radio news commentators, all repeating in a variety of ways this basic appeal to "SAVE Democracy in Alabama."
6. A series of special mailings to educators, school administrators, principals, and teachers, to state legislators, power-structure figures, economic leaders, businessmen, and clergymen and church men and women, all using this medium to appeal for sustained citizen-action in behalf of the SAVE program for Democracy in Alabama.
7. If required, a reprinting of vital and important publications -- leaflets, pamphlets, brochures, and even paperback books on Democracy in America, where the effectiveness of these publications could be enhanced by being issued under an Alabama imprint instead of coming in from out of the state.

In a word, the SAVE Program for Democracy in Alabama will make full use of the vast facilities of the communications industry in Alabama to mend the breakdown of communication between the people of Alabama. It will get the common message of all citizens across to the bulk of the state residents in an effort to promote an enlightened and broad-visioned approach to the crises of Democracy in the coming year.

5. Staff and Personnel Requirements. It is anticipated that the present staff will assume major responsibility for the direction and coordination of the program, but that he will be aided by the recruitment of some part-time and some full-time staff and auxiliary personnel. Preliminary inquiry has revealed the availability of a former Air Force editor of the base magazine at Air University, Maxwell Field Montgomery, Alabama, as the key man for this program. He is familiar both with the Alabama problems and with the communications field.

The basic contacts with newspapers, radio, television, and billboard companies will be made through the "Affiliated Advertising Agencies Network" and its Alabama affiliates.

6. Detailed Budget:

1. The Component Projects of the S-A-V-E Program.

	Minimum Required	Maximum Desirable
1. The Television Coverage Project		
a. Birmingham and Vicinity Coverage:		
WBRC-TV Prime Time for 3 Spots, 20 seconds...	$390.00 (10)	$1300.00
Prime Time for 3 Spots, 20 seconds...	770.00 (10)	2590.00
Day Time for 3 Spots, 20 seconds...	510.00 (10)	1700.00
b. Mobile and Vicinity Coverage:		
WKRG-TV Prime Time for 3 Spots, 20 seconds...	324.00 (10)	1080.00
"A" Time for 3 Spots, 20 seconds...	229.50 (10)	760.50
"B" Time for 3 Spots, 20 seconds...	175.50 (10)	580.50
c. Montgomery and Vicinity Coverage:		
WFSA-TV Prime Time for 3 Spots, 20 seconds,..	280.50 (10)	935.00
"A" Time for 3 Spots, 20 seconds....	204.00 (10)	680.00
"B" Time for 3 Spots, 20 seconds...	178.50 (10)	595.00
d. Other Television Coverage:		
Miscellaneous Other stations and spots.....	500.00	2000.00
TV Totals.....	3562.00	c30,000.00
2. The Radio Coverage Project:		
a. Birmingham and Vicinity Coverage:		
WBRC Multi-Spot Plan, 13 Weeks, 6 per wk, 30 sec:	$ 1,263.00	2,527.20
WAIP 104 Spots, 20 secs ea., AA Time.....:	$ 1,600.00	3,200.00
b. Mobile Area Coverage:		
WKRG 10 Spots per week, 13 Weeks @$70.00 per...::	$ 910.00	1,820.00
WKAB 104 Spots, 30 secs ea., @ $6.55 ea.....	$ 780.00	1,560.00
c. Montgomery Area Coverage:		
WBAM 100 Spots, 30 secs. ea., 10 weeks @ $8.00 ea	$ 800.00	1,600.00
WCOV 104 Spots, 1 minute ea., $7.50 ea.....	$ 780.00	1,560.00
d. Dothan Area Coverage:		
WAGF 104 Spots, 1 minute ea., @ $3.40 ea.....	$ 353.60	707.20
WOOF 100 Spots, 1 minute @ $2.60 ea.....	$ 360.00	720.00
e. Jackson Area Coverage:		
WTHG 52 Spots, 1 minute @$3.50 ea.....	$ 182.00	362.00
f. Jasper Area Coverage:		
WWWB 60 words, 30 times @ $1.20 ea.....	$ 36.00	72.00
g. Monroeville Area Coverage:		
WMFC 104 Spots, 1 minute @ $2.75.ea.....	$ 286.00	572.00
h. Selma Area Coverage:		
WRWJ 104 Spots, 1 minute, @ $2.50 each.....	$ 260.00	520.00
1. Troy Area Coverage:		
WTBF 104 Spots, 30 secs. ea., @ $2.10 each.....	$ 298.40	536.80
m. Weeumpka Area Coverage:		
WETU 104 Spots, 30 secs., @ $3.40 each.....	$ 353.60	707.20
TOTAL Radio Coverage	8,083.80	c16,000.00

3. The Newspaper Ad Coverage Project:

80-Inch Ads in Birmingham News-Post Herald.....	816.60	2,449.80	Three
Mobile Press-Register.....	332.00	996.00	
Montgomery Advertister Journal.....	358.40	1,075.20	
Tuscaloosa News.....	156.80	470.40	
Gadsen Times.....	201.60	604.80	
Huntsville Times.....	224.00	672.00	
Dothan Eagle.....	168.00	504.00	
Anniston Star.....	145.60	435.80	
Tri-Cities Daily.....	145.60	435.80	
Decatur Daily.....	112.00	336.00	
Total Newspapers.....	$ 2,760.60	c6,000.00	

6. Detailed Budget (cont'd)

4. The State-Wide Billboard Coverage Project:

Area:	Number of Billboards regular	illuminated	One Month	Three Months
Birmingham	20	20	$1,580.00	4740.00
Mobile Metropol.	14	10	804.00	2412.00
Montgomery	8	6	490.00	1470.00
Tuscaloosa	6	6	360.00	1060.00
Anniston	5	4	287.00	861.00
Gadsden	7	5	372.00	1116.00
Huntsville	5	5	340.00	1020.00
Dothan	6	2	240.00	720.00
Selma	6	2	215.00	645.00
Decatur	6	1	200.00	600.00
40 Small Towns & Roadside Sites @ $25.00			1,000.00	3000.00
		Total Billboard:	$5,888.00	c$18,000.00

5. The State-Wide Mailings Project:

TO:		
500 Editors, Editorial Writers, Feature Writers, Reporters	$ 75.00	$ 225.00
1000 Legislators, State and County Administrators, City Officials	150.00	450.00
4000 School Board members, Principals, Teachers, School employees	600.00	1800.00
5000 Clergymen, church-school teachers, religious administrators, etc	750.00	2250.00
6000 Large and Small Businessmen, Executives, Key Employees	900.00	2700.00
10000 United Church Women, League of Women Voters, Legislative Council Members	1500.00	4500.00
Total Direc Mail:	$c4,000.00	c12,000.00

II Staff and Personnel Expenses of the S-A-V-E Program:

1. Full-Time Director, Communications Arts Expert $8,000.00

   Part-Time Director, Idea Man, or Writer ..... $ 3,000.00

2. Part-Time Layout Man, Writer, Ad-Man ..... $ 1,500.00

3. Office Expenses:

Secretarial Help	$ 2,500.00	$5,000.00
Printing, Etc.	1,800.00	3,600.00
Incidentals	1,000.00	2,000.00

4. Travel Expenses for Advisory Board 500.00 1,000.00

ESTIMATED TOTAL COST:	$37,000.00	$74,000.00

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Dept. of Philosophy & Psychology
19 February 1960.

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Paul,

Just a line or two to let you know we are still expecting you for our 30-minute chapel or assembly program on Tuesday, March 8th at 12 noon. It occurs to me that my tongue may have slipped and I may have said to you - March 9th. That latter date is a Wednesday and since at that time Lent will be with us, we have noon-time student-led services on Wednesdays. We could not conflict our regular chapel with the voluntary Lenten services. So, the date we want you is Tuesday, March 8th.

As I told you before, I should think that if you bring the college family up-to-date on happenings around the south, it would be a very provocative and enlightening experience. Our students don't read as widely as they ought and don't always know what is happening. And then, you have such sparkling wit that they would just enjoy your presentation - no matter what it was upon.

Tell us about all types of interracial happenings in the south - the Atlanta situation, the sit-down episodes in North Carolina, happenings even in Alabama. You could see that there were practically no students at the recent annual meeting held here in the gymn, so this would in no sense be repetitive for the students. A few of us faculty members can stand the repetition, for the soul of learning is repetition.

We will be able to bear at least your expenses to and from Atlanta. Just keep in mind that lunch is served at 12:30 P.M. and the students are motivated by the hunger motive just about 12:25; so if you can end somewhere along about then, that will be fine. We usually begin with a hymn and an Invocation, then the introduction of the speaker and then the speech. So, think in terms of a 20 - 25 minute speech and you ought to make it O.K. We'll be looking forward to hearing from you - if you think that necessary - , but at least seeing you on March 8th.

Cordially,

John

John R. Bross, Prof.
Philosophy & Psychology

Telegram sent 3/1

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

CHAPEL PROGRAM COMMITTEE : TALLADEGA COLLEGE : FEB. 24, 1960

Present were Doris Holmes, Julie Thompson, Gwinnette Wright, Dr. John R. Bross, and Dr. Everett W. MacNair

1. Communion, Sunday morning, Feb. 28 - Chairman is to ask YW to prepare the elements. 13 Marshalls are ppmmised, and will rehearse Sunday at 8 A.M.

2. Christian Interpretations week with Dr. Robert W. Spike of New York:

   We planned the following program:
   FRIDAY - Mar. 4
   Six class appointments - will combine to four. These were asked for by faculty in response to one letter.
   12 Noon, to speak at Chapel on"New Frontiers in American Life"
   4:30 P.M. Faculty Meeting, Upper Union Lounge
   9:00 P.M. Mixed Dormitory discussion for all, with Dr. Spike, Foster Lounge
   SATURDAY - Mar. 5
   10-12 and 1-3 Individual appointments, thirty minutes each, if saught
   SUNDAY *
   8:30 A.M. Breakfast with Dr. Spike at MacNairs, - for Chapel Program Committee, and the Y Cabinets
   11:00 A.M. Sunday Morning College Chapel : " The Lean and Hungry Look"

   It was agreed that Miss Wright and Miss Holmes would stand on the chapel East Porch, with appointment pads after chapel, Friday noon, and Miss Thompson, inside the East door. Dr. MacNair to supply the pads.

3. Seven Lenten Midweek Christian meetings have been planned and were reported by the subcommittee on Lenten Meetings, by chairman Dr. Bross. The Theme is to be Christian Involvement. The YM and YW, and five Greek Letter groups are asked to take part as before. We have asked to reserve the Upper Union Lounge, and to have 100 chairs set up in one end for the period. (The Committee could see only the Jabberwock, Mar. 19, when the chairs would be needed downstairs.) The YM will open March 2, with Mr. Sherman Dix of Montgomery as speaker. Meetings will be Wednesdays at noon.

4. There will be a Holy Week Candle-light Communion in the Upper Lounge, 7:30 Palm Sunday evening, Apr. 10. There will be a theme with Worship Dancing, and participation by kneeling in groups, comiig forward. The following committee was appointed:
   Miss Julie Thompson, chairman, assisted by Miss Wright, Holmes and Mr. Caynon. Also Mr. Driskell for setting, Mr. MacNair for carpentry, Miss Evelyn Johnson and Mr. Poinsette, with the chairman for theme.

5. Chapel Speakers and Programs: The following is the list for the rest of the college year, including the following new appointments: Miss Tippetts for Mar. 29, and Mr. Paul Rilling for Mar. 8. Dr. Hopson's request for a Tuesday program on the new student senate will have to come Apr. 12 or 26, unless we have a cancellation, or unless Mr. Rilling does not take Mar. 8*

Sunday Morning Chapels:		Tuesday or Week Day Noon Chapels	
Feb. 28	Communion, Dr. MacNair	Mar. 4	Dr. Robert W. Spike
Mar. 6	Dr. Robert W. Spike, N.Y.	Mar. 8	Mr. Paul Rilling, S.R. Ccl
Mar. 13	Dr. MacNair	Mar. 15	Student Senate Discussion*
Mar. 20	Dr. Homer McEwen, Atlanta	Mar. 22	Dr. Pool of Holland
Mar. 27	A. Knighton Stanley, '59	Mar. 29	Miss Val Tippetts
April 3	Rabbi Harold Gelfman, Macon	Apr. 5	Rabbi Gelfman
April 10	Choir Easter Music, Palm Sun.	Apr. 12	3rd Off Campus Clinic*
Apr. 17.	Easter, no service	Apr. 21,	Thurs., Arts Festival
Apr. 24	Dr. Jess H. Norenberg, Mad. Wis	Apr. 26	Counselors' Round Table*
May 1,	Rev. Wm E. Edge, Milwaukee	May 3	Counselors' Recognition
May 8	Mothers' Day, A.K. A.	May 10	Little Theater Key Cer.
May 15	Rev. George A. Williams, N.Orl.	May 17	
May 22	Dr. MacNair		
June 5	Baccalaureate, Dr. Gray		

* By last minute revision we are scheduling discussion of student senate Mar. 15, Counselors' Roud table Apr. 26, and 3rd Off Campus Clinic report Apr. 26. These dates are unconfirmed and subject to change

Mr. Rilling — we are still awaiting your reply for sure about Mar. 8 here —
Everett W. MacNair

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
Under The Auspices Of The American Missionary Association
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

DR. EVERETT W. MacNAIR
Dean of Chapel

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3.

March 4, 1960

Dear Mr. Rilling:
As I feared you are unable to change the date from March 9th to March 8th, or so, Dr. John Bross reports to me. We are very sorry because we would love to have our students hear some of your up-to-date information from the racial frontier, wether challenging or encouraging. I have been quoting you and the Rev. Mr. Williams and saying I hold the churches personally responsible for the prevailing apathy they have been teaching for many years, "you can't mix politics with religion and you can't mix education with religion".

I am afraid it looks as if we cannot settle for an immediate day, but let us pin something down. How about May 17th, Oct 11th or 18th? That would be a Tuesday noon chapel, 2o - 22 minutes speach to the student body. We would be glad to entertain you and company overnight and at the dining hall. We can provide $ 25.00.

Cordially,

EWM.

Dr.E.W.MacNair
Dean of Chapel

EWM/ia

March 9, 1960

Dr. Everett W. MacNair
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. MacNair:

I am sorry that I was unable to make the chapel program yesterday. May 17 looks fine for my schedule.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
Under The Auspices Of The American Missionary Association
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

DR. EVERETT W. MacNAIR
Dean of Chapel

March 11, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
63 Albrun Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

This is to acknowledge the arrangement for having you speak to our Tuesday Chapel May 17th, at noon as mentioned in yours of March 9th. As we approach that date, please send us a title of the talk, biographical material, if convenient, information as to when you will arrive and what meals and guest rooms, if any, you (and companion*) may need.

Our Tuesday Chapel is informal; pulpit gowns are not needed.

Sincerely yours,

EWM.

Everett W. MacNair
Dean of Chapel

EWM:pjw

* If any

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
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FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 11, 1960

To: PR From: HCF

Subject: The Alabama Council and the Field Foundation

Max Hahn called today about several different matters, ~~and~~ among them the Alabama proposal. I told him how the situation stands, and he expressed the hope that the ACHR will get the revised proposal to him early next week.(He's leaving town for some days at mid-week.)

In the course of our conversation the following points emerged. We should regard them as confidential, but they might guide your thinking in dealing further with Bob Hughes next week:

1. The amount requested in the original proposal was "fantastically" out of bounds. Hahn has been counting on us to throw on the cold water of realism!

2. Hahn is very, very doubtful that his board will buy the "Madison Avenue" ideas of Foley. Hahn is not only dubious about their effectiveness, but feels they're likely to be positively harmful.

3. The Field Foundation would much rather deal with us than with Alabama and South Carolina. I ~~ex~~ re-emphasized their independent status, but agreed that we do parcel out some aid to them. We discussed in a general way the possibility

of SRC submitting a proposal on behalf of all the state councils, with a formula for distribution, etc., etc. It was left, inconclusively, that we would talk about the idea further "the next time we get together."

March 11, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Max:

This is to supplement our discussion by telephone this morning regarding the Alabama request.

On receiving your letter of March 7, I inquired into the status of the Alabama proposal. I learned that a committee of the board has been working on it and expects to submit a revised version early next week. This is all to the good; for the Alabama Council, although SRC's progeny, is in fact independent and should make the final decision about its request to the Field Foundation.

This does not mean that we have any lack of interest in the proposal. We have thoroughly reviewed the first version and offered detailed criticisms and suggestions, which I trust the committee has taken into account.

If you wish, I will be glad to give you my independent judgment of the revised request once it has reached you.

I deeply regret that I will miss seeing you in Atlanta next week. When we do get together again, perhaps we can discuss the possibility of SRC presenting the case for the state councils as a group and proposing a formula for assistance to them on the basis of carefully devised criteria.

At any rate, I hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

DIVISION OF
NATURAL SCIENCES
AND MATHEMATICS

April 25, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

We are so happy to hear, from Bob Hughes, that you will be able to be with us for our District meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations on Saturday May 7.

We are particularly interested in having you discuss the sit-in situations.

We will not be able to secure the facilities of the college on that date, and are planning to have our meeting at the Congregational Church, which is on the same street as the Union Building, and a block and a half beyond it.

The meeting will begin at 10 a. m. In addition to your presentation it will include a short devotional service, a little business (mainly election of officers), and a time for Bob Hughes to pass on to us whatever significant information he has to share with us. The meeting will conclude at 12:30. The Young People of the Church will serve lunch after the meeting. We hope you will be able to stay for lunch.

We look forward to seeing you on May 7.

John sends his greetings, too.

Sincerely yours,

Helen H. Bross

Helen H. Bross

Sec. Dist. II ACHR)

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

April 28, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. George Campbell
Director
University of Alabama Center
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear George:

They tell me you are in Birmingham now. I will be passing through your fair city Saturday, May 7. Any chance of getting together Saturday afternoon or evening? It would be good to see you and yours again and to learn how you have been doing the past three or four years.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

If you can come do you want hospitality? If you can't come can you suggest some one else?

CLIFFORD J. DURR
ATTORNEY AT LAW
17 MOLTON STREET BUILDING
MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

May 4, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Dr. Gregory, and we hope so much you can come over for the meeting of the Montgomery Human Relations Council on May 19th, that is Thursday night. I am the Chairman of the Program Committee and we want to have a discussion of the Student Sit-Ins, but the situation here is so disturbed right now, that we felt some one with your experience and from the outside, would be the best person to give us the picture and lead the discussion.

Rev. Gregory can tell you that the situation here has been very muddled, as it developed into lots of bad feeling between the students and the Faculty of the College here (Alabama State) and between the Administration of the College and some of the Faculty. I don't know if anywhere else the Administration and Faculty and students were subjected to such brutal and outright pressures as were applied here, but in any event, it has created rather a"touchous" situation, and yet we do not want to avoid it as it is so ever present in our lives and we must face it and we must evaluate it. I do hope so much you can come. Please let me know as soon as possible,

Sincerely yours, Virginia Durr

Virginia Durr

May 6, 1960

Mrs. Clifford J. Durr
17 Molton Street Building
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Durr:

Paul Rilling is out of town this week, and this is simply to acknowledge your letter to him.

I know he would like to be with your group on the 19th, but since he plans to sail for Europe on the 20th I don't believe he can quite make it. He will get in touch with you the first of next week with any suggestions he may have for a substitute.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Sarah Miller, secretary
to Paul Rilling

Over.

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 9, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mrs. Clifford J. Durr
17 Molton Street Building
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Durr:

Unfortunately I will not be able to be with you on May 19. There are two people here in Atlanta who I feel would be well qualified to meet with you on this subject.

The first is Miss Connie Currie, director of the Southern Students Human Relations Project, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta. Miss Curry has been to a number of the places where the student sit-ins have occurred and has been quite close to a number of the student leaders involved.

Another possibility would be the Rev. John Morris, executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, 522 Atlanta National Building, 50 Whitehall Street, S. W. Mr. Morris is a young Episcopal minister who has served parishes in South Carolina and has just recently been employed as a full-time director of this new organization. Either of these would serve your meeting purposes well, I believe.

Let me know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Rilling (s)

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Tuesday, May 10,1960

HCF ✓ SM
FYI

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you so much for your helpful letter. I think we would like to have either of the people you mention, but possibly the Episcopalian Minister would be best. Would the office be kind enough to ask them and let me know if either can come, so I can write them a formal invitation? We will be glad to give them hospitality if they want it, but I am afraid we have no money for travel expenses, although if they have to have them, we will make an effort to raise the money for a bus or train ticket.

Mr. Durr is in the midst of the trial of the MacMurray students who were arrested here with Rev. Robert Dubose and others of the MIA when they were eating in a Negro cafe. The Prosecutor has been hammering and hammering on the SRC as the spear head of the "Communnist Conspiracy" and repeating over and over the old lie that "Did you know one James Jackson now the head of the Communist Dailry Worker was one of the founders of the SRC?" and so on ad infinitum. All of this based on the fact that in the Field Trip Schedule, they had interviews listed with Harold Fleming and some of the local Human Relations people in Little Rock and in Mississippi. I think he is having a hard time making out these students as part of a "subversive conspiracy" as they are all about as corn fed and wholesome as "OKLAHOMA" and as totally ignorant or the radical movement. But how the Jury will react to his smears and innuendos no one can tell. One of the students is a French Fullbright student and the French Consulate in New Orleans called the head of the First National Bank here , Mr. W. C. Bowman, who is an Honorary Consul for Alabama, to come to her defense which surprisingly her did. I think maybe the business elements are beginning to realize that white supremacy and police brutality does not make a City very attractive for investors. I hope so anyway.

Thank you again and do let me know about the reaction of the two people you mentioned. Sincerely, Virginia Durr Virginia Durr

May 9, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mrs. Clifford J. Durr
17 Molton Street Building
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Durr:

Unfortunately I will not be able to be with you on May 19. There are two people here in Atlanta who I feel would be well qualified to meet with you on this subject.

The first is Miss Connie Currie, director of the Southern Students Human Relations Project, 41 Exchange Place, Atlanta. Miss Curry has been to a number of the places where the student sit-ins have occurred and has been quite close to a number of the student leaders involved.

Another possibility would be the Rev. John Morris, executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, 522 Atlanta National Building, 50 Whitehall Street, S. W. Mr. Morris is a young Episcopal minister who has served parishes in South Carolina and has just recently been employed as a full-time director of this new organization. Either of these would serve your meeting purposes well, I believe.

Let me know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Box 252
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama
May 9, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a junior here at Talladega, majoring in Physics & Mathematics. A few days ago, I received an all-expense scholarship offer from the American Committee of the Oslo International Summer School to attend the session in Oslo, Norway, this summer.

The difficulty that arises is that the scholarship is all-expense in the sense that it covers tuition, room, and board. It does not, however, include transportation to and from Norway, books, supplies, registration fee, and incidentals. The additional funds needed are:

$ 470.00	.. Ship Passage from New York To Norway, Round Trip.
25.00	.. Registration Fee.
75.00	.. Books.
60.00	.. Supplies & Incidentals.
70.00	.. Transportation To And From New York.
$ 700.00	.. TOTAL

Dr. John R. Bross suggested that I contact you to find out whether or not you would be in a position to assist me in obtaining the needed funds. Any consideration whatsoever that you can give to this problem will be greatly appreciated.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

Respectfully yours,
Dennis L. Roberts Jr.
Dennis L. Roberts Jr.

May 12, 1960

Mr. Dennis L. Roberts, Jr.
Box 252
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Roberts:

Unfortunately, the Southern Regional Council has no funds available for scholarship aid of any form. Our funds are all committed for specific program activities of the Council.

I do not know how to advise you concerning the additional funds you need. Participation in the Oslo International Summer School would certainly be a rich and rewarding experience for you and it would be a shame to have to pass it by for lack of transportation funds. Have you examined the possibility of a loan through the Friends Service Committee? I wish that we here could be of more assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

May 13, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mrs. Clifford J. Durr
17 Molton Street Building
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Durr:

Paul Rilling is out of town again, but he did stop long enough to try to get a speaker lined up for your meeting. John Morris thought he could make it, and then called back just before Paul left to say that he could not come after all. Neither of the other people he had in mind will be free on that date.

Paul is very sorry not to be able to help you in this matter.

Sincerely,

Sarah Miller for Paul
Rilling

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 13, 1960

Mrs. Clifford Durr
17 Molton Street Building
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Durr:

I will be happy to meet with your group on Thursday, July 21, as requested by Dr. Gregory. I will appreciate an indication from you as to the type of presentation you would prefer on this occasion, how long it should be, etc. Where will the meeting be held and at what time.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Dear Mr. Rilling: We are delighted that you can come but we have postponed the meeting until the 28th in order to have some of the members of the Alabama Civil Rights Commission present, particularly Mayor Brown, who is the head of the Commission, and who has been ill. At the time we postponed it, we were not sure that any of you could come and we wanted to make sure of a bird in the hand.

But we very much want you to come if you can come on the 28th instead of the 21st, for our problem remains the same and that is how to operate a group such as ours in the midst of the kind of terror we live under here in Montgomery, and there is no lesser word to call it. ANY inter-racial meeting is suspect and liable to sudden arrest and while many of the white people have rationalized other reasons, the fact remains that only a small handful of white people now ever attend the meetings, and of course that means the Negroes are dropping out too, as they meet themselves constantly and one more Negro meeting is hardly worth their time and effort. I think it is imperative to keep on meeting. I think

we have had quite good programs this year but they have not been enough to overcome the fear that is so omnipresent here in Montgomery. Just this week the Rev. King who was found guilty of trespass for eating with a Negro in the Hotel, was committed to jail over night and was severely beaten while in the jail. He said the men who beat him were supposedly prisoners but the fact remains that they were not punished nor halted in their efforts and he seems to think they were put there deliberately for that purpose. They also made him eat the newspaper account of the integrated eating in the hotel.

While many people rationalize their position now and say it is something other than fear, I do not think in the face of our present City Commission and Police Department, that there is anything else to call it.

This sort of meeting almost underground, never being able to even say where and therefore never having any larger meeting place than the Board Room of the Negro ~~Educational~~ Educational Association, is demoralizing. We need advice and we need some definite suggestions as to how to go about meeting this kind of situation.

I hope very much you will come, and please let me know at once. The meeting is on the 28th of July at 7:30 in the building of the Negro Education or Teachers Association Building which is just off of the campus of Alabama State. A few of us are having Mayor Brown and his wife to dinner before hand and we would of course be delighted to have you join us. That will be at our home, # 2 Felder avenue at 6:30.

Sincerely yours,

Virginia Durr

Virginia Durr

August 31, 1960

Commissioner Joseph Langan
City Hall
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. Langan:

At the request of Paul Rilling, I am enclosing a copy of our latest report on school desegregation. Paul thought this might be of interest to you. He has also asked that we add your name to the mailing list so that you might receive future publications of the Council.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

CITY OF MOBILE
Board of Commissioners

P. O. BOX 841 MOBILE 5, ALA.

CHARLES F. HACKMEYER
ENGINEERING, STREETS, ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, GARAGE, SANITATION, FIRE

JOSEPH N. LANGAN, MAYOR-PRESIDENT
FINANCE, RECREATION, AIRPORT, TUNNEL, DOCKS, PARKS & CEMETERIES

S. H. HENDRIX,
CITY CLERK

HENRY R. LUSCHER
POLICE, INSPECTION DEPARTMENTS, HEALTH, WELFARE, POUND

September 2, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Thank you very much for the copy of "A Report on School Desegregation for 1960-61" which Mrs. Timothy Miller sent to me on your behalf.

With kindest personal regards, I remain.

Sincerely yours,

Joe

Joseph N. Langan
Mayor

Dear Paul:

I hope that everything is fine with you. We have been moving along with quite a few of our public improvements but as always there are many more needs than money available. The University is hoping with city & County assistance to set up a four year program here in Mobile. We hope to get the Hospital and auditorium under construction next year. I was finally able to hire an administrative asst., Jim Irby, who used to teach at Spring Hill & worked for the City of Denver. Mr. Hendrix retired and Jim has also taken over as city clerk. I had a letter from Rev. Hughes concerning the questionaire at the Golf Course. I had the same placed out there and among the players the sentiment was much in favor of integration rather than closing. Regards Joe.

JNL:r

September 26, 1960

Mr. David Vann
Attorney
Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Dave:

As soon as Charles Morgan presents a specific bill with break-down of costs to the Alabama Council, see that we have a copy. We are working to raise money, but need a more specific figure than the general estimate that Charles gave me when I was in Birmingham.

I plan to attend the October 1 board meeting at Talladega and hope to see you then.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

November 3, 1960

Dr. R. D. Crockett
1006 Thurmon Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Dr. Crockett:

I mailed to you yesterday, at the request of Bob Hughes, some material dealing with police and law enforcement which might be of interest to you and your committee. We do not have information concerning individual police institutes and their curricula, but Harold Fleming suggests that you might find such information by writing to:

Dr. Louis A. Radelet, Director
Police-Community Relations
National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

This department sponsors national, regional and state institutes in police-community relations which I believe would provide the kind of training you have in mind.

If we can be of further help, I hope you will let us know.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

P.S. We would like to have the copy of Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups returned; the other two pamphlets you may have.

alsosent: SRC 1952 police publication, plus With Justice for All

1006 Thurman Street
Montgomery, Alabama
November 8, 1960

Mrs. Timothy Miller
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Miller:

I express genuine appreciation to you for sending me several important documents that will be of real assistance to my committee on police and community relations. Let me thank you and Messrs Rilling and Hughes for your cooperation. After a short while I will return the document treating minority groups.

For the address of Dr. Radelet, I am also grateful.

Sincerely yours,

R D Crockett

R. D. Crockett

RDC/lwb

3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery 5
Alabama
January 13, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St, NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:
Congratulations on the work that I know you must have done in the University of Georgia case. I met with the "remnant" of the white "Women of the Concerned" last week and threatened to leave that group if there continued to be so little co-operation with the Council and said that I couldn't give time and effort to both groups unless it was otherwise. They complain that the Council doesn't do anything. I pointed out that they could do a lot more if they would support

the organization and come to the meetings. Of course, ironically, they haven't done much except gossip. Anyway, they are anxious to make more effort.

As a start we sat down and made a list of people in the power structure who might be willing to deny that no-schools-is-better-than-integrated-schools. We would like to know if you could let us have some of your reports, previous ones as well as current, that point up some of the accompanying problems in the closing of schools or the threat of it as in New Orleans.

If we may have extras, how many could you let us have? If you approved of our circulating this material should we consider it as part of the program of the Council and therefore ask for small funds for

mailing costs from them.
Or would the SKC be responsible
and if so would it be
better for the SKC to do
the mailing and give
us some extras to deliver
in our delicate white hands.
I talked briefly to Father
Folly about it last Saturday
and saw the point all right,
and at the same time pointed
out that Montgomery would
not be the first line of
battle. We do have people in
the Cradle who have
considerable influence throughout
the state, not to mention the
governor.
I think that with all
that is being done by the
Man. WCC's, governor, etc.
I think we are still super

for this approach than we were a year ago.

The Advertiser has greatly improved. The reporters, some of them anyway, are pretty faithful to the facts and occasionally, by the mere fact of printing a story, show a certain sympathy.

Grover Hall lifts his head out of the sand occasionally and points out the practical inevitability of certain changes, making sure to stay on the negative side, of course. Still—

Maybe, you are already sending your fine reports to such people

In any case, please warned you advise us.

I would like to encourage these women.

Sincerely,

Joe Anderson.

January 19, 1961

Mrs. Jose Anderson
3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery 5, Alabama

Dear Jose:

We are mailing to you some materials relating to the hazards of school closing or community tensions involved in the danger of school closing. If you need more copies of any of these, let me know and we will do our best to meet your needs. In some cases we can provide copies in quantity. I think it would be quite appropriate for the state or local Council on Human Relations to donate some funds for the mailing or distribution of such materials. That, of course, would be up to them or to you in your Council capacity. I do not think that in most cases it would be best for SRC to do the mailing directly. Such things usually receive more attention when they come from local sources.

I think what you suggest is practical and would make a good project for the group. Let me know how we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

January 31, 1961

Dear Paul:

Our little band of women met again yesterday and we immediately decided to expand the group to include others, men, ministers, etc. and to hold another meeting probablyon February 13. I expect we will want somebody from HOPE to come over as a resource person sometime in the near future.

It is hard to tell how many copies of the booklets and articles you sent we are going to need. I expect we could use about a thousand of most of them. We would appreciate it if you could furnish us with as many as your supply or funds permit. Beyond that point we can try and get more ourselves. We would like some more to hand out at our next meeting. Each person who attends could probably find two or three other people who would also be interested in having copies. We are hoping that about thirty people will attend the next meeting.

I am listing below the titles of all that you sent me, the asterisk denoting the ones that seem to be of immediate interest to those who are interested in getting organized:

* Save Our Schools Inc.
* Organizing To Save Public Schools — out
* Racial Violence and Law Enforcement — 100 in mo
* Can We Afford to Close our Public Schools? only a few
* Close Our Schools
School Desegregation: the First Six Years
Letter From Little Rock
What Price Tag For Massive Resistance?
New Factories Thing of Past in Little Rock
* Desegration in the Norfolk Public Schools, by John J. Brewbaker
* If the Schools are Closed 100 free
The Economic Effect of School Closing — out
Private Business & Public Education in the South — only a few
Our Stake in New Orleans Schools
Constitutional Aspects of School Closing
Southern Regional Council Reports Nos. L-4, L-7, L-10, L-14.

We hope to see you at Talladega next Saturday.

Sincerely,

José

WHITE, BRADLEY, ARANT, ALL & ROSE
2100 COMER BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
FAIRFAX 3-1551

WM. BEW WHITE
ERNEST L. ALL
LEE C. BRADLEY, JR.
DOUGLAS ARANT
WM. ALFRED ROSE
WM. BEW WHITE, JR.
JAMES C. BLAIR
JOHN J. COLEMAN, JR.
JOSEPH H. JOHNSON, JR.
J. REESE MURRAY
ROMAINE S. SCOTT, JR.
EDWARD M. SELFE
HARRY R. TEEL
ELLENE WINN

LEE C. BRADLEY (1871-1942)
M. M. BALDWIN (1873-1955)
SAMUEL M. BRONAUGH (1900-1958)

ROBERT B. DONWORTH, JR.
DAVID J. VANN
ROBERT R. REID, JR.
JOHN N. WRINKLE
THOMAS N. CARRUTHERS, JR.
J. ROBERT FLEENOR
FRANK H. MCFADDEN
JOHN E. GRENIER
JOHN H. MORROW
HOBART A. MCWHORTER, JR.
CHARLOTTE RAILEY KIEFFER
J. VERNON PATRICK, JR.
MACBETH WAGNON, JR.
ROBERT H. WALSTON

January 31, 1961

Enc. 2/6
copies of open school clips
If the Schools are closed
H.H. Miller article
2-Reports on School
School Survey. 1 of 6 years
all Ministers, doctors, + Emory
Prof.

Mr. Paul Rilling
c/o Southern National Counsel
Room 201
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

My friend and associate, David Vann, has suggested that I write you.

Consideration is being given to the possibility and wisdom of the publication of a statement respecting certain of the problems this city may face with respect to its public schools. It is felt that among other things such a statement would be effective only if it were endorsed by a very broad base of citizens. I should deeply appreciate it if you could send me copies of material used for such purposes in Atlanta and New Orleans and perhaps other places of which you have knowledge. It is thought at this time that the purpose of such a statement would be not to suggest any type of action, but rather to induce a change in atmosphere, with the hope that thereafter problems might be discussed rationally.

I am sorry I cannot be more definite as to the type of material I would like to obtain from you, but our thoughts at this time are not at all firm.

Thank you very much for your assistance in this matter.

Yours truly,

Thomas N. Carruthers Jr

TNCJr/bc
cc: Right Reverend George M. Murray

Feb. 3, 1961

Mrs Faith Richardson
Box 657
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Faith:

How nice to hear from you! I wish I could tell you that Joan and George will be home soon. But I don't see any chance of it. In fact George is playing with the idea of going back to school and get his PhD. I don't know whether he will or not. He can go to U. of Colorado and get it in 2 years, he thinks. However, they are all fine. The children are precious. I had a wonderful visit with them in November.

I am delighted that you are working in the LWV. Joan is a member in Albuquerque.

The problem of the school item on your local current agenda is a difficult one. To really work on the 'open school' question you need to have a state item. Of course you can get busy and get some support from other LWVs in the state and get it on your state program- if enough people want it. We have had it on our state program for several years- written in varinos forms. I will get the state office to send you some materials.

On the local level- you can still adopt an item for the preservation of your own local system- but you will get all ham strung without a state item also. In fact to really be effective there will have to be a state wide effort.

The most effective way we have worked in Georgia is through HOPE-- Help our public Education. I'll send you some of the materials we have put out. It has been a big job-- and many have worked hard but it has really paid off. We have contacts all over the state. The League has worked with us, as well as the United Church Women, and several other organizations.

I am asking Paul Rilling at the Southern Regional Council to also write to you concerning the Council on Human Relations. I am about to take over the job as the Director of the Georgia Council.

Faith, there are so many different ways that one might go about

working for open schools, that I find it difficult to really give you any sort of a decent answer. We could sit and talk for hours about it!

I think the real answer is-- just get busy where evere you see the way. I worked with HOPE because it was the most active group 2 years ago. There weere several things about it that did not please me too much-- but it was working-- and I worked with them.

I think it most important that the LWV get on the right track in this matter. I don't think it can sit on the side and do nothing. I think it will mean the death of the organization The problem is too important to the whole South-- But that is just my opinion. There are those who are afraid to move for fear they will antagonize some segregationist. But we simply must not be afraid and must move-- but move in an intelligent, careful, effective way.

Write me again if I can be of any help. If you come over soon plan to spend some time in the Hope office and with some of the LWV people here and get more details. Paul Rilling has been working in Alabama and his advice can be invaluable.

Best wishes, for open schools in Alabama as well is in this state. We have won the first round but the battle surely isn't over.

Sincerely

Frances Pauley

Friday
January 27, 1961

Dear Mrs. Pauley-

Before I begin this I feel that it might be necessary for me to more fully (more than the return address) identify myself. I'm Bob Richardson's wife, Faith, friend of George and Joan. It is my hope that you will assist me in a matter which has come up in our League of Women Voters group here in Auburn.

We are faced with the annual choice of a local item. I feel that Open Schools should be a strong contender for this since Alabama will have that decision soon - Although the Richardsons have told me that you are no longer active in the League, I hope that you can give me some information on the Decatur or Georgia League's study of this - I know that it is necessary for a League to

study an item before acting on it and have noted many times in the Atlanta papers that local and state leagues have come out for open schools. Next week our Unit will meet and it would seem more convincing if I could have some background to present to my group. It would be sad indeed if the Alabama school crisis came and the Leagues were unable to speak. Any information would be so greatly appreciated.

While we were in Decatur, during the Christmas season, Mr. Richardson recieved literature from the Council of Human Relations. We were told that you might be able to have our names added to the mailing list. If so, please do. We are both so interested

in this, so glad to know that there is such a council and so eager to find out all that is being done. I do feel quite demanding as I finish this and hope that you will understand.

Please give our love to Joan and George. I hope that we will be in Decatur when they are there sometimes soon. We think of them often.

Thank you so very much.

Sincerely,

Faith Richardson

February 6, 1961

Mrs. Jose Anderson
3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery 5, Alabama

Dear Jose:

I am glad that the materials were of some use. I am afraid we are out or almost out of four of the pamphlets you request: "Organizing to Save Public Schools," "Can We Afford...", "The Economic Effect of School Closing", and "Private Business and Public Education in the South." We have already mailed to you 100 copies each of "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement" and "If the Schools are Closed." If you find that you need more copies of these, let us know and we will talk about the supply and price list.

I hope the meeting at Talladega went well. I was sorry to have to miss it.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

P. S. I imagine it would be possible to have a HOPE representative come over in the near future. It would probably help if your group could pay expenses. The HOPE till is running
1 low.

February 6, 1961

The Rev. Jack R. Shearer
Government Street Methodist Church
901 Government Street
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Mr. Shearer:

At the request of Richard Shapiro of the Anti-Defamation office here, I am sending under separate cover some of our materials dealing with the economic cost of violence and tensions.

If we can be of further help to you, I hope you will let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Sent - L. Reports
H. H. Miller
Racial Violence & L. Enforcement
If the Schools are Closed
LR - Story (Nashville)
Close O ur Schools?

February 6, 1961

Mr. Thomas Carruthers, Jr.
White, Bradley, Arant, All & Rose
2100 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Carruthers:

Paul Rilling is out of the office today, but asked that I send the materials requested in your letter. They will be mailed today under separate cover. I have sent more than you requested, but thought some of the things might be of interest to you.

If we can be of additional help in this or any other way, I hope you will let us know.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

February 8, 1961

Mrs. Faith Richardson
Box 657
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Richardson:

Frances Pauley told me of your recent letter and your interest in activities in support of open schools. She tells me that she is sending you materials concerning the HOPE effort in Georgia.

You express an interest in the Council on Human Relations. There are a number of these Southern state councils which are interracial membership organizations cooperating with the Southern Regional Council. The Alabama Council office is located in Birmingham and has some members in or around Auburn, I am sure. The executive director of the Alabama Council has recently moved on to other employment and his position will be vacant for a few months. If further information would be helpful, I would suggest that you write to the office of the Council (Room 1224 Comer Building, Birmingham 3) and the office secretary or one of the board members will be happy to supply you with information.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery 5, Alabama

February 16, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We received the package of publications. Thank you very much.

A small group met last Monday. The temporary leadership was put in the hands of non-Council, non-Women-of-the-Concerned persons.

I was asked to write for information about HOPE. Would you have time to answer a few questions, or, if you prefer, get an officer in the HOPE organization to do so. We know you all are very busy, but we are inspired by your example and would like to at least get a nucleus of concerned people thinking about this whole problem. You did not include any HOPE literature in that sample package of publications you sent. These are some of the questions that were raised:

1. Did HOPE get started before a court case was pending in Atlanta?
2. Are there any other such groups in Georgia? If so, are they affiliated?
3. What did HOPE do at the first meeting. How was it organized?
4. What was the source of funds? Did they have dues?
5. How did they go about building up membership?
6. Were the people on the mailing lists vouched for by the members?
7. Do they have a statement of purpose of any kind? If so please may we see a copy?
8. Did they send out a letter of explanation with the first mailings?
9. Would you prefer that we not mail whole publications put out by SRC, except to people we know?
10. At what point did HOPE come out in the open?

I could fill up several sheets with questions, but don't wish to become a nuisance. We are going to need a lot of help (we won't ask for money, don't worry). After careful consideration it seems wise not to get official help from the Council.

Thank you again for your help and interest.

Sincerely,

José W. Anderson

Mrs. Frank W. Anderson, Jr.

February 27, 1961

Mrs. Frank W. Anderson, Jr.
3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery 5, Alabama

Dear Jose:

We asked Mrs. Harris, executive director of HOPE, Inc., to respond to many of the questions in your letter of February 16. I expect that you have heard from her by now.

We have no objection to your mailing SRC publications to anyone you wish.

You are wise not to be officially or openly related to the Southern Regional Council. We have, however, cooperated unofficially with such groups in Little Rock, Virginia, Georgia, and New Orleans and would be happy to be of service in any way we can.

Let me know if you need further information on the New Orleans groups and I will try to respond or have them respond to your concerns.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

March 16, 1961

Mrs. Frank W. Anderson, Jr.
3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery 5, Alabama

Dear Jose:

It is always difficult to know when to come out into the open with this kind of group. Generally speaking, it seems to be true that a group concerned only with preserving open schools can rarely attract much notice or following unless and until there is a clear and present danger to the schools. Of course, the more status people you can involve before becoming public, the better.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

P.S. I am sending separately 100 copies of "Can We Afford to Close Our Public Schools." This exhausts our supply and we have asked the Anti-Defamation League to forward you the additional hundred copies. I am also sending a copy of When a City Closes Its Schools, which has just come in.

3239 Gilmer Ave.
Montgomery 5
Alabama

March 14, 1961

Dear Paul:
Thank you very much for your letter and the additional literature.
We had a somewhat larger meeting last week and decided to work toward another meeting in a neutral place on April 13.
Our temporary chairman resigned. My husband is now temporary chairman.
We want to increase enough to be able to attract potential leaders.
We are going to have a small committee

working on a provisional statement of purpose and a few concrete proposals. One recommendation from the group was that we secure a quantity of that booklet "Can we afford to lose our public schools?"

I assume that the educators listed on the back pages would only have a limited supply. In order to save time may I bother you again by asking where we could get a couple of hundred or so. If we have to pay for them we will find the money somehow.

I would like to get copies before our next meeting. People are agitating for material.

The decision about when we should come out in the open is going to be touchy. We are going to need some advice on that.

Thanks again for your help.

Yours —

Jose A.

March 16, 1961

Mr. Nat Welch
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mr. Welch:

We are sending under separate cover the material you requested. The Southern Regional Council is not a membership organization, but perhaps the piece on the origin and aims of the Council that we are sending will meet your needs.

New South is circulated only on a subscription basis. If the persons you listed in your letter are contributors to the Alabama Council, perhaps the Alabama Council would be willing to handle the modest price of their New South subscriptions. In glancing over the lists which have come in last year from the Birmingham office, I notice that you, the Rev. McLeod, Mr. Loeb, and Mr. Zigman are already receiving New South. It may be that the others you listed are also included, but I would suggest that you check with the office secretary. Most of our state groups have a policy of supplying their key contributors with this subscription.

We will be happy to place these names on our mailing list for other Southern Regional Council publications, if you wish.

We are gratified here to learn that you have agreed to serve as vice president of the Alabama Council. We are anxious here to do whatever we can to assist the Council in its program. I look forward to meeting you on a future trip to Alabama.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/am

March 13, 1961

Mr. Nat Welch
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

Your recent letter is most welcome, and we're grateful for the leadership you're giving the Alabama Council.

I am sharing your letter with Paul Rilling, our field director, who will want to be in touch with you. The materials you requested will also be mailed to you shortly.

My best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

To be routed in order numbered)
Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF
PA
MA
LWD
MM
EW
SM
PR
JC
LEC
MET
BC
RHA
PP
WF
MF
FILE

Paul,
Harold wants you to handle this request & see that the listed persons are put on N.S.
mf

Nat Welch
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1961

March 7, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold,

Please send me 10 or 15 copies of the SRC's pamphlet used in membership solicitation or a statement of basic beliefs.

I would also appreciate your sending me two copies each of 8 or 10 of your most significant pamphlets or booklets.

I am now serving as Vice President of our Alabama Council. I want you to feel free to call on me to help you in any way I can with the Southern Regional Council.

I am attaching a list of major contributors to the Alabama Council. I hope you can see that these people receive the New South monthly.

Cordially,

Nat

Nat Welch

NW/md Congressional Record regarding SRC
Sent 2-20, 22, 23, 24
Racial viol.
If the schools are closed
School Dist, 1st 6 yrs.
This I Believe
HCF NYT article

Harold,

Please see that copies of New South are sent each month to these key contributors:

Mr. Robert Loeb
L. F. Rothschild & Co.
120 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Morris Zigman
Morhan Exporting Corp.
458 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dr. Walter Heacock
Greenville, Deleware

Mr. W. P. Welch
~~3x~~ 231 Grandview Road
Media, Penna.

Nat Welch
Box 1069
Auburn, Ala.

Mrs. Albert Thomas
355 N. College St.
Auburn, Ala.

Mr. Neil Davis
Lee County Bulletin
Auburn, Ala.

Rev. Powers McLeod
Auburn Methodist Church
Auburn, Ala.

Mr. Charles Edwards
421 N. College
Auburn, Ala.

March 16, 1961

The Rev. John B. Evans
First Presbyterian Church
154 South Gay Street
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mr. Evans:

Harold Fleming asked me to respond to your letter of March 9. A number of groups have helped in the effort for open schools in the South in recent years. Among the more prominent, and I include names and addresses in the event that you would like to write for details of how these groups have operated:

Dr. J. L. Blair Buck
310 Hillwood Road
Richmond 26, Virginia
(Virginia Committee for Public Schools)

Mrs. N. H. Sand
Save Our Schools
1447 Granada
New Orleans, La.

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer
Women's Emergency Committee
P. O. Box 3244 Forest Heights Station
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dr. Robert Lancaster
Committee for Public Education
P. O. Box 8192
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Leslie Addison
Organization for Public Education
P. O. Box 14604, Southeast Station
Baton Rouge, La.

We are sending on some of the materials prepared by these groups. I understand that the HOPE people are writing you directly. Please let us know if we can be of additional help.

With best wishes to you and to your group in its important undertaking.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Sent Separately: Organizing to Save Public Education
Can we afford to close public schools
If the Schools Are Closed
Close our Schools?
SOS pamphlet
When a City Closes it s Schools
Our Stake in New Orleans Schools (SOS)
Constitutional aspects of school closing
L - 11,14,10, 5, 4, 3, 24
Private Business & Public Education in South

PR — Please reply. HCF

First Presbyterian Church
154 SOUTH GAY STREET
Auburn, Alabama
March 9, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Several persons here in our community have been talking together about some constructive steps we might take in our local community as well as in our state which might lessen the severity of the school crisis that is certain to be upon us in the near future. I am writing you on behalf of this small but intensely interested group to secure from you suggestions as to what you think we might constructively do. We also would like for you to give us names of individuals and organizations whose insight, work and experience may benefit us as we seek to afford the opportunity for the thinking people in our area to voice their concern for open schools.

I have written today to HOPE, Inc. in Atlanta. Perhaps there are other such organizations to whom I should write.

Let me add my small word of appreciation to what you and the Southern Regional Council have done and are doing for our Southland. For a couple of years now, first as a member of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations and now as a member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, I have been profiting from the New South.

With every good wish to you and yours and with the hope that I may hear from you at your earliest convenience, I am,

Sincerely yours,

John B. Evans

John B. Evans

JBE/dhe

HCF ✓
PR

REV. JOSEPH D. C. WILSON
FOLEY, ALABAMA

March 16, 1961.

Mr. Duncan Turnbull,
Point Clear, Alabama.

My dear Mr. Turnbull:

It has come to my knowledge that you were interested in my background in connection with inter-race relations work, the following information may be of help in this matter:

I was born and reared in Texas, after High School went into printing and newspaperwork, expecting to make public affairs my career. Later feeling that the Christian ministry was my vocation I study privately and was ordained Deacon in the Episcopal Church in 1915; I then spent two years at General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church where my work covered both under-graduate and graduate subjects. I was ordained Priest in 1918.

Except for occasional work while in New York my entire ministry of 46 years has been in the South much of it involving inter-racial work.

While studying for ordination I served as minister of St. Stephen's mission, Negro, Morganton, North Carolina as well as a group of white missions, 1913-1914; at St. Paul's, Wilkesboro, N.C. we had a Negro communicant of the white parish; 1917-20; at LaGrange, Ga., 1924-1943 I acted as adviser to the congregation and minister, and had services for them when they were without a minister, for St. Elizabeth's Mission and parochial school. Since coming to Baldwin county we have had negroes attend services at Loxley and at Foley occasionally and so far as I have any knowledge there has been no criticism. I made it known that my position is that any person conducting himself properly is to be welcomed and if they come to the altar rail will be administered communion.

Over the years I have also worked in mixed racial groups in all kinds of civic activities. I am especially proud of the fact that I helped organize the Baldwin county Inter-racial Ministers association about 1950, I was elected and re-elected as its first President with a majority from both races — I had to resign during my second term because of health which caused me to give up all activities except my Church ministry.

I was outspoken in opposition to the KKKLUXKlan in the '30s and am today; for years I have upheld the right of qualified negroes to vote and that the same tests should be applied to white and colored impartially; that negroes should have equal educational opportunities with white; but I believe that each race should have a choice of sending their children to all white, all negro, or mixed schools.

I feel most strongly that the activities of extremists on both sides have done and are doing irreparable damamge to the working out of our problem, but that the solution lies only with those who will take the moderate way and bear with Christian charity the attacks which come from the lunatic fringe on both sides.

I hope the above information will be of help.

With kindest personal regards I am,
Faithfully yours,
Joseph D.C. Wilson
Joseph D.C.Wilson.

P.S.- I served as supply minister for one Mobile negro church, the Good Shepherd for several months in 1958 and in 1959. JDCW

First Presbyterian Church
154 SOUTH GAY STREET
Auburn, Alabama

March 21, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Room 201
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling,

Thank you for your letter of March 16 which gives me the names and addresses of a number of people who can be of help in giving me guidance in the matter of trying to do something constructive for our public schools in Alabama. I also appreciate very much the helpful literature you sent me. I have found that this, together with what I have received from HOPE, gives me valuable suggestions as to helpful literature, organization, and strategy.

With thanks to you for these specific helps and for the Council's continued helpfulness throughout the South, I am,

Sincerely yours,

John B. Evans

John B. Evans

JBE/dhe

April 5, 1961

The Rev. J. C. Wilson
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Wilson:

We are enclosing your quarterly support check. You will notice that it is only one-half of your normal amount. This is in consideration of the vacancy in the director's office which considerably reduces your normal financial commitments. Father Foley will remember that in our letter to him announcing Alabama aid for 1961, we mentioned that the figure was contingent upon employment of a full-time director. The board established a policy last fall of scaling down aid payments during periods when state councils did not need to meet normal staff salary commitments. Our state support funds are sufficiently limited that this policy was felt to be necessary and justifiable. Needless to say, your support from SRC will go back up to the previous level upon the effective date of the employment of a full-time director.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
cc: Father Foley

April 11, 1961

The Rev. Joseph Lowry
Warren Street Methodist Church
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Rev. Lowry:

I have followed with considerable concern the story of the reprisals which have been carried out against you and others in connection with the litigation over the King committee ad in the New York Times.. I know you realize that this kind of harassment to some extent is a tribute to your effectiveness and increasing reknown as a leader in the fight for equal rights, but this can be but slight comfort to you and your family.

Let me know how things are going with you during these difficult days and whether there is anything we can do to help. Are funds being raised or contributed to meet any personal hardships that may result from this legal persecution?

I had an opportunity recently to have a long talk with Horace Ward who is practicing law here and making a fine contribution to the Atlanta community. It was good to talk over old times in Mobile.

I hear of you from time to time from Father Foley and from Wyatt Walker and I hope you will call when you are next in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

April 11, 1961

Dear Paul,

Thank you very much for the generous supply of material. We will let you know what happens at our forthcoming meeting.

Sincerely,

José Calderon

3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery 5, Ala.

May 9, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was good to see you at the Council meeting last Saturday. Your presence always makes a great difference.

With regard to our conversation about my related activities in connection with the school crisis I would like to reiterate my suggestion that you come and visit us sometime soon. I would like you to suggest a date. It would have to be in the evening, or daytime on a Saturday. Saturday, the 20th is not convenient for me. I do not think we could get a group together much before the end of next week, but I do think we should do this before school is out and people start disappearing into the woods. Please bring your wife and if it is an evening date stay the night. We will pay your expenses.

I will try to bring you up to date on the developments. We have had three meetings since the women started trying to draw in others. At the first meeting a young Presbyterian minister who had little knowledge of what it was all about, partly because this was the first time that he had been in the group and partly because of a rather detached though sympathetic attitude toward the whole problem, was elected temporary chairman. At the meeting one or two women made references to the fact that they were marked people in the community, presumably because of their attendance at the fated meeting at St. Jude's Hospital several years ago.

This minister, the Rev. J. Calvin Chestnutt, was charged with the responsibility of calling the next meeting. Several days after the first meeting he called a small group of representative persons together, including my husband, and told them that before he called another meeting he wanted to contact some leaders in the community--educational and political--and sound them out on our prospects for the future. The group discouraged him from going to see the Governor. He reportedly showed some signs of reluctance and apparently was questioning the necessity and timing of such a movement. When the second meeting was called at which the attendance was larger and more spirited, the Rev. Chestnutt reported that he had spoken to two or three people, including school officials, and they told him that the situation was as usual and that nobody was making plans for any private school system. He said that he was to make one broadcast in a new series on television entitled "One Nation Under God" that had no direct reference to local problems but dealt with our total responsibilities and he preferred to pursue this approach and was therefore resigning as temporary chairman. My husband was then elected temporary chairman, as there didn't seem to be much choice, to serve at least through the third meeting. It was generally agreed that our next meeting should not be in a home but on neutral ground, especially as we were at that time too large a group for comfort.

We found a place for the third meeting which was set for the 13th of April. Andy formed a small committee to help plan this meeting. There was a strong feeling that we should get legally organized if we hoped to get important people to join us, so that they knew what we stood for and could be expected to contribute funds. I talked this over with a lawyer, who is also a State Representative and he was prepared to help us. We thought we would be far enough along to make a concrete proposal that we organize, but we did not get that far. It was probably just as well. As it turned out the confidence of most of the original women, who had been pretty timid all along, seemed to be restored. It was generally agreed that if we did organize we should be confined to being a Montgomery organization. We were advised that if we wanted to steal the name "SAVE" we could add "Montgomery, Inc." so as to safeguard this name, in the event that a statewide organization be proposed at a later date.

The committee drew up some temporary statements of purpose and activity largely based on HOPE's efforts (copies enclosed) which were circulated at the last meeting. A post office box was also taken out under the name SAVE, Montgomery, Inc.

During the time prior to this last meeting at the Normandale Civic Center on April 13, one member of our group had held a small meeting which was mostly made up of civilian personnel from Maxwell. A week or so later a second man, a civilian from Maxwell, talked to a member of the State Chamber of Commerce, a local politician and somebody from the Attorney General's office. The substance of all these talks was that everybody, including the Governor, privately conceded that our turn would come, that nobody was proposing any alternatives, that the State Chamber of Commerce had been thinkingof coming out in support of public education and so the picture looked pretty rosy. This man communicated this to our first friend and between them they took the position that if we did anything in support of public education we would just harden the resistance from the professional segregationists. The first man, the member of our group, got on the telephone to some of our active supporters including the persons on our committee and reported all this in such a way as to give the impression that he had had these interviews himself and to raise a question as to the wisdom of such a movement at all and consequently whether we should have a meeting at all. The information was not reported directly to Andy or me. The first inkling that there was something going on came when members of our committee started talking about moving or cancelling the meeting. Finally, somebody blurted out the whole story assuming I knew about it. By the time we got to the bottom of it considerable damage had been done and people started calling to ask whether the meeting was still going to be held. We did hold the meeting. There were only about fifteen people there but it was a very high-spirited affair. The upshot of it was that the group gave Andy the responsibility of trying to get people lined up who would be interested in signing a charter, if possible including people of stature and certainly not including too many "liberals". He mentioned that it seemed feasible from the limited information that we had, to get at least ten people to sign the initial charter and make provision to add others later who would also be on the board of directors and from whom the officers could be elected, in the event that the first ten were not a very impressive group. That is about where we stand right now. Andy went to Washington right after the meeting and was gone for several weeks.

Although people are very worried there is, as I said the other day, the problem of lethargy even on the part of sympathizers and the unwillingness to realize that we have a potentially dangerous situation. This indicates a desperate need for

communicating the facts.

Through membership in The League of Women Voters and The United Church Women I have some assurance of support, at least from a number of individuals in these organizations. The League is currently studying the finances of our system and the Board has agreed to continue the study of education next year enabling them to come out in support of public education if it is threatened. The United Church Women are going to conduct an inter-faith workshop on community relations and the threat to democracy. Mr. Richard Shapiro is going to speak to us. I hope I get a chance to meet him. I would like to thank him for his interest in our activities. The meeting will be held on Thursday, May 18 at 10:00 a.m. at Normandale Community Center.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Shapiro and one to Father Albert Foley.

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Sincerely,

Joe

Mrs. F.W. Anderson, Jr.

May 12, 1961

Mrs. F. W. Anderson, Jr.
3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery 5, Alabama

Dear Rose:

I was very pleased to get your letter with its more detailed summary of the way you have been moving and thinking. I would very much appreciate the opportunity of meeting with the group quietly. My Saturdays are pretty well messed up from now on. How would Thursday, May 25 be? If this is not possible, I could probably come on Thursday, May 18, although this would be more difficult. The only other alternatives would have to be into June.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

3239 Gilmer Ave.
Montgomery 5
Alabama

May 14, 1961

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter. I am afraid that the 25th is impossible. Our Council meeting is that evening and we are going to honour Dr. Crockett as it will be his last meeting.

If it is not too inconvenient we would like very much, for you to come on the 18th. Andy has to go to Washington again Tuesday - the Air University Quarterly Review is having security problems -

and there is a chance that he will not be back by Thursday; but he has urged us to go ahead and make plans for that evening. So we are going to call a group together to meet at our house at 7.30. You did not mention whether you would stay the night, bring your wife, come in time for supper or what. Please feel you are invited to be our guests in any or all events.

I think the main points that we would like you to be prepared for are (1) the necessity for such a movement (2)

the timing of becoming
an active organization.
We appreciate your
offering to come and are
looking forward to
seeing you.

Yours

José.

Ala - Gen -

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Atlanta 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

May 25, 1961

Mrs. Clifford Durr
17 Molton Street Building
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Durr:

The following paragraph comes from an official of the Department of Defense. I believe you will find it both self-explanatory and disappointing.

> "Much attention, both specific and general, is being given now to items such as those recounted in your letter of April 13th concerning Chaplain's Day at Maxwell Air Force Base. Despite recent incidents, I feel that assurance can be given first that these matters are not being overlooked and second that assistance of a general nature will be forthcoming."

I shall not let it rest at this point.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

over

Thanks for your letter. All of this seems rather hopeless now when all Hell has broken loose and anything they do now is too little and too late. Drew Pearson had a marvellous column in the WASHINGTON POST detailing the derelictions of the Field and of course for our Southern people to be blamed alone for the violence and racism when the rest of the country certainly shares a large part of the blame certainly seems unfair. The Federal Government has been just as much a segregationists as anyone and so have the Yankee corporations that have come here looking for cheap labor and to keep out the Unions. And of coursethe Military is just as bad in most places and certainly here in Montgomery where their policies have been awful.

In one way it is like a deep abscess bursting and it may in the long run prove to be beneficial. I hope so, but right now the vileness of the pus is revolting. I certainly don't think anything is coming good unless the Federal government stands firm and keep some Federal force here.

Sincerely your friend, Va. Durr

Virginia Durr

PS: One bright spot. A white couple, the woman native Alabama born, went to school with John Patterson, came from Phoenix City and whois completely native went to the rescue of the people who were being beaten and tried to get the police to come to their aid, and were arrested and fined $300 for " distrubing the peace". They came to Cliff for legal aid, had no money for their bond and the professional bondsmen would not put it up, so some of " our friends" raised $300 and are going to help them with it, isn't that wonderful? The names of the coupld are Fred and Anna Gach. I will keep you informed about the case. Having just a few people is so wonderful and means so much. We Southern white people are so isolated and we need each other, and I Thank God for those of us wh o stand together.

COPY

3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery 5, Ala.
May 26, 1961

Father Albert S. Foley
Spring Hill College
Mobile 22, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

We had to postpone our Council meeting last night as a result of the story that came out in the newspaper yesterday, copy enclosed.

This Ackerberg is the same young man that I mentioned to you at the State meeting who was brought to last month's meeting by Mrs. Durr, the wife of Attorney Durr, and after overhearing somebody ask me if I had seen your recent report to the Alabama Committee of the Civil Rights Commission, kept pressuring me to show him my copy. Needless to add, he didn't get it.

We have not had time to think about or discuss your suggestions in connection with SAVE. I talked briefly over the telephone with Mr. Paul Anthony about your suggestions and he indicated that he thought that we should try to get together with Paul Rilling. My husband and I are very interested in your suggestions.

Thank you very much for coming to Montgomery and giving us the assurance of your support. It is wonderful to feel that there are friends that one can turn to in times of crisis.

Sincerely,

COPY

Montgomery Advertiser, May 25, 1961

WHITE 'RIDER' DECLARES MANY
AIDED GROUP IN MONTGOMERY

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)-- Peter Ackerberg, the only white member of the second unit of "freedom riders" jailed here Wednesday, said many white persons in Montgomery, Ala., had aided the movement.

Ackerberg, a 22-year-old New Yorker, worked for the last six weeks in a Montgomery print shop. He declined to identify the plant, but said he would be on the payroll until June 1.

He said aid in Montgomery came from what he called the Montgomery Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He declined to mention any names.

The tall, slender Ackerberg said he decided to become a "Freedom Rider" after seeing James Barbee of Nashville, Tenn., a Negro college student, beaten and clubbed outside the Montgomery bus station last Saturday.

Ackerberg, interviewed while en route from Montgomery to Jackson in an interst state bus, said his decision was "cemented" after attending a mass meeting at a Montgomery Negro church where U.S. marshals, state troopers and city police drove back another white mob last Sunday.

"It was a great inspiration to be there and experience the communion of spirit with all those Negro people who were sticking together for what they believe in."

COPY

Spring Hill College
Mobile 22, Ala.
May 20, 1961

Mrs. Frank Anderson
3239 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Anderson,

Though everybody in Montgomery will probably be involved with the "Freedom Riders" by now, I wanted to send the enclosed along with the suggestions that occur to me for promoting it.

I have had 500 copies of the enclosed run off here at SHC Press for $6.15-- which is just slightly more than lc each, and I believe that this offset-press turns out better and more appealing products than mimeograph machines can manage to do. The first suggestion I have to make is that, if you want more of these in quantities of 500, we could have them run off down here at that cost. This simple process would save printers' bills and give you a good direct-image print. If you'd want more elaborate jobs, on tinted paper, with variety of type-fonts, we could do that down here too, but of course the costs would be higher.

The first 500 down here will be used to try to stir some interest on the part of white moderates in supporting SAVE. We have a small group who will be getting together next week to map strategy, and to start mailings. With 16,000 civilians at Brookley Air Force Base, we have a good start for a pool to be sampled.

However, we will not give them a local address to respond to initially. We think that they'll send in inquiries etc more readily to Montgomery. Then you can send the names down to us and we can contact them here for the formation of the Mobile unit.

Will let you know how things progress here. Meanwhile, best wishes for success in getting it off the ground in Montgomery,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Father Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D.

P.S. The B'ham disorders have not yet scared our prospective director away. I had a letter last week saying that he had resigned in Virginia, and was coming down.

Dear Paul:
I sent Father Foley copies of the same temporary statements of our purpose and activities that I sent you. He had them reproduced on each side of one sheet. José.

May 29, 1961

Paul M. Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul,

Thank you for yours of May 26. I would like to attend the Conference at Dillard this year, but my present circumstances forbid me from going at my own expense. Would assistance from the Southern Regional Council be available? If so, I would like to have the driving fare plus the cost of attending the Conference. I am returning the card indicating that I plan to attend, and I hope to be able to .

I would appreciate hearing from you soon so I can make necessary preparation.

How do we stand with the Taconic Foundation?

Sincerely yours,

Herb

C. Herbert Oliver

857 Hillman Dr.
Bessemer, Ala.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

May 31, 1961

Dr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Rilling:

I have your letter of May 26 inviting me to participate in a meeting at Dillard University on June 9 and 10. I have checked my schedule, and it seems that I should be able to participate. I have sent the postal to Dr. Yungblut.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Chairman

CGG:mc

June 22, 1961

The Rev. Eugene Peacock
Dexter Avenue Methodist Church
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Gene:

I have heard from time to time through Joe Lowry, Richard Shapiro of the ADL, and others of the significant and constructive role you have been playing in Mobile in the area of interracial understanding and negotiation. I have just learned of your transfer to Montgomery, which will be a severe loss to Mobile, but will provide much needed leadership in Montgomery.

As you may know, I am currently working with the Southern Regional Council in this critical area of race relations, and have had occasion from time to time to work with the Rev. Welton Gregory who is currently director of education for the Alabama - West Florida District.

I hope to see you on a future trip to Montgomery, and would like to wish you luck in your assignment.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

BC - Welton Gregory

ala
gen

Dexter Avenue Methodist Church

301 Dexter Avenue Phone 262-3961
Montgomery 4, Alabama

H. EUGENE PEACOCK, D. D.
Pastor

June 24, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your good letter. I shall look forward to a visit from you when you come to Montgomery.

We are very happy with our new assigbment. Dexter Avenue Methodist Church is a strong, strategic church. I am anticipating a fruitful ministry here.

Cordially,

Gene

Eugene Peacock

ELECTRONICS FOR EDUCATION, INC.

formerly

~~TREND ELECTRONICS, INC.~~

Manufacturers of Electronic Products for Education

ADDRESS REPLY TO:
HOME OFFICE:
BOX 1192
AUBURN, ALABAMA

RESEARCH LABORATORY
4940 ST. ELMO ST.
BETHESDA 14, MARYLAND

July 5, 1961

Mr. Les Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you very much for your recent letter which was very satisfactory as far as I was concerned.

We would like for you to come to Tuskegee Institute at Tuskegee, Alabama the first week in August (July 31 through August 4) to speak to the East Alabama Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Our group will be comprised of about thirty people. In case you can't come, please try to have one of your staff members come to talk about positive developments in Georgia.....the influence of HOPE, ~~the~~ leadership was marshalled and the influence of Ralph McGill and so forth.

Please call Frank Toland at Tuskegee Institute and you and he agree on the exact date.

We certainly hope to have the pleasure of having you speak to our group.

Sincerely,

Nat Welch

Nat Welch
Executive Vice President

NW/cr

Ala Gen

I can't go (Saturday) for the meeting (Sunday) but you should send someone. Do you think we should send someone? If so, what about MV?

Tuskegee 1-500
Institute Ext. 310
Tuskeg. 683

Toland Home -
Dorot

P.R. Aug 23rd.

Thought
R. C.
we or

Peters
Thursday
and

Check to see if we are
further action

Ala Gen

MILES COLLEGE

BIRMINGHAM 8, ALABAMA

July 11, 1961

Dr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Rilling:

Thank you for the kind reply to my letter of June 26, and also for the material that came in the same delivery. As tentatively planned, a part of the Conference will be devoted to race relations and much of this material will be useful in that connection.

You assured us of your very favorable sentiments, and we simply are regretful that we did not write you early enough for you to have given us assistance in setting up the sessions. If, per chance or otherwise, you find yourself in Birmingham before, or on the date of the Seminar, I am sure you will be able to make some contribution to the project.

Sincerely yours,

Richard E. Maxwell, Jr.

Richard E. Maxwell, Jr.

REM:ecc

cc: President L. H. Pitts

July 18, 1961

The Reverend L. H. Pitts
Miles College
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Mr. Pitts:

Paul Rilling's heavy July travel schedule has not allowed time enough in the office to attend to personal correspondence during the past several weeks, but he has asked me to suggest to you that Charles Wittenstein, Director of the Atlanta Area Office of the American Jewish Congress, would be an able person to handle the rumor clinic and general section of your human relations seminar-conference. (Mr. Richard Shapiro, of the Anti-Defamation League, had earlier advised us that he would not be available, and asked that we send you any suggestions we might have for substitutes.)

Mr. Wittenstein's address is 41 Exchange Place, Room 703, Atlanta, Georgia; he is, of course, very knowledgeable in the areas you wish to cover, and I do hope that you will find he is available in late July.

Best wishes for the success of your conference.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

MM:s

July 3, 1961

Mr. Richard E. Maxwell, Jr.
5620 Court H (Vinesville)
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Mr. Maxwell:

I returned to my office this morning, and have just seen your letter of June 26th. Unfortunately, I cannot get away from Atlanta this week and will be meeting travel commitments next week. I could stop by Birmingham the week of the 17th of July, but assume this would be too late to be of any value.

If there is any specific information or material that you need, please feel free to call on us. I am forwarding under separate cover a selection of our recent publications in case you might want any for distribution.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Mailed under separate cover:
Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
Ga's Divided Ed.
NS May 61
L 16, 23, 25
Fed. Ex. & Civil Rights
Freedom Ride
Report on Sch. Deseg 1960
Negro & Ballot
List of Current Materials

Miles College
Birmingham 8, Alabama
June 26, 1961

Dr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
#5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Rilling:

We are in the act of planning what we are calling a seminar-conference in human relations on the campus of Miles College for July 28 and 29, 1961. This project will be the beginning of a special attempt to inject scientific principles, or knowledge derived therefrom, into social relationships on our campus and in the community of Miles College. Reverend L. H. Pitts, President-elect of Miles College, suggested that I write you for any information you may have that would be helpful to us in this project. Through this communication he also asks if it will be possible for you to stop by within the next five or six days to help us set up the proposed conference.

Assuredly, we shall be happy for whatever contribution you are able to make to our endeavors.

Sincerely yours,
Richard E. Maxwell, Jr.
Richard E. Maxwell, Jr.

Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama
August 7, 1961

IMPORTANT NOTICE

To Members and Friends of the
East Alabama Chapter of the
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Our quarterly meeting will be held at the Faculty Cottage, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama on Wednesday night, August 23, 7:30 p.m.

Mr. Paul Rilling, Field Director for the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, will speak on "Progress in Georgia". Also, Rev. Norman C. Jimerson, the new Executive Secretary of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, will be at the meeting.

Please make a special effort to make this meeting to honor our two distinguished visitors.....Wednesday night, August 23, Faculty Cottage, Tuskegee Institute.

Cordially,

Nat Welch
Nat Welch

Frank Toland
Frank Toland

Powers McLeod
Powers McLeod

Paul — Glad you are coming! I suggest you plan to speak about 30 Minutes. Norman Jimerson is going to meet me for a little meeting at 3:30 PM CST at my office — Wright Bldg Auburn. You are invited to join us. We'll have dinner together before going to Tuskegee.
Regards, Nat

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of Public Roads
Washington 25, D.C.

C O P Y

August 24, 1961
(August 24, 1962, expiration)

INSTRUCTIONAL MEMORANDUM 21-3-61
26-20

SUBJECT: Use of rights-of-way of Federal-aid highways for non-highway purposes (Encroachments):

This memorandum supplements FM 21-1-61, dated April 13, 1961, and further implements section 1.23 of the Regulations for the Administration of Federal Aid for Highways, relative to the use or occupancy of rights-of-way of Federal-aid highways for nonhighway purposes.

IM 21-1-61 prescribes conditions under which certain types of non-highway use and occupancy, including encroaching signs, may be determined in the public interest, within the meaning of the regulations, and permitted on the highway rights-of-way; and it delegates to Regional Engineers authority to make necessary determinations in individual instances and to redelegate their authority to Division Engineers. Regional and Division Engineers will also be guided in their actions by the policy expressed at part 1, section 1A-3, of the Manual on Uniform Traffic Control Devices for Streets and Highways, issued June 1961.

The authority delegated in IM 21-1-61 does not extend to encroaching signs in the categories described below, which will in no event be considered in the public interest:

(1) Signs located on highway rights-of-way in violation of State or local law.

(2) Signs which serve, promote, or advertise any organization, association, and similar group which is not lawfully constituted under State or local law.

(3) Signs which serve, promote, or advertise activities which are unlawful under Federal, State, or local law.

(4) Signs which serve, promote, or advertise any organization, association, or similar group which the Attorney General of the United States has designated, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, dated April 27, 1953, as "totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or which has adopted, or shows, a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or which seeks to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

(more)

Regional and Division Engineers will take prompt action to require removal of encroaching signs in the foregoing categories from the rights-of-way of all highways constructed in whole or in part with Federal funds, irrespective of the date of construction of the highway and without regard to whether Federal funds participated in the costs of the right-of-way of the highway.

(Signed)

Rex M. Whitton
Federal Highway Administrator

Ala. -

Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama
August 29, 1961

To the Board of Directors, ACHR

Thank you for your response in cash and pledges. You will be glad to know that we have raised approximately $2500 on a goal of $6000 in the last two weeks.

*

Our budget is $12,000. If we raise $6000 by October 1, the Southern Regional Council will match this with $6000.

Paul Rilling, Field Director of Southern Regional Council was in Auburn last week and agreed to a 30 day extension of SRC's matching until October 1, but this is the absolute final deadline. Rilling gave a terrific talk to our East Alabama Chapter that night at Tuskegee on "Progress in Georgia."

We were saved from financial diaster three years ago by Albert Winn's plan of key underwriters pledging $60 a year, payable in $5 monthly installments. We ask that you put strong emphasis on this program in the next three weeks in getting several underwriters in your home town. This would solve our financial problem.

Please send your checks and pledges to me with a little progress report.

Thank you,

Nat Welch,
Finance Committee

Paul — Thank you for coming. Your talk was splendid. If you would make a tape recording of this talk, it would make a wonderful program for SRC Local meetings.
* These figures are not exact. I wanted to give this general framework & to encourage the board, showing some progress. Best regards Nat

Nat Welch

Business Development

Auburn, Alabama

Sept. 12, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul;

This morning I was soliciting memberships for ACHR over at the University. I was quite surprised in talking to a sociology professor that he had never seen any of the very fine brochures published by the Southern Regional Council.

I have had professors remark to me about the piles of literature they get from the White Citi,ens Councils, NAM, US Chamber of Commerce, John Birch Society, etc.

May I reccommend that you put on your mailing list for the SoutheToday and your special brochures the names of all sociology and political science professors in Southern Universities both private and public. This would only be about 500 names. They influence the youth and will pass this literature on to interested students.

Cordially,

Nat

Nat Welch

P.S. Enter my subscription for the ~~South Today~~ New South, please suh. Enclosed is my check for $2.00. CR RHA

(at above address, I assume. Please return letter to me. MM.

put on list, card made 9/18/61 BCC
Pass letter back to Marge

Nat Welch
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

September 12, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul,

Here is an idea that I would like to explore with you.

Rev. John Evans, pastor of the Presbyterian Church here, told me about the very fine meetings his church ladies and the Tuskegee Institute ladies have been having recently.... ...people envolved that I would not think of.*

One of the big problems we have is a confined group that expands pitifully slowly. The thought occurred to me is for us to have a strong membership drive in this area....I believe we could pull in 25-50 new members.* But we need a strong speaker to peg this on. My thought is to have a good SRC staff member come down and talk on, "The Southern Regional Council and Its Program". I don't mean to impose but you people are only 125 miles away. Very little travel expense. You might have a staff member who wants to get out but doesn't have the opportunity. No one would be better than you. Your "Progress in Georgia" talk was terrific.

May I suggest Oct. 16, 17, 18,19, 23, or 24, preferably the 16-19. If O.K. — Clear date with Frank Toland Tuskegee Inst. This is easier
Please let me have your views on this.

Cordially,

Nat

Nat Welch

IMPT.

P.S. ACHR will have a Board meeting in B'ham Sept. 30. Enclosed is the notice. Our financial dirve is progressing satisfactorily.

cc: Norman Jimerson
Frank Toland

* There + other people.

CONFIDENTIAL

1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

September 8, 1961

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Norman C. Jimerson

RE: Board Meeting, September 30, 1961

The President is calling a meeting of the Board on Saturday, September 30th at 10:00 a.m. We will meet at the A. G. Gaston Building at 1527, 5th Avenue North, Birmingham, Alabama. Each Board member is requested to be very careful not to take a taxi or any public transportation to the Gaston Building. Those arriving by bus, plane or train are requested to come to the office at 1224 Comer Building on Saturday morning and private transportation will be arranged from the office to the Gaston Building. With this precaution there is feeling in Birmingham that this city will be a good place to meet.

Luncheon arrangements are tentative but the group will eat together at noon.

TENTATIVE AGENDA

Review of Finances

Discussion of Program - Will refer to policy manual

Development of a Brochure Describing the Alabama Council

Subscriptions to NEW SOUTH

Planning for Annual Meeting

Please send suggestions for agenda.

Each Board member is urged to attend this meeting if at all possible. Please notify us at your earliest convenience whether or not you will be able to attend this meeting.

not

Father Foley is sending membership blanks within a few days and will send you a supply.
Melva will plan to attend the meeting — thanks for your note on that.

Jim

September 18, 1961

Mr. Nat Welch
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

We will try and be happy to meet your request. I would suggest that Paul Anthony, our Executive Assistant, handle the chore you suggest on Tuesday, October 17th. Paul is a first rate speaker and has been with the Council since early 1956. He is thoroughly familiar with the subject.

It might be well for you to write Paul giving him any additional details of the sort of pitch you see as useful.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

cc: Paul Anthony

September 26, 1961

Mr. Frank Toland
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mr. Toland;

Nat Welch has asked us to provide a speaker from our staff for a meeting of the East Alabama Chapter of ACHR in October. He suggests several dates, "preferably Oct. 16, 17, 18, or 19" and asks that we clear the date with you. Paul Anthony, our Executive Assistant, will be available to fill this engagement most easily on Tuesday, October 17. Does this date meet with your approval?

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

October 13, 1961

Mr. Nat Welch
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

Have you thought further about the possibility of a brief story on your study group in Auburn which could be run in New South or perhaps in some magazine of even larger circulation?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala
Gen

ELECTRONICS FOR EDUCATION, INC.

Manufacturers of Electronic Products for Education

ADDRESS REPLY TO:
HOME OFFICE:
BOX 1192
AUBURN, ALABAMA

RESEARCH LABORATORY
4940 ST. ELMO ST.
BETHESDA 14, MARYLAND

October 24, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have discussed the strategic implications of a story on the Auburn Self-Study Group with Neal Davis. Neal pointed out that we have a new chief of police and a new school board which takes office in several months. He felt it would be wise to wait until both solidify their positions before such a story should run, but after that it would be all right. I agree. I'll follow up on this at the appropriate time.

Cordially,

Nat

Nat Welch
Exec. Vice Pres.

NW/w

Tenn

The Methodist Church

NASHVILLE-BIRMINGHAM AREA
1908 GRAND AVENUE
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE
PHONE CYpress 1-5910

CHARLES F. GOLDEN
RESIDENT BISHOP

JOSEPH ECHOLS LOWERY
AREA DIRECTOR
PROMOTION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

CONFERENCES
CENTRAL ALABAMA, EAST TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI, TENNESSEE
UPPER MISSISSIPPI

October 30, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of recent date, and let me say it was good to see you in Nashville.

In regard to the question you raised about leadership in Mobile, I would suggest you contact Clarence Montgomery, Corner of Davis Avenue at Lexington. Rev. D. D. Chestang succeeded me as president of the Civic Affairs Association but I do not have his address. Montgomery is chairman of the board.

I cannot say who has emerged as the most useful contact among the white ministers since Gene left because we left around the same time. Carl Adkins is better situated than any minister I can think of in Mobile to serve in this role. I am not sure that he will.

No, I have not yet joined the Tennessee Council. I assure you that my new position has not weakened my zeal for the cause, only my finances.

Seriously, I am going to affiliate with the Council any minute now, at least as soon as I can locate their office (I believe it is across the street from my office.) (Smile) HA!

Sincerely yours,

Joseph

Joseph Echols Lowery

JEL:gm

Ala Gen

Nov.8, 1961

Ala. Council on Human Relations
Comer Bldg.
Birmingham

Dear Mr. Jimerson:

I am rather late in responding to your request contained in the October newsletter about Klan signs. Each day I pass one in Tuscaloosa. It is on Route 11, The Birmingham highway, just opposite the eastern entrance to the Highlands. It is outside the grounds of the Parilow hospital, which puts it on the north side of the highway, and it is grouped among some civic club welcoming signs.

KKK Signs
On Montgomery Roads

MONTGOMERY (AP) -- The letters "KKKK" have been painted on three highways leading into Montgomery recently.

Authorities said it was the first time the yellow, 36-inch letters have appeared on the pavement, although the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan have posted roadside signs here and elsewhere in Alabama in the past. Nov. 1(?) 1961

Tri-Cities Daily

Yours truly,
Donald S. Strong

Donald S. Strong
525 - 35 Ave., East
Tuscaloosa

Ala
Gen

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
15TH FLOOR - COMER BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

January 13, 1962

Miss Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

This will acknowledge receipt of and thank you for your letter of January 9th, with enclosures.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Morgan, Jr.

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CMjr/mm

Ala - Gen

January 22, 1962

Mr. John McConnell
205 Ridgewood Place
Mobile, Alabama

Dear John:

I feel out of touch. If you can spare a few moments some time in the next few weeks, write me several pages summarizing developments in Mobile, the significance of the last election, and things in general.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala
Gen

Jan., 1962

Forwarded to Chuck Morgan:

Walter letter
Congressional Record remarks of Hon. Richard Bolling
Analysis of the Attack on SRC in the Firing Line

Richmond Times Dispatch reprint

Copy of Kennedy Telegram

Board list

Ala Gen Ala Cncl has original

W. L. WILLIAMS, JR.

ATTORNEY AT LAW

1630 FOURTH AVENUE, NORTH — BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

SUITE 624
MASONIC TEMPLE BUILDING

OFFICE: ALpine 2-4774
RESIDENCE: FAirfax 4-8774

February 6, 1962

Wyatt Tee Walker
Director - S. C. L. C.
208 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Re: Birmingham School Intergration

In conferring with Reverend Shuttlesworth about the above matter I was requested to contact you about some help.

We would like your organization to use its influence to obtain some white person to come to Birmingham on the pretext of writing a Dissertation, or on some other pretext for the purpose of making a study of the White schools in our system to ascertain such information as teacher load, classroom capacity, how much space would be available to put Colored students in various White schools, the availability of transportation facilities from the Negroes homes to the White schools, traffic hazards and things of this nature on which we could further brief him.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Williams, Jr.

WLW/r:tr

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

March 5, 1962

Mr. W. L. Williams
Attorney at Law
1630 Fourth Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you for your inquiry of February 6th. I have sought the aid of the Southern Regional Council through its Research Director, Dr. James Moss. I am sure he will be in touch with you as soon as he works something out.

You may assure Rev. Shuttlesworth that we stand behind him in all his efforts to destroy the system of segregation in Birmingham and the South.

Very truly yours,

Wyatt Tee Walker
Director

WTW:es

Ala Gen

Please return to SRC as soon as convenient -

W. L. WILLIAMS, JR.
ATTORNEY AT LAW
1630 FOURTH AVENUE, NORTH — BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

SUITE 624
MASONIC TEMPLE BUILDING

OFFICE: ALpine 2-4724
RESIDENCE: FAirfax 4-8746

February 6, 1962

Wyatt Tee Walker
Director - S. C. L. C.
208 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Re: Birmingham School Intergration

In conferring with Reverend Shuttlesworth about the above matter I was requested to contact you about some help.

We would like your organization to use its influence to obtain some white person to come to Birmingham on the pretext of writing a Dissertation, or on some other pretext for the purpose of making a study of the White schools in our system to ascertain such information as teacher load, classroom capacity, how much space would be available to put Colored students in various White schools, the availability of transportation facilities from the Negroes homes to the White schools, traffic hazards and things of this nature on which we could further brief him.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Williams, Jr.

W. L. Williams, Jr.

WLWJr:tr

Ala
Gen LWD

Inter-Citizens Committee

Rev. J. L. Ware, President

Rev. J. C. Wilson, Vice-Chairman
Rev. G. L. Terrell, Treasurer

Rev. C. H. Oliver, Secretary
Rev. H. D. Long, Assistant Secretary

Box 1443
Birmingham, Alabama

March 1, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

I received the following word today from Senator Javits.

> "I appreciate your calling this matter to my attention. I am forwarding copies of your statement to the Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Commission and am asking for a report with respect to this situation. I shall contact you further, you may be sure."

I am also enclosing a statement which a local attorney tried to get Mr. Philip Travis of document number 20 to sign. Mr. Travis was considering it and had two witnesses sign. Then at a meeting last Monday night he told me about it and I made an appointment to see him the next day. He will not sign now, but you can see what a close call this was. We shall now have to instruct those whose stories we carry to guard against such unspeakable tactics.

Kindest regards to Mr. Dunbar.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert

C. Herbert Oliver

enc. release re. Kennon Travis

Release filed in Research Dept.

41 Exchange Pl., S. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

March 5, 1962

Dr. James Moss
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim:

Can you arrange anything on this? Ring me up if you can help.

Sincerely,

W. T. Walker

Wyatt Tee Walker

Ala. Gen

April 26, 1962

Mr. Charles Morgan, Jr.
1512 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Chuck:

Wiley Branton will not be available Monday. Call me if you have time for a quick one.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field
Activities

PR:mm

Wm. Gen

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
15TH FLOOR - COMER BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

April 30, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter of April 26. I will have had that drink with you by the time you get this or, in the alternative, you will know that I did not have time to have "a quick one".

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Chuck

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CMjr:efc

Ala-
Gen

Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama
May 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

What do you think of Robert Kennedy speaking to the Alabama Council's annual meeting at Tuskegee next February? There are pros and cons on this and I would like to have the opinions of you and Les.

Powers McLeod and I have not discussed this with Dr. Foster at Tuskegee so please confine your discussion with Les and let me know your opinion.

The attached editorial from the Auburn Plainsman is the best piece I saw on the Talladega situation.

You might like to consider reprinting it in the South Today.

ML
Return to PR

Cordially,

Nat

Nat Welch

NW/w
Encl.

I think this will be too old for July-August issue

The Plainsman

To Foster The Auburn Spirit

JIM BULLINGTON
Editor

TOM FOWLER
Business Manager

Managing Editors—Jim Dinsmore, Charles McCay; Assistant Editor—Katherine Davis; Sports Editor—Milton Williams; Features Editor—Don Phillips; News Editor—Harry Wilkinson; Assistant News Editor—Joe Murphy; Art—Tom Walker; Society Editor—Grace Harris; Chief Photographer—Bubba Long; Staff Writers—Emmy Fisher, Jeanne Swanner, June Walker, Bob Reed, Dianne Snoddy, N. K. Rice, Lisa Sanders, Sally Quillian, Bea Carroll, Nan Patterson, Betty Thomas, John Dixon; Advertising Manager—Richard Raiford; Assistant Advertising Manager—Dan Ennis; Circulation Manager—Tommy Sibley; Advertising Sales—Marion Singer and Judy Copeland; Typist—Page Riley.

Plainsman offices are located in Room 318 of the Auburn Union and in The Lee County Bulletin building on Tichenor Avenue. Entered as second class matter at the post office in Auburn, Alabama. Subscription rates by mail are $1 for three months and $3 for a full year.

And Thy Neighbor As Thyself

Easter is presumably a religious celebration designed to heighten and emphasize the more noble precepts of love, humility, brotherhood, etc. in the Christian religion by focusing on the death and resurection of Christ. But the good Christians of Talladega somehow failed to get the message.

When groups of Negroes attempted to attend morning services at six Talladega churches last Sunday, they were arrested at one, turned away at four, and admitted at only one. One wonders how the five congregations who committed this act of predjudice can still presume to call themselves Christians, when their action plainly brands them as Pharisees.

Some object that the motives of the Negroes are less than pure, that they do not want to attend church solely to worship. In some cases this may be true, but if purely religious motives were made requisite for church attendance, we suspect that most churches would have trouble filling two pews. Until a man's motives can be examined, he must be judged by his actions.

Nor can this incident be compared to social integration. This is a matter concerning Christ's church, presumably a spiritual, not a social, institution.

Would Jesus have barred people from churches if he had been in Talladega last Sunday? Are there two Heavens in Christian theology, one labeled "WHITE" and one labeled "COLORED"? Did Christ establish two churches, one for Negroes and one for Caucasians? Did Christ plan to teach racial discrimination and prejudice by the parable of the good Samaritan? Perhaps in Talladega these rhetorical questions are answered affirmatively, for an affirmative answer is implicit in the action of Talladega Christians last Sunday.

The Talladega Christians have surely turned Christ away from the doors of their churches. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Pre-Rush And Auburn Fraternities

Ala
Gen

May 29, 1962

Mr. Nat Welch
Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat;

Les and I both feel that the status and prestige of having a Cabinet official and a Kennedy would over-ride the cons in the situation. We think it an excellent idea.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

July 13, 1962

Mr. Julian C. Hall
4988-A Potomac
St. Louis 9, Mo.

Dear Mr. Hall:

Thank you very much for sharing the report of the NASW Commission on Personnel Standards and Practices with us, together with your letter of June 18 to Mr. Beck. This material is being circulated to several members of our professional staff. It will be, I feel sure, of particular interest to Paul Rilling, and we will call it to his attention immediately upon his return from vacation in mid-August.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Memo from **PAUL ANTHONY**

MM: Done 7/13 MM

Please acknowledge receipt of attached - saying PR will be interested on his return. Share with LWD + PR

Thanks PA

Mr. Bertram Beck, Director
National Association of Social Workers
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

June 18, 1962

Dear Mr. Beck,

The REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PERSONNEL STANDARDS AND PRACTICES IN THE CASE OF MR. H. VS. COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS Was received. I assume that this report is final. However, may I respectfully request that my comments below be made available to the NASW Board, to the Commission, and that they be attached to the file for the record. First, I want to acknowledge that the profession of social work has evidenced concern for my individual freedom and civil rights in processing my complaint. In fact, my profession has shown more concern in this area than most professions would.

With this perspective, I raise the following questions.

Page 4, point 2 - "Majority of MCCCO Board had grave doubts about Mr. H's suitability". In reporting this finding, NASW might have stated that this was based on information given after the event. Retrospective studies are always influenced by one's current attitudes when looking back.

Page 4, point 3 - establishes "inescapably" that my membership in HRC was a factor in the dismissal. Point 5 directly contradicts this statement, when NASW becomes involved in the matter of degree. Why has NASW avoided the action of asking the agency to modify its statement that I was dismissed <u>solely</u> for "unsatisfactory performance"? The Procedures(page 10, 2a) authorizes NASW to take such action.

Page 6 - I object to the statement "a person with little relevant experience". This phrase is a little strong and unfair. As a state licensing consultant in Tennessee for four years, I was responsible for many community organization activities and worked closely with Councils in the four urban areas. The MCCCO Board searched for one year for more experienced applicants without success.

On Page 6 you state that "...my primary obligation is to the welfare of the individual or group served." You define the group served as the Board of Directors. This is the first time in my experience that the Board has been defined exclusively as the client.

You also state on Page 6 that I "...had no choice but to resign." As you know economic reprisal is a common method employed to prevent social change in the South or elsewhere. It <u>ought</u> to be true in America that any person can have the

freedom to belong to HRC without fear of economic reprisal. This restriction on freedom is a community problem. Therefore the responsibility for dismissal lies with the Board in my opinion. You point out on Page 5, point 6 that "There is no evidence that his participation in HRC harmed the agency." The problem lies in the hearts and minds of the Board who in my opinion were concerned for their own economic and social status in the community.

Finally NASW felt it necessary to conclude the report by stating on page 7 that "Mr. H., however high in motivation, had taken steps which made it impossible for him to continue to be of service to the Community Council and the Board of the Council was well within its rights in asking for his resignation and ultimately in dismissing him." In this statement NASW declares that Mr. H's involvement in HRC justified dismissal. Was this the position of the MCCCO Board? If so, should not this be publicly stated now?

This statement of NASW condones limiting of a Council Executive's freedom as a citizen and encourages economic reprisals for one's private beliefs and acts. I would be interested to know if NASW in the past has actually stood "ready to defend and seek justice for" social workers in other types of social agencies in the deep South who have been in interracial activities as private citizens. I cannot help but wonder if NASW attempted to identify too much with the governing Board in order to protect the interest of the profession in having future social workers hired by agencies in the deep South. We can be objective on social security health care for the aged, because it does not effect our profession. We can see the vested interest of the American Medical Association. Can we see this same vested interest in our own profession? We do know that there are relationships between racial segregation and the corresponding need for increased social welfare services. Does the profession want to encourage palliative services as a substitute for social change? Are we unwittingly creating more jobs for social workers?

Our profession, so it seems to me, needs to re-think our approach to social change in the light of recent research in the behavorial sciences. We have commonly thought that attitudes must be altered before there could be social change. However, it seems just the reverse is true.

> "Students of social relations are agreed that behavior largely determines attitudes. Conversely, attitudes appear relatively weak in influencing behavior....A principal reason for this is that few people hold out long against the established practices of their group. Social and economic pressures are

brought to bear on individuals who question or disobey popular standards and practices. People usually conform to the crowd, and so it is quite possible for individuals who know that prejudice is wrong to join in discriminatory activities....If we are to overcome prejudice, our strategy must be aimed at altering behavior. The social structure maintains and directs public behavior....

There are two principal avenues of attack against prejudice, action and information. Both should be utilized simultaneously even though action is by far the most effective."

Source - RACIAL PREJUDICE by Cornelius C. Tarplee, Associate Director of Intergroup Relations, Protestant Episcopal Churches. These quotes based on notes from Gordon Allport, THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE, p. 467, and Kurt Lewin, RESOLVING SOCIAL CONFLICTS, p. 3.

NASW did develop new information regarding my alleged complaint. It seems to me that NASW has uncovered sufficient evidence upon which to act as provided in the procedures (page 10, 2-a).

I ask that these comments be made available to the NASW Board and the National Commission.

Sincerely,

Julian C. Hall, ACSW

cc: Mr. Harold Silver

JCH/eh

Southern Regional Council

This is the Report on my dismissal as related to my participation in Human Relations Council in Huntsville, Ala,

This report is available to the public and may be used in anyway you feel it can be useful.

Sincerely Julian C. Hall
4988 Potomac
St Louis 9, Mo -

LWD
PR
ala
Gen

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
2 Park Avenue New York 16, N.Y.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON PERSONNEL STANDARDS AND PRACTICES IN THE CASE OF MR. H. VS. COUNCIL OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Statement of Facts

On August 12, 1961 Mr. H. filed a complaint against the Council of Community Organizations (MCCCO), with the local chapter of NASW, under the Association's "Procedures for Considering Complaints against Agencies for Penalties Imposed as a Consequence of Social or Political Action." The local chapter exercised its right to waive jurisdiction and referred the complaint for inquiry to the National Commission.

Mr. H. was employed as the executive director of MCCCO in June 1960. This was a newly organized "research and development council for the fields of health, welfare and recreation supported by the United Givers Fund" and Mr. H. was its first executive. On July 19, 1961 the Personnel and Executive Committees of the Board of MCCCO met with Mr. H. to complete his first annual evaluation. On July 28, 1961 the full Board met, and voted to request Mr. H's resignation, and in the event of his refusal to terminate his services. He was dismissed as of July 31, 1961 with salary paid thru August.

Mr. H. alleges that "a significant (causative) factor" in his dismissal was his membership in the Human Relations Council (HRC), an interracial group aiming to work towards improvement of race relations. In support of this allegation he states that on three occasions - June 8, July 5 and July 19, 1961-the president and treasurer have asked him to give up his participation in HRC. He refused to do so "for reasons which are related to both our American and Judaic Christian heritage." He feels that "it is important for the Board to accept responsibility that my membership in an inter-racial group was a significant factor in my dismissal. I choose to accept termination of my services rather than resigning because I believe that the responsibility should be assumed by the Board and the Board alone."

While Mr. H. by inference concedes that the Board's dissatisfaction with his performance on the job may have played a part in the dismissal action, it is the official position of the MCCCO Board that Mr. H. was dismissed "for incompetence. Our decision was reached after very careful consideration of his past performance and was not in any way connected with any activities of Mr. H.'s outside his official duties as the executive director." Both the president and the treasurer deny that in their conversations with Mr. H. they have attempted to persuade him to give up his participation in HRC. They did point out to him the unfavorable even damaging, effect his membership in HRC would have on MCCCO. (The president conceded that if Mr. H. concluded that they wanted him to leave HRC, this would have been a reasonable conclusion.) Nevertheless, the reason for dismissal, the officers of the Board insist, was Mr. H.'s unsatisfactory performance and in support of this contention cite numerous instances of Mr. H's behavior which they considered indicated his "failure to meet the job requirements." Some of these instances took place before January,1961 when Mr. H. joined the HRC and long before May, 1961 when his membership became public knowledge.

There is thus a definite disagreement between Mr. H. and the agency as to reason for dismissal.

4259/S

Method of Inquiry

The Inquiry Committee consisted of Mrs. Virginia Ferguson, Columbus, Ohio, Miss Virginia Carswell, Birmingham, Alabama, and Harold Silver, Detroit, chairman. The Committee met with a group of five Board members of MCCCO, including its three principal officers, interviewed all five witnesses named by the complainant, and four others including the executive of the United Givers Fund and the executives of the family agency and of the planning council in a nearby city. Miss Frieda Romalis of St. Louis interviewed the complainant. The Committee also reviewed the Declaration of Complaint, an exchange of letters with the president, and various minutes and documents supplied by the agency. Four of the principal witnesses were sent copies of the Committee's write-up of their statements, and their corrections were incorporated in the final version of their statements.

Scope of Inquiry

NASW Procedures do not permit an inquiry into the validity or accuracy of a complainant's professional evaluation. In other words this inquiry could not go into the question of whether the agency's judgements about the complainant's competence and performance were valid, based on solid grounds. This is a prerogative of the agency and the Commission's findings and conclusions neither support nor take issue with the agency's judgement on this point.

The complaint alleges that Mr. H. was unjustly penalized (to wit dismissed from his position) because he discharged a social or civil responsibility, namely joining and continuing his membership in the Human Relations Council.

The inquiry therefore was concerned first with the question of whether the dismissal was the result of Mr. H.'s participation in HRC or was based on what the agency considered was "incompetence" and "a performance below the Board's expectations." Put more sharply, would the complainant have been dismissed even if he had never been connected with HRC? Would he, despite his alleged shortcomings, have been kept on if he had not been a member of HRC?

Secondly, if it is determined that Mr. H. was dismissed for membership in HRC, what was the behavior of both parties in the circumstances? Did the agency behave in a responsible manner, acting on sufficient evidence and maintaining an atmosphere free of tension and emotion? Did the complainant, in the exercise of his civil rights, behave in an ethical manner?

The Findings

1. The MCCCO is a new agency having been formed after much discussion and some highly vocal opposition by a minority when the agency was in the developmental stage. It was organized about a year and a half when it dismissed its executive director.

2. Mr. H. had not previously had any administrative experience in the community organization field, and the MCCCO Board knew this at the time it employed him.

3. Expressions of criticism of Mr. H. and of dissatisfaction with his performance in at least four specific situations, on the part of the president and the treasurer of the agency, and perhaps other Board members as well, were made several months before Mr. H's membership in HRC became public knowledge. These expressions were made to Mr. H himself, to other Board members and to at least

two persons occupying important social work positions not on the agency's Board.

4. No formal evaluation of Mr. H's work was made until July, 1961, about two months after his membership in HRC became known. However, the agency's personnel policies do not call for evaluations more frequent than once a year.

5. The Board genuinely believed that Mr. H's membership in HRC would adversely affect the agency and more specifically would result in reduced contributions to United Givers Fund.

6. The United Givers Fund Board, however, had not intervened in the matter, either formally or informally. In the opinion of the UGF president the UGF was not threatened by the critical reactions that reached UGF Board members regarding Mr. H's participation in HRC.

7. The disagreement between the complainant and the agency as to whether the MCCCO officers asked Mr. H. to give up his activities in HRC is largely one of emphasis and semantics. The president and treasurer told Mr. H. that in their opinion his remaining in HRC was prejudicial for the Council's position. In the president's letter of July 13, 1961 to Mr. H. she states that he was requested by the Board to "consider the impact of your vigorous participation in an activity which, for the present time, appears to be of a controversial nature..." H's position "as a key individual in the Community Council", the letter goes on "leaves a strong possibility that public reaction, unjustified as it may be, could affect the financial support to the United Givers Fund." Whether H was actually asked to leave HRC or not, it is clear that he was left in no doubt as to what the officers and the Board would have liked him to do, and that is to give up HRC.

8. At the evaluation meeting (between the Executive and Personnel Committees and Mr. H.) on July 19, 1961 and at the Board meeting on July 28, 1961 when the dismissal was voted, Mr. H's membership in HRC was not discussed.

9. Whether this membership affected the attitudes and votes of the Board is a matter of inference and judgment and this will be discussed in point 3 under "Conclusions".

10. On July 31, 1961 at the conclusion of his last day on the job, Mr. H issued a release to the press announcing the Board's dismissal action and giving his view of the controversy. He also criticised MCCCO for failure to observe democratic procedures, "resistance to problems which lie below the surface", "an excessive feeling of community pride", "a desire to avoid controversy", "at times I wondered whether the Council was conceived to develop services or control or limit them." One witness reported that the release had been sent to national wire services and to the Huntley-Brinkly program, but the only clippings that came to the Commission's attention were those of the Post-Herald and Times, both dated August 2, 1961. Both, of course, reported Mr. H's view that his membership in HRC "was a big factor in his termination." The only criticism in the second was that H said "he had met with an attitude which gave priority to economics, but less enthusiasm toward increasing community services

Conclusions

1. Background

H. is a city of about 60,000 with about the same number in the remainder of the county. About 10% are Negroes. The great bulk of the population consists of "newcomers", i.e. people who settled there since the establishment of the

Space Flight Center of NASA. The "old timers" in H number about 15,000 and it is largely from this group that persons occupying major positions of influence and prestige in the community are drawn. About one-third of the county's income is derived from Federal installations or firms engaged on defense contracts.

The racial situation in H is not typical of the south generally. In B, for instance, about 100 miles to the south, the city officials in January, 1962 closed all public playgrounds, golf courses and community centers rather than comply with a Federal court order to desegregate. In h, public transportation the library and golf courses have been desegregated. Biracial luncheon meetings have been held in hotels. The latter practice, however, is still not firmly established as shown by the fact that the United Givers Fund, which previously held luncheon annual meetings, this year decided it was not opportune to do so and arranged the meetings for a time when meals are not appropriate. The Human Relations Council in H, unlike its counterparts in other sections of the South, is on the fringes of "acceptance" and "respectability". It is admittedly a "controversial" organization. Two professional persons, other than Mr. H, have had some unpleasant reactions consequent upon the discovery of their membership in HRC.

All of our informants are agreed that by and large the Board of MCCCO consists of socially minded people, of a generally liberal trend of thinking, with genuine concern for improving race relations.

2. We believe that a majority of the Board had grave doubts about Mr. H's suitability for the job. In the case of the three principal officers it is clear to us that they had more than doubts, they had convictions that the executive director's performance did not meet their expectations. In the case of the president, differences in temperament and approach contributed to the friction between her and the executive.

3. Doubts and convictions about suitability for the job need not necessarily result in an action of dismissal. (A possible alternative, one that was proposed by a member of the agency's Personnel Committee, might have been placement on probation.)

Did Mr. H's membership in the HRC affect the Board's final decision? The conclusion that it did,-without specifying the extent to which it did- seems to the Commission inescapable. The reasons for this conclusion are as follows:

a) The president reported that she and other Board members received telephone calls critical of Mr. H's membership, and some threatening to withdraw their support of UGF.

b) The Board was deeply troubled by the possibility of adverse effects on the UGF and MCCCO.

c) The president and treasurer took time and trouble to discuss with Mr. H. the implications for the agency of his membership.

d) On April 19, 1961, a month before H's membership in HRC became public knowledge, the Board approved expenses for H's attendance at two out of town institutes held in June, 1961. It is reasonable to infer from this action that despite misgivings Board members had about H's performance on the job they did not in April contemplate dismissal. The only event of major significance that occurred between April and July was the news that H. was a member of HRC and refused to resign from it.

In concluding that the HRC involvement played some part in the dismissal action we do not mean to impugn the sincerity of the Board members who denied this implication. It is quite possible that they were unaware that they were in any way influenced by the HRC involvement. Given the troubled race relationships in their state, given the transitional stage in these relationships in which it finds itself, and recognizing that the Board members of MCCCO are decent, well intentioned citizens groping for humane, democratic solutions in an exceedingly complicated problem, it is quite conceivable that in their own minds Mr. H's HRC membership had no bearing on the evaluation and dismissal. To an outside, impartial and well disposed group like the Commission it appears otherwise.

5. Though recognizing that the HRC membership was a factor in the dismissal,the Commission is unable to assess the degree to which it contributed to the Board's decision. The HRC factor may have been the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back. The Board might have decided to place Mr. H on probation if it were not for the HRC factor. On the other hand, it is possible that the cumulative dissatisfactions with Mr. H, culminating in the first formal evaluation, might have led to dismissal regardless of other factors. The evidence assembled is insufficient for us to be positive on the degree of the HRC factor's bearing on the final action, though we repeat, it did play a part.

6. To the extent that the HRC factor did play a part in the dismissal action, what was the behavior of the agency and of Mr. H?

The Board's efforts were directed entirely to impressing on Mr. H the harm that in their view would come to the agency if he remained in the HRC. The agency was in its infancy, still facing many problems and the HRC affair must have appeared to the Board as an unnecessary and irrelevant obstacle. Not recognizing that the HRC factor was an element in the issue of retaining or dismissing Mr. H, the Board took no steps to analyze the factor and to discuss possible alternative positions that it might have taken with regard to it. Its error was in having a blind spot rather than in failure to behave responsibly.

Mr. H's decision to join and remain in HRC stemmed, it appears to the Commission from a deeply spiritual motivation, from a strongly felt need to be personally involved in an activity designed to improve race relations. He persisted in his decision even at the risk of losing his job. He attempted to direct the Board's attention, in his letter of July 6, 1961 to an examination of the role of human relations councils in other places and suggested that Board members might visit meetings of the HRC and see for themselves the kind of group it was He found it very difficult to differentiate between H the citizen following the dictates of his Christian conscience and H, the head of the Community Council trying to weld various groups into an effective organization for the promotion and improvement of community services. Another man in his place might have decided that his personal needs should not be allowed to embarrass the agency which he headed or introduce a divisive element, particularly while the agency was still in the process of gaining a foothold, and might have given up HRC. That Mr. H. made a different decision in no way, however, reflects on the ethics of his choice. There is no evidence that his participation in HRC harmed the agency.

7. Considering that Mr. h regarded the HRC factor as having influenced the dismissal action(a view which the Commission shares) it was reasonable and within the bounds of propriety and ethics for him to have informed the press about this view. His press release however did go beyond his version of the action. It contained adverse judgements and comments about the agency which were not particularly relevant to the main point (reason for dismissal) and, had they

appeared in full in the press, might have hurt the status of the agency. The release was an apparent attempt to strike back at the agency. As such it can be understood as a natural human reaction, but cannot be condoned as a professional act.

Recommendations

The Commission recommends that no action be taken in this matter beyond the conduct of this inquiry and the issuance of this report. The Commission believes that Mr. H was penalized, in part, for engaging in social action, but the Commission holds that Mr. H. was not unjustly penalized.

As a professional social worker Mr. H undertook to work with the Board of a Community Council toward the end that that Board could give leadership in social planning within the county. Mr. H's professional task was to help the Board assess social needs and find ways of meeting them. It was to aid the Board in dealing with problems of relationship between existing programs and services. In order to engage in the professional practice of social work as executive director of the Council, Mr. H had to maintain a reasonably good working relationship with the Board of Directors. The Commission is convinced that it was not possible for Mr. H to maintain that relationship and also be active in the Human Relations Council.

The Commission has no question as to Mr. H's essential integrity or his obligation to discharge his civic duty as he perceived it. Mr. H was, however, obligated to choose between resigning from his position and resigning from HRC when it became apparent that the discharge of his civic responsibility made it impossible for him to discharge his professional obligations in the particular post he held.

The Board took a risk in employing as the first director of a new Council a person with little relevant experience. Mr. H also took a risk in accepting such a position. A more seasoned social worker, experienced in the application of community organization method would have more readily perceived the implications of the decision which circumstances required Mr. H to make. Another social worker with commitment to social work values equal to Mr. H's commitment might well have decided that he could best serve the cause of social justice by maintaining a position where he could continue to work effectively with the Board of the Community Council. The ethical pledge of social workers states, "I regard as my primary obligation the welfare of the individual or group served which includes action for improving social conditions." The group served in this instance was the Board of the Community Council which itself existed for the purpose of improving social conditions. When Mr. H found that he could not discharge his primary obligation to the group served because of what he perceived as his civic obligation, he had not choice but to resign.

The Commission views as fundamental to social work the obligation to improve social conditions. It sees two major ways by which social workers discharge that obligation. One is through the application of social work methods which are changed and oriented as directed by social work values. The other is through diredt social action by the profession, using NASW as a vehicle. The social worker who joins with his fellow citizens to take social action for various ends is still, of course, a social worker but is acting in his capacity as a citizen

When a social worker acts as a citizen, he, of course, enjoys the same civil rights as does any other individual. He is professionally accountable only insofar as his acts as a citizen may affect his professional performance. Conceivably other social workers in the community in which Mr. H was working, holding positions of a different kind, might have joined the Human Relations Council without directly affecting their professional practice. Had such workers been penalized by their agencies, NASW would stand ready to defend them and seek justice for them. In this particular instance, however, it see seems to the Commission that Mr. H., however high in motivation, had taken steps which made it impossible for him to continue to be of service to the Community Council and the Board of the Council was well within its rights in asking for his resignation and ultimately in dismissing him.

July 24, 1962

Mr. Charles Morgan, Jr.
15th Floor
Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Morgan:

Thank you for sending us a copy of the Sims v. Frink brief. Paul Rilling is in Europe at present; he will return on August 15 and I feel sure he will be grateful for an opportunity to read through the brief.

A friend of Paul's asked me to write you requesting that you send us, if possible, a couple of copies of the recent court opinion in this case. He asked me to tell you that those in Georgia still fighting for reapportionment could use it. We don't find the text of the opinion in any newspaper reports. He also extends to you--as we at the Council do--his congratulations on your success in the case.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Ala - Gen

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
15TH FLOOR - COMER BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

July 17, 1962

Filed in Research

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Forsyth Street Building
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: Sims v. Frink

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of our latest brief in the above captioned case.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CMjr:efc

Enclosure

Ala - Gen

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
15TH FLOOR - COMER BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

July 26, 1962

Mr. Melvin L. Wulf
c/o American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Re: Fields v. City of Fairfield

Dear Mr. Wulf:

This will advise you of our acceptance of the above case on the following basis:

1. We will serve as local counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union in the representation of Petitioners Fields and Lyons in the above case only.

2. This representation shall be limited to the appeal of the above case and, consequently, will be based upon the record and transcript therein and will not involve the divulgence or disclosure to me of any information by Messrs. Fields or Lions.

3. This representation shall be limited to this case.

4. We shall appear on brief with you and shall participate in such case with you in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CMjr:efc

cc: Theodore Roth, Esq.; Justin J. Finger, Esq.; Richard M. Shapiro, Esq.; Norman C. Jimerson, Esq.; Paul Rilling, Esq.; Mayer U. Newfield, Esq.

Ala
Gen

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
15TH FLOOR - COMER BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

July 26, 1962

Miss Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary, Field Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: Sims v. Frink

Dear Miss Manderson:

Thank you for your letter of July 24. Enclosed is a copy of the initial opinion in the above case. The order setting forth the terms and conditions of the enforcement of the opinion has not been issued.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Charles Morgan, Jr.

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CMjr:efc

Enclosure

Ala.-Gen.

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

MOBILE, ALABAMA

July 31, 1962

Mr. Paul M. Rilling,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the final report of our Human Relations Workshop which was conducted here at Spring Hill this summer.

As you can see from a perusal of the report, it was a quite successful operation and things went according to plan.

We were gratified at the response that we were able to evoke from the vast majority of the workshoppers and, as you can see from reading their evaluations, they felt it a very well worthwhile learning experience. Most of our consultants felt that it would also be a good thing for human relations in the South if we could institutionalize the workshop and offer it each summer at this significant beachhead in the deep South.

We are planning therefore, to offer another one next summer if we can get something comparable to the $2,000 grant which we received from the Field Foundation t o help us with the expenses involved in the workshop. From that grant we were able to offer upwards of $1,400 in scholarships to participants and more than $500 in the expenses of our visitng consultants.

I trsut that we can look to SRC for some aid in planning and carrying through our 1963 workshop in human relatios and I hope that we will be able to get together to discuss this either in Atlanta or down here.

With best wishes and warmest regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
Director, Human Relations Workshop

ASF:jms

Ala-
Gen

August 14, 1962

Mr. Charles Morgan, Jr.
Attorney
15th Floor
Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Morgan:

Once again, sources involved in reapportionment litigation here in Georgia have asked me, in Paul Rilling's absence, to request your help. Could you forward a copy of the text of the actual injunction in Sims v. Frink, which we understand has now been issued, directly to:

Mr. Frank Shackelford
Attorney
1220 C & S Bank Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Thank you very much. We are also grateful for the copy of the initial opinion in the case, which we received and forwarded on several weeks ago.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Ala
Gen

LAW OFFICES
OF
CHARLES MORGAN, JR.
15TH FLOOR - COMER BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA

TELEPHONE FA 2-2642

August 21, 1962

Frank Shackelford, Esquire
1220 C & S Bank Building
Atlanta 5, Georgia

RE: Sims v. Frink

Dear Mr. Shackelford:

At the request of Miss Marge Manderson of the Southern Regional Council, we are enclosing a photocopy of the Order of the Court in the above case.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Chuck

Charles Morgan, Jr.

CM:jg

Copy: Miss Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Ala - Gen

August 22, 1962

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

Congratulations on an excelllent Human Relations Workshop in the heart of the Deep South. We certainly stand ready to work with you next year, although I think you obviously need very little "aid in planning."

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

MOBILE, ALABAMA

RECEIVED
AUG 2 1962

July 31, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of our final report of the Human Relations Workshop which was conducted here at Spring Hill this summer.

As you can see from a perusal of the report it was a quite successful operation and things went according to plan.

We were gratified at the response that we were able to evoke from the vast majority of the workshoppers and, as you can see from reading their evaluations, they felt it a very well worthwhile learning experience.

Most of our consultants felt that it would be a good thing for human relations in the South if we could institutionalize the workshop and offer it each summer at this significant beachhead in the deep South. We are planning, therefore, to offer another workshop next summer if we can get something comparable to the $2,000 grant which we received from the Field Foundation to help us with the expenses involved in the workshop. From that grant we were able to offer upwards of $1,400 scholarships to participants and more than $500 in meeting the expenses of our visiting consultants.

I trust that we can look to SRC for some aid in planning and carrying through our 1963 workshop in human relations and I hope that we will be able to get together sometime to discuss this, either in Atlanta or down here.

With best wishes and warmest regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
Director, Human Relations Workshop

ASF:jms

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.,
Spring Hill College,
Old Shell Road,
Mobile, Ala.

PR

ALA.
2

Ala gen

PR LDV MMV

Paul — For your info. Nat

Done MM

Please send me a list of the SRC Board. Appreciate being considered & will do my best if elected. Nat

October 3, 1962

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
The Potomac Institute
353 Shoreham Building
15th and H Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Harold:

I would like to express my deep gratitude for the financial support the Alabama Council for Human Relations has received from the Southern Regional Council down through the years. Please express to Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Currier our deep gratitude. Frankly, had it not been for this substantial financial aid the Alabama Council could not have existed as it has.

We now have ten active bi-racial chapters in local communities throughout the state. Mr. Ralph Bunche will address our annual meeting to be held in February at Tuskegee. I enclose a brochure which we have recently had prepared on ACHR.

The Birmingham racial situation is acute at this time. Our Executive Secretary, Rev. Norman Jimerson, has been in Alabama a little over a year. He has concentrated his major effort on the "Johannesburg of North America." On his own initiative he has done a terrific job this past year in establishing rapport with the leading businessmen in Birmingham. Such men as the President of U.S. Pipe and Foundry; Mr. Arthur Weibel, Vice President of U.S. Steel, which has a 20,000-man payroll in Birmingham. Rev. Jimerson has been particularly effective with the Chamber of Commerce group. The power structure in Birmingham has waked up. They have been having weekly meetings for the last six weeks, determined to deal positively with the racial situation and to follow the lead of Dallas and Atlanta rather than Little Rock and New Orleans. Rev. Jimerson is the only man in Birmingham who has the confidence of Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth and Rev. Martin Luther King, and the Senior Citizens Committee. I personally sat in on two meetings with Rev. Jimerson with the key spokesman of the Senior Committee. When Martin Luther King's group was in Birmingham last week for their meeting the situation was explosive, and Rev. Jimerson was able to work out a plan where the downtown merchants agreed to remove signs from drinking fountains and restrooms, and the

Senior Citizens Committee agreed to form a bi-racial committee to deal positively with the racial situation in general and job classifications specifically. We are all grateful for this terrific work of Norman Jimerson.

Last April Rev. Jimerson went to Talladega during the demonstrations in the role of peacemaker, to try to get the white and Negro leaders to sit down at the conference table. He not only was unsuccessful, but the Attorney General of Alabama has indicted him for "Conspiracy." He comes to trial next week in Talladega. We have retained the best lawyer available--Mr. Charles Morgan of Birmingham. Through his brilliant leadership the federal judges in Alabama decreed six weeks after the Tennessee case that the Legislature should be reapportioned. This was accomplished in July. But able lawyers cost money. Our fee for Rev. Jimerson's defense will be a minimum of $3000. This case could drag out for thirty days and our legal expenses could run $6000 or $7000.

Please consider this a formal request to the Ticonic Foundation for $2000 for Rev. Jimerson's legal defense.

Because of the past generosity of your Foundation to the Alabama Council, I turn to you only as a last resort. During the past four months, as Chairman of our Finance Committee, I have taken the following steps to raise money for the Jimerson legal defense fund and our annual budget:

1. Sent out a special letter to the members which resulted in $300 in $5 and $10 contributions.

2. Wrote the eight names that Paul Rilling supplied me as former SRC contributors. No results.

3. Wrote last year to 30 of my personal business friends in the north and east and raised $1500. These are the type of gifts that you can get only once. A repeated effort this year yielded only $200.

4. Spent four days in Birmingham fund-raising this year, in which I have raised about $400. A leading liberal merchant in town gave me $40 two weeks ago but only in cash because of fear of reprisals.

Our financial base has been much better the last two years than when Bob Hughes was in Alabama. We are raising about $6000 here in Alabama. Prospects in the future years are brighter but it is necessary for us to ask you for this emergency donation for $2000 at this time in behalf of Rev. Jimerson's legal defense. I trust that the Ticonic Foundation will be able to grant this request.

Cordially,

Nat Welch

NW/w
Encl.

ala gen

October 18, 1962

Mr. Nat Welch
Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

It now appears likely that the SRC allocation to the Alabama Council will be exactly what it was last year, although I had hoped that we might be able to raise it a little. Despite this fact, and speaking personally and unofficially, I would hope there could be a little raise in Jimerson's salary. I realize all too well your budget limitations and it might be impractical to consider any increase, but I do feel that he is presently working within such a tight family budget that extra worries and pressures are present in a job which is at best a pressure cooker.

In relation to your concern for funds to meet legal expenses in connection with the Talladega trial, you should know that we have gotten permission from the donor to use up to $2,000 from our contingency fund for this purpose if necessary.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala Gen

October 29, 1962

Commissioner Joseph N. Langan
City Hall
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Joe:

At the request of the International City Managers' Association, the Southern Regional Council and the Potomac Institute in Washington are producing a report concerning the positive practices of city government in handling constructively "potentially explosive situations in the field of race relations." The report will be distributed as one of the twelve special reports of the International City Managers' Association.

Mrs. Margaret Price of the Potomac Institute is putting the first draft of the report together with our help. I have suggested that she write to you for any experiences from the Mobile situation. I realize that there is much that cannot be publicly cited that you have achieved. Mrs. Price is completely trustworthy and I hope you will pass on to her your own insights in this area and perhaps one or two examples of successful solution.

I hear things about you and your present situation from time to time. Why don't you write me a one or two page letter and let me know how things are. I see Alabama has abolished the congressional seat you never got around to running for. On your next trip to Atlanta, come the night before and have dinner and meet my wife.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

Blind cc: N. Jimerson

Ala
Gen

November 14, 1962

Mrs. George LeMaistre
Woodland Hills
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mrs. LeMaistre:

At the request of Miss Alice Murphy we are sending you a copy of "Background: Atlanta," the handbook for reporters covering the desegregation of Atlanta public schools, developed by OASIS (Organizations Assisting Schools in September).

We are also enclosing a listing of SRC publications and we do hope that if you have need for any of them (or for any other services) you will write either to this office or to that of the Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations: Mr. Norman Jimerson, ACHR, Room 1224 Comer Building, Birmingham 3. Either Mr. Jimerson or I will be happy to collect and send to you any materials of a special nature which you might think useful in the Tuscaloosa situation: materials documenting the economic losses suffered by communities in which there have been violence and tension; statements from Southern religious groups urging solution of racial problems with good will; materials on interracial bodies formed or appointed in other cities for the purpose of seeking equitable solutions to such problems. Many of these materials are already prepared but not shown on the enclosed publications list; others can be pulled together from our research files to meet your specific needs.

Please let us know if we may be of further help.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

Ala
Gen

December 27, 1962

Mr. Nat Welch
P. O. Box 1192
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

The enclosed is a copy of a letter from our member Mr. Carlyle to P. B. Raiford of the Tuscaloosa Chamber of Commerce. Earlier we had a request for information and a list of the members of the Council from Mr. Raiford. Do you by any chance know him? It appears this group may be toying with the idea of asking the Council for some quiet help. Our list of members was sent before the Annual Meeting and does not list you or the other new Alabama members, but we might want to call on you should we hear further from Mr. Raiford.

This is the first occasion I've had to tell you how pleased I am that you have accepted membership on the Council. That, plus my attempt to replace Paul Rilling, leads me to hope that we will have an opportunity to work together closely in the future.

All good wishes for the new year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.
cc: Mr. Irving E. Carlyle

WOMBLE, CARLYLE, SANDRIDGE & RICE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
WACHOVIA BANK BUILDING
WINSTON-SALEM 1, N. C.

B. S. WOMBLE
I. E. CARLYLE
W. P. SANDRIDGE
WM. F. WOMBLE
LEON L. RICE, JR.
CALDER W. WOMBLE
CHAS. F. VANCE, JR.
WADE H. GALLANT, JR.
LESLIE E. BROWDER
H. GRADY BARNHILL, JR.
W. P. SANDRIDGE, JR.

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 919
725-1311

December 24, 1962

Mr. P. B. Raiford
Executive Vice President
Tuscaloosa Chamber of Commerce
P. O. Box 377
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear P.B.:

Your letter of December 21, inquiring about the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Georgia, and also about the Community Relations Project organized under the leadership of Jim Hanes here in Winston-Salem a good many years ago, was received.

I am glad to have this inquiry, and I hope that I may give you the necessary information.

First of all, you indicated some concern regarding "some names listed on the Board of the Southern Regional Council that have been identified with some of the racial disturbances that have come about in the southeast" recently. I have been a member of this Board for about three or four years, and I have come to have considerable respect for the leadership of the organization. Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, the present administrator of the work, together with his Executive Assistant, Mr. Paul Anthony, comprise a very strong and able team, together with the members of their staff. As you know, all of the members of the Board come from the Southern States, and I have found them to be a very responsible group of people. The work of the Council is very carefully directed, and its publications and reports are thorough and sound, in my opinion. The Southern Regional Council has come to enjoy considerable respect throughout the country, and I think it is doing a good and constructive job in the interest of better race relations throughout the South.

About ten or fifteen years ago, the Community Relations Project of Winston-Salem, to which you referred in your letter, became known as the Winston-Salem Urban League, and became affiliated with the national movement known as the Urban League of America. It is bi-racial, and it works for the improvement of race relations and for the economic advancement of the Negro race. It has done a quiet and significant job here in Winston-Salem. This city is the only major city in North Carolina that has not had a civil rights case in the Federal or State Courts. Desegregation has made long strides here in Winston-Salem, including the lunch counters in our stores; the city buses; our public schools to a limited extent; and most recently the new Whitaker Plant of the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company was desegregated.

The Urban League of America is more specialized and is more controversial on the local level than the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

In short, I can recommend to you without any reservations whatsoever the publications and service of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., in the field of better race relations.

I was glad to hear from you again, and I wish you a good New Year and continued success in your work.

Yours very truly,

Irving E. Carlyle

Irving E. Carlyle

IEC:BA
bcc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Ala
Gen

January 2, 1963

Mr. Nat Welch
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nat:

Thanks for the information re. Tuscaloosa. I will attend the Tuskegee meeting and hope time will allow us to explore some of the program possibilities of this type situation. Certainly ACHR and Jimerson will be involved if anything develops.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Nat Welch
Business Development
Auburn, Alabama

December 31, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter about Mr. Raiford of the Tuscaloosa Chamber of Commerce. No, I do not know the gentleman but I think it's most encouraging that the Tuscaloosa Chamber is asking guidance from SRC.

It would be helpful but not essential if you could involve Jimerson and ACHR in this project.

My friend, George LeMaistre, President of the City National Bank in Tuscaloosa, made a law and order speech to a civic club in Tuscaloosa a couple of weeks ago and received standing applause. The president of the other bank, Mr. Frank Moody, is an acquaintance of mine. Bishop Murray of Alabama told me of his deep concern about the problem.

We hope that you can be at our annual meeting in Tuskegee, Saturday ~~evening~~, February 2, Dr. Ralph Bunche the speaker.

Cordially,

Nat

Nat Welch

NW/w
cc: Irving Carlyle

Ala
Gen

January 7, 1963

Mrs. Frances T. Feazel
827 Sims Avenue
Birmingham 13, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Feazel:

Our research department is currently working on your request of January 3rd to Mr. Brewbaker. I will be in Birmingham on the morning of Thursday, January 10, and will try to call you at that time to see if the Council can be of any other assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

January 16, 1963

The Rev. Powers McLeod
Auburn Methodist Church
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Powers:

Dr. Richardson has had to cancel as substitute for Dr. Bunche. We now have a commitment from:

Percy Williams
Assistant Executive Director for Contract Compliance
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.
Telephone: Office - 961-3596; Home - 882-4294.

I have promised Mr. Williams we will give him as much advance notice as possible--including a written invitation which we will need.

Will inform Jim of this tomorrow when I see him and we will work out the procedures and timing.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Norman Jimerson

ala
Gen

January 21, 1963

MA PA

Please add to mailing lists as indicated:

1. Media I list:

   Mr. Clancy Lake
   WAPI Radio-TV
   Radio Park
   ~~Red Mountain~~ Red Mountain
   Birmingham, Alabama

2. All purpose mailing list:

   Mr. Paul Johnston
   Attorney
   First National Bank Building
   Birmingham, Alabama

Ala
Gen

January 21, 1963

Mr. Paul Johnston
Attorney
First National Bank Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Johnston:

It was a pleasure seeing you on Friday. Thank you for the time.

Under separate cover we are sending you several items prepared by the Council which may be of interest.

I shall see Bob Coles this evening (Saturday) and will, undoubtedly, clear up the matter at hand then.

Sometime in the future I hope we can again explore the matter of your joining the board of the Council. I suspect we would find the association mutually satisfying. In the meantime, please call on us if we can be of any possible help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala
Gen

January 21, 1963

Dr. Lucius H. Pitts
President
Miles College
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Lucius:

What a pleasure seeing you again. You and Birmingham have top priority around here any time you wish to use it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of
Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala Gen

January 21, 1963

Mr. Clancy Lake
WAPI - Radio-TV
Radio Park
Red Mountain
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Lake:

Thank you for the time in an obviously busy Friday. I am adding your name to the SRC media mailing list to contribute to the mound of unsolicited mail on your desk.

Please call on us at any time we might possibly be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala
Gen

January 21, 1963

Mr. A. G. Gaston
1510 Fifth Avenue, North
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Gaston:

It was a pleasure meeting you on Friday, and certainly a pleasure sharing your pheasant. I will be only too happy to help you make room in your freezer at any time.

Some time when you are in Atlanta, please give me an opportunity to have you as my guest for lunch.

Please call on us at any time we might possibly be of help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

ST. LUKE'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

MOUNTAIN BROOK, ALABAMA

MM

January 29, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul,

Just a note to send you the enclosed for your record, and to say we have just broken even on the $40 you sent in advance - parking, breakfasts, etc., though I admit it will take some figuring to exactly decide if you owe me $.75 or I owe you a similar amount.

Thanks for all your work, ol' man - I reckon you are the fennaglingest (?) man I know, which is good because things get done...but don't start over there in Mississippi too soon, we need your dinero with the oranges for a while, and after all the beaches in Fla. are a hell-uv-a-lot nicer than the deserts of Miss.

Keep alert.

Best wishes,

Len

February 1, 1963

The Rev. Mr. Milton E. Stohs
Trinity Lutheran Church
1885 Rainbow Drive
Gadsden, Alabama

Dear Mr. Stohs:

Dr. Dreger has forwarded to me your inquiry of January 23. There is in Alabama the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Room 1224, Comer Building, Birmingham 3. The Rev. Norman Jimerson is Executive Director. We cooperate with ACHR as we do the Florida Council.

I am sure the Council and Mr. Jimerson would be very happy to know of your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

BLIND COPY: Norman Jimerson

January 30, 1963

The Rev. Milton E. Stohs, Pastor
Trinity Lutheran Church
1885 Rainbow Drive
Gadsden, Alabama

Dear Mr. Stohs:

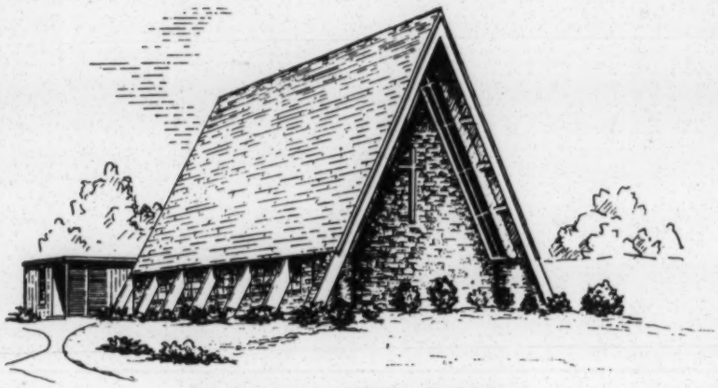
We're passing your inquiry about activities in Alabama under the auspices of Southern Regional Council on to Paul Anthony, who is Director of Field Activities at SRC.

FCHR had a good annual meeting at Daytona last Saturday. We're sorry to have lost your help here in Florida, but the need is probably even greater where you are. Blessings on you!

Sincerely,

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Acting Executive Director

RMD:G



MILTON E. STOHS, PASTOR
PHONE LI 6-1712

TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH

1885 RAINBOW DRIVE
GADSDEN, ALABAMA

January 23, 1963

Florida Council on Human Relations,
Post Office Box 8292,
Jacksonville 11, Florida

Dear Sir:

I am no longer living in Florida (1330 Fiske Blvd. South, Cocoa, Florida). However, I am interested to know what is available here in Alabama under the auspices of the Southeran Regional Council. If you can forward me such information, I would appreciate it very much.

Sincerely,

Milton E. Stohs

Milton E. Stohs,
Pastor

February 25, 1963

Mr. Hugh A. Brimm
2120 - 7th Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Hugh:

Travel and illness have kept me from doing those things I promised. Enclosed is a list of SRC members, the state Council information, the interagency conference directory, and an SRC publications list. Under separate cover we are sending a large collection of SRC material.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enclosures

Gen

April 4, 1963

Mrs. C. W. Bystrom, Secretary
Muscle Shoals Chapter
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1849 Maple Avenue
Florence, Alabama

Dear MRS. Bystrom:

Under separate cover we are sending you copies of some materials in triplicate. They are of two ~~separate~~ types, due to the fact that I am a little unsure whether your request for materials on "bi-racial self study groups" refers to the officially appointed committees existing in some Southern cities (which were listed in an earlier "L" report of the type you mention) or whether your reference is to materials on self-surveys. (These have been conducted in some cities by groups similar to the Muscle Shoals Chapter of ACHR.) The function of the former type of group extends into the mediation of differences and attempts to solve specific problems, such as lunch counter discrimination. Report L-20, which you will receive under separate cover, discusses the nature and functions of such groups.

Although our materials on community self-surveys are out-of-date, the survey as a program project of a local human relations council is not untimely. Surveys have recently been conducted in such communities as Columbus, Georgia; Miami, Florida; and currently in Chattanooga, Tennessee. "Greenville's Big Idea," which we are sending you, is the results of a survey conducted some years ago, within the strictures of Separate-But-Equal. "Your Community Looks At Itself" is the narrative portion of a 1951 survey guide no longer in print; the questionnaire outline, which comprised the latter part of this publication, is so out-of-date that we did not make copies for your use.

If we can provide you with further materials, please let us know. There are a few other things we could copy and send to you if you will write us whether your interest lies in the area of official race relations committees, or community surveys conducted by groups such as your own.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Admin. Secretary, Field Services

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Muscle Shoals, Alabama

March 31, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Muscle Shoals chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is interested in the work of bi-racial self-study groups functioning in the South. We have seen SRC's series of reports, prefixed "L-", listing locations at which such groups have been established, and would like to have up-to-date copies of this list for our use.

Would you please send us three copies of the most recent printing in this series. We would appreciate, also, receiving any other information you can furnish us about the work of these self-study groups, their programs, projects, successes and failures.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Muscle Shoals Chapter,
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Marcia Bystrom

Please address: Mrs. C. W. Bystrom, Secretary
1849 Maple Avenue
Florence, Alabama

MILES COLLEGE
BIRMINGHAM 8, ALABAMA

M Ala Com

May 21, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The enclosed statement was written by a young Negro teacher and graduate of Miles College who was reared and educated in Birmingham. He is presently teaching in an elementary school and has lived through the bitterness and resulting frustration of almost any intelligent young Negro growing up in this climate.

I think the article has merit. I would appreciate your critical analysis and if you deem it worthy of your usage in any form, I will be grateful for its publication.

Very truly yours,

L. H. Pitts

Lucius Pitts

LHP:ara

Enclosure

A CURRENT LAMENT: TOO FEW SUPERHUMANS

By

Lewis W. White

Saturday night and on into the painfully long Sabbath morn give believability to the premise that the one and single-most thing that this community needs is: The capacity for being superhuman. That emotions have been honed to razor thinness by circumstances prior to last weekend is clear and indisputable. The demonstrations were by no means the one factor which precipitated this latest shame. Latent unrest on the part of a good many Negores, with the systematic denial of opportunity, and too long the victim of color stigma can share some of the blame for the Mother's Day near holocaust. The natural yearning to attain the full status of man ... a full and deserving partner in the grand and guarded experiment called democracy ... this can be said to be the real and sincere design of America's problem minority: the Negro. But, then the coin has another side to be sure.

There is the white man, cushioned by all of the advantages that he has been able to attain through effort, through toil, and through artful manipulations; who is almost understandably reluctant to share many of cherished "plums" with his black brethren. For to do so he apparently feels would dilute his own status as God's special creature. He thus wallows in the not-too-comfortable position of having to look over his shoulder with ceaseless diligence to insure that the Negro stays forever in his "place" ... that nobody shall pull from his seemingly invincible grasp his system that he created. And the battle lines are clearly drawn. In the white camp, a major segment is deployed to engage the "enemy" with a redoubtable force of delay, derailment, and all too often defiance. In the "moderate" segment of this camp, there is some but little of the never-

to be dismissed tower of popular pity. But popular pity is never quite genuine enough; seldom quite motivating enough to bring about the fundamental change that this problem requires. Lacking the strength of means and of influence that fuller opportunity and zeal to achieve have brought to his white counterpart, the Negro seeks to cast out forever the legal wall that has been erected between himself and democracy's great promises and its corresponding challenges. In an effort to do so he has resorted to demonstrations and other methods in order to shame his white brethren into living true to the white man's very own concept of equality before the law, full participation commensurate with ability and desire in the democratic venture. The Negro has accepted the white man's great religion, Christianity, which teaches one to love God and his fellow creature. If the white man is not careful, the Negro will do more with the religion than he, the white man, does with it himself. So the recent turmoil may very well be said to have come in order to give the inventors of the golden rule an opportunity to live by it. Superhumans are the ultimate solution.

A superhuman is one of valor and involvement. He is one who uses with faultless regularity his superior intelligence to solve the great dilemma: the Negro and his function in this society. He is one who discriminates. He makes the right choices between a legal though morally unsound course of action and unquestionably just action. A supercitizen is one who gives of himself to make more narrow the gap between the real and the ideal. He is in short committed to design a better world. This community needs more superhumans. It must feel that the saving influence of these underemployed warriors for human betterment, lest those who are content to be "average" humans will seemingly wreck the entire world.

Birmingham needs an abundance of superhumans. She needed them badly Saturday. There were more than enough little ole "normal and emotional" people available. There have always been plenty of that sort of man around. They are perhaps the ones who created the situations which give birth to such Saturday nights. It is time for a change. The task is infinitely too grave for little men. They can generate many problems, but solve none. The community demands an enlightened breed of men of goodwill and men of a fearless nature to lead her out of this long existing wilderness. Somewhere in a quiet corner sit such super personalities pondering the fate of the Magic City. It is surely the influence and ideas of these men which must be hastened into action or the next century will accord us the same sense of frustration and guilt that has too long been Birmingham's yoke to bear.

Gen

May 27, 1963

Mr. Daniel T. Williams
Chairman
Macon County Literature Project, ACHR
P. O. Box 704
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Williams:

We will be happy to enter the subscriptions to New South for those persons listed in your letter of May 23rd. We will also keep you informed of the reaction.

We hope the experiment is a success. Please call on us for any possible help we may be able to offer.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Next issue send special slip of notification, typ envelope. for 1st N.S., N.S. Dept. let us know of any reaction received.

NS

P. O. Box 704
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
23 May 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Members of District 5, Alabama Council on Human Relations, have been worried over the lack of preparation for what appears to be rapidly approaching changes in the basic educational, economic, and social structure of our area. Suits are now pending in several Alabama counties to integrate the school systems, yet nothing is being done to prepare the people for acceptance of this change. The press in Alabama is mostly hostile to any change.

We have confidence in the desire of most people of Alabama to do that which is right when they have the opportunity to consider all the facts. Unfortunately the white people of this area have only been exposed to the traditional southern view. In order that a few of the officials and some business and professional people may have some opportunity to see the whole picture and thus be able to decide with less prejudice on racial matters, we enclose a list of 100 people to whom we would like to have you send New South magazine for one year. Our remittance to your order to pay for the subscriptions is enclosed.

If you deem it wise to send a letter of notification to the recipients of the subscriptions we suggest that you simply tell them that friends who have a mutual interest in seeing the people of this area reach a better understanding of the racial differences now existing have made this subscription possible. We would also like to be notified of any subscriber reaction. Should you have any cancellations or refusals to accept the subscriptions please furnish us with the names of those and we will furnish replacements.

Your cooperation in this little experiment will be genuinely appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Daniel T. Williams

Daniel T. Williams, Chairman
Macon County Literature Project
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Ala
Gen

TO: NEW SOUTH FROM: PA

The attached new subscriptions to New South have been paid for by a Tuskegee group. Please enter them, beginning with the May 1963 issue and, importantly, work out some method so that if there is any reaction from these people--cancellation, nasty letter, letter of thanks, etc.--I can be informed of it (for the first three or four months, that is).

MRS. ANNA L. AVERRETT
SPRING STREET
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA

Pd. by Tuskegee GRP PA

Pd. $2.00 6-5-63-new

Expires May 1964

Gen

MILES COLLEGE

BIRMINGHAM 8, ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 16, 1963

PA please reply

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Dr. Oliver, Professor of Political Science here at Miles College, has completed the preliminaries on the study which I mentioned to you several months ago. I should like to ask if we could have your counsel prior to our making public this material. Would you suggest that the material be sent to you or brought for a conference? I should like it even better if you took the opportunity to accept our invitation to come and visit with us at Miles College and look at the material both in the compiled and raw form.

Hoping to hear from you, I am

Yours truly,

L. H. Pitts

L. H. Pitts

LHP:elh

Gen

July 25, 1963

Dr. L. H. Pitts
President
Miles College
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Lucius:

Les has asked me to respond to your inquiry concerning the Oliver study. As I mentioned on the phone, we are available for any possible help and are willing to do any of the things you suggest. Specifically, we would be happy to look at the material or talk to the people now working on the study either in Birmingham or in Atlanta. If you did decide to send the material over with or without one of the people now compiling it, we would give it our immediate and detailed attention.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

MILES COLLEGE
BIRMINGHAM 8, ALABAMA

Date JULY 31, 1963

From the office of:

L. H. Pitts, President
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

TO: MR. PAUL ANTHONY

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND NOT

FOR PUBLICATION AT THE MOMENT.

Ala
Gen

LWD
VJ
PA
MM

MILES COLLEGE
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

Office of the President

July 25, 1963

TO THE NEGRO MEMBERSHIP OF THE
COMMUNITY AFFAIRS COMMITTEE OF BIRMINGHAM

Friends:

I note in the Post-Herald the names of the members of the Steering Committee. I am disturbed that no Negro was named to that Committee. It had been my hope that such would not have been the case. I call this to your attention out of my strong conviction that at every level in the Community Affairs Committee there ought to be Negro representation.

I do not want to appear to be offering suggestions to you as individuals nor do I want to give the impression that I have lost faith in the decision of the Birmingham government to honestly improve our town. I do believe after reading the pamphlet entitled "Citizens in Action" that it is very desirable to have Negro membership on all of the committees.

I have expressed my disappointment today in a telegram to the Mayor as follows:

"Mayor Albert Boutwell
City Hall
Birmingham, Alabama

I am greatly disturbed and disappointed that the Steering Committee for the Community Affairs Committee announced in today's paper did not include any membership from the Negro community. I view with great concern such an omission when I note that this Steering Committee 'will' recommend working committee appointments. I urge you to consider the addition of one Negro citizen to this Committee.

L. H. Pitts, President
Miles College"

I am following this up with a letter with carbon copies going to several members of the white community.

I confess my naiveness as a political analysis, my lack of ability to understand local governmental procedure and my fear of possible failure of the Community Affairs Committee as a result of this action.

I welcome your reaction to what I have said and done, and I pledge my support of the best thinking of the largest number of you who are members of this Committee.

Yours truly,

L. H. Pitts

L. H. Pitts

August 2, 1963

Mr. Daniel T. Williams
P. O. Box 704
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Williams:

The 100 people in your area whose subscriptions to New South were entered by the Macon County Literature Project have now received three issued of the magazine and we have received a complaint from only one persons His letters are enclosed. (Unfortunately, we slipped up here and did not remove his name from our subscription file until after the second issue had been sent.)

You will probably want to send a substitute name; also, send a substitute if you like for the name of Mr. J. A. Parker, P. O. Box 477, Tuskegee. Mr. Parker joined the Alabama Council earlier this year and receives New South as part of his membership in the group.

We'll let you know if we receive further cancellations.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson

Enc.

August 9, 1963

Mr. Daniel T. Williams
P. O. Box 704
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear M. Willaams:

Enclosed are envelopes showing names of two additional persons whose most recent issue of New South was non-deliverable. Their names have been removed from our mailing list. Let us know if you have substitutes for them.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

Enc.

Ala - Gen -

BROWN ENGINEERING COMPANY, INC.
P. O. DRAWER 917
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

RESEARCH
DEVELOPMENT
MANUFACTURING

24 September 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Att: Mr. Paul Anthony

Gentlemen:

There is in the making at Huntsville a very conducive climate for inter-cultural progress. One of the more promising developments is the strong emphasis being placed by Greater Huntsville industrialists upon improvement of educational opportunities for Negroes.

As a consultant to Brown Engineering Company and a doctoral candidate at George Peabody College for Teachers, I want to prepare a dissertation on the vital topic "Educational Implications of the Shortage of Scientifically and Technically Trained Negroes in Northern Alabama". My course work at Peabody was done as a fellow of Southern Education Foundation, whose directors are aware of my present intention. A similar study of the Atlanta area was made by another S. E. F. fellow, the ideas of which are being utilized in a new six-million-dollar institution.

You no doubt know that the major missile support industries of Huntsville have formed an Association of Huntsville Area Contractors, one of the purposes of which is to assist in the improvement of education locally. The president of the contractors' organization is Dr. Milton K. Cummings, the Brown Engineering Company president.

Recently I had a conversation with Dr. John L. Cashin, Jr., regarding the dissertation project. He referred me to the Southern Regional Council. I would greatly appreciate your considering this proposed study as worthy of a financial grant to assist in the expenses of data-gathering and production. Dr. Cashin has consented to be one of my references. Please feel free to ask President M. K. Cummings of Brown Engineering Company and Dr. Robert Cousins of Southern Edu-

cation Foundation, Atlanta, about the significance of this important study.

The initial ground work is now being planned, and the work is to proceed during the current academic year.

Gratefully yours,

Garland J. Millet

G. J. Millet

GJM:ah

Ala - Gen

October 2, 1963

Mr. Paul Johnston
Attorney
First National Bank Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Paul:

The Nominating Committee of SRC met here recently to select persons to recommend for membership to the full Council at their meeting on November 26. Again this year you were nominated. (You might be interested to know this was at the strong recommendation of Dr. Luther Foster.)

The full Council has a mind of its own, and while recommendations from the Nominating Committee are generally accepted, it is not automatic. This, however, is to determine whether or not you would like to have your name placed before the Council, and whether or not you would find it possible to serve if elected. Under the circumstances we felt it best to make this advance inquiry.

Needless to say I very much hope you will find it possible to join this distinguished body of Southerners. We would value your participation and guidance. However, I would also thoroughly understand if you felt you could not serve at this time.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enclosures

Ala Gen

October 23, 1963

Mrs. Peggy Fuller
1508 Cresthill Rd.
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Peggy:

Marge Manderson of our staff--and more recently several other persons--have told me of your unhappiness that I directed several reporters to you. This is to explain that action, and to apologize for any inconvenience it may have caused you.

There are a small group of reporters whom we have worked with for a number of years. A trading of information and frequently of services has proved invaluable. In serious tension situations it is often as valuable for a local person to know of the presence of reliable people from the national media as it is for those reporters to have local contacts. I have never known of an instance in which these reporters violated a confidence or published anything which they were requested to omit. With this in mind, I was as interested in having you and Ann Howell meet these potential friends as I was in having them meet you.

Again, my sincere apologies for any difficulty this may have caused you. It will not happen again.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
cc: Mrs. Ann Howell
Mr. Norman Jimerson

Gen

October 24, 1963

MM

Dear Paul:

Bless you! If one more person delivers my message to you just tell 'em "all right R-ready!"

Telephone 592-6407

I was not unhappy with having reporters sent to me - I was astounded that they already knew of our group of children - I was not disturbed with the N.Y. Times reporter since it was obvious almost immediately that he knew enough about the local ~~but~~ situation to know how to handle it - But the Times Magazine reporter —

who said almost nothing — had me bothered-

I feel that people who don't live here or who are not in very close contact don't always realize how much dynamite they may be exploding in a sentence - My concern was very much for the children - Had an element here recieved word that the negro children going into the white schools were attending integrated meetings it could bring on serious personal danger to them -

If no undue happenings occur between now and next week I plan on being in Atlanta for the meetings Tuesday

3

and Wednesday and hope to
see you, Vernon and Miss Manderson
there. Vernon's talk with the
children here was wonderfully
successful! We all loved him!

Best Wishes,

Peggy -

Jas. M. Fuller
1508 Cresthill Road
Birmingham, Ala.

BIRMINGHAM
OCT 26
5:30 PM
19631
ALA.

Air Mail

5925 6407

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VJ ✓
SB ✓
PA ✓
MJ. file

Ala.
Gen

J. DAVID STERN
944 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
REGENT 4-5359

11/26/63

Dear Mr. Head:

Southern Regional Council sent me a reprint of letter written by Mr. Zukoski and you, which appeared in the Birmingham News of Sept. 30th.

I wish to convey to you my admiration of your wisdom and courage and patriotism.

As a retired newspaper editor and publisher I would also like to express my opinion that the letter is a masterpiece of restrained, clear and convincing writing. I predict that it will be preserved as an historic document in the history of Birmingham.

Sincerely

Mr. James A. Head, President
James A. Head & Co.
Birmingham Ala.

Copy

Trust this is sufficient address

J David Stern

Things sent 2/13/64

6

Jan. 25, 1964

104 - Westleigh Drive - S.E., Huntsville, G

Dear Paul,

I'm writing to tell you about a new project of the Huntsville Human Relations Council. First I'll have to give you a little background on the whole thing.

Before the holidays the local Unitarian Fellowship had Dr. Herbert Eber, a psychiatrist from Birmingham as their speaker. He talked about the racial question and his impact on the moderates in the audience was tremendous. In the discussion period afterwards people started asking questions about these picky little fears and problems that were bothering them; "What about the I.Q. of the Negro?, What about reprisals if I voice my true opinion?", and questions along and between these lines. The upshot of it was a considerable no. of converts to our cause.

After this experience, Joan and I started talking about a community wide eduaation project to convert moderates and middle of the roaders. We would kick it off with a challenge to be an active human being at a time when we must make democracy work for ourselves and our children. I hope to be able to get Ralph McGill as the keynote speaker. When he spoke at a B'Nai B'Brith (misspelled) recently, he told me he'd come back and speak for our Council and I've written to him about this project. If you have any influence with him please talk it up.

Our follow up speaker would be Dr. Eber. After his talk we'd break up into roundtable discussion groups with coffee and with leaders who are fully prepared with factual data and information to answer any questions that might come up. Of course, while catering to their fears, we will also stress the fact that negroes do not have to prove themselves to be equal citizens and I believe Dr. Eber will also stress that.

Now I'd like to ask your help. We would like to start preparing our discussion leaders for their role in the project. Please send me any material you might have that would help us. We would like everything, from the effects of school de-segregation, racial economics, slum problems, etc. to the political situation in modern Africa. If were going to do this, I'd like to do it right. I feel that if we only win a handfull of people the effort will be worthwhile. If nothing else, the proverbial seed will be planted.

We're aiming at a spring date for the series. If you have any suggestions or additions please let me know. My address is on the envelope and my phone no. is 881-3837 code 205.

Thanks alot.

Sincerely,

Myrna Copeland

Myrna Copeland

How many copies? What address?

Wed. - Call her. apol 98 Pa bn plan 2 cal 2 weeks off another week Gv suggestns on what we have - Get her address -

✓ Bob Coles -
✓ Vivian Henderson -
✓ City and the Negro
High Cost of Conflict
L-44 ✓ Greensboro -
✓ Morland -
L-16 -
L-17

Ala-
Gen-

February 14, 1964

Mrs. Myrna Copeland
104 Westleigh Drive, S.E.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Copeland:

Two of the pamphlets we agreed to send you--THE HIGH COST OF CONFLICT and SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS--are not immediately available in quantities of six and will have to be mailed out later. This is because we have been moving our office and some materials are still packed away and inaccessible. They'll be unpacked next week and we'll send you these booklets immediately. The other items are being mailed to you today.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

Ala-Gen.

TA
Please reply. I know Father Foley on Tuskegee
told him of course

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

MOBILE, ALABAMA 36608

April 8, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

As you will see from the enclosed folder, Spring Hill College is again offering a summer Workshop in Human Relations to run from June 11 to July 22, 1964.

Knowing how much the success of our 1962 Workshop depended upon the cooperation of yourself and your agency, we come to you again to ask for your suppoert and assistance.

We are particularly interested in knowing whether we might secure some materials from you for distribution to our participants. Please send us the list of your current materials and also any free materials that you might have for distribution in an area that urgently needs all available educational resources.

We would also like to know whether you have any films available for discussion aids.

Thanking you for your kindness and cooperation, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
Director, Human Relations Workshop

ASF:jms

Ala
Gen

April 9, 1964

Dr. Lucius Pitts
President
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Lucius:

After all that effort, Robert Penn Warren called last night to say he cannot come South next week. Therefore the appointment with you for Tuesday is off. He is coming later and I hope something can be worked out then.

Thanks again for your magnificent speech and for taking the time to brief the staff. Officially we appreciate all our board members, but ones like you we really appreciate.

Yours in fund raising,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala-
Gen.

April 13, 1964

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.
Spring Hill College
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Father Foley:

Les has asked me to reply to your letter of the 8th. Enclosed is our publications list. Multiple copies of most of the items are available for your workshop without costs. We don't have any films available, though as you probably know, the Atlanta ADL office still handles the old George Mitchell Face of the South.

Let us know which of the materials--in single or multiple copy--you are interested in and we'll try to get them together. We'd like to help in any way possible.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

MM: Please have Ala - Gen. there collected & sent

SPRING HILL COLLEGE

MOBILE, ALABAMA 36608

Done

April 27, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Director of Field Activities,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

Many thanks for your letter and the list of your current publications. I am returning the list with the numbers of copies we would like to have indicated in the margin.

Our recruitment for the Workshop is coming along well. We already have a goodly assortment of teachers, social workers, probation officers, police officers, and so on. We also have about ten states represented.

Thanking you for your kindness and with best personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Father Albert S. Foley S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
Director, Human Relations Workshop

ASF:jms

Enc:

Ala-Gen. LUD ✓ VJV ✓ PA ✓

MILES COLLEGE

BIRMINGHAM 8, ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 2, 1964

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174

COPY

Dear Dr. Beittel:

I find that the letter which I thought had been mailed to you was lost with some other carbon copies on my desk. So, herein I describe again my request for you to give consideration to coming to Miles College in some administrative capacity for the next school year, 1964-1965.

We have need of administrative assistants at the President's level and at the Dean's level. Such an administrative job would require some curriculum planning, some administrative responsibilities for fund raising and some administrative responsibilities for actual assistance to the Office of the President. The title of such a job could be arranged so that it would be worthy of the dignity of a man of your strength and character.

There is the other need of some additional help in our Department of Philosophy and Religion and, finally, there is the need here on the campus of someone to direct the work in the Development Office.

I shall be glad to discuss any and all of these with you at your earliest convenience.

I have your letter of May 28th in which you plan to arrive in Birmingham on June 15 on Delta Flight 928 at 9:58 a.m. and leave Birmingham on Delta Flight 630 at 3:05 p.m. I shall have someone meet you at the airport, if I cannot be there myself, and we will plan to spend the entire day looking at the campus, talking with faculty and with some Board members regarding what I consider a great blessing here in disguise if you can find it possible to join us in this enterprise.

Yours truly,

L. H. Pitts

LHP:elh
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

Ala. Gen.

July 23, 1964

Dr. Luther H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dr. Foster:

I know how crowded your schedule is, and seriously hesitate asking you to consider attending another meeting. However, the meeting described on the enclosed is, I believe, a serious attempt on the part of the president's poverty people to establish a good system of recruitment for the proposed job corps.

The problem of recruitment through regular channels in the South is difficult and the people planning the program would like to use private resources and sometimes bypass agencies like federal/state employment offices. Your knowledge of resources in the region would be very helpful to them, should you find it possible to attend. If this is not possible, we would appreciate you asking someone on your staff to represent you.

The meeting will begin at 10:00 A.M. and run until 12:30 on August 5. Mr. Cheston will probably want to speak with you or your representative privately, but that can be arranged at your convenience, probably during or immediately after lunch.

Again, my apologies for another meeting!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.

Ala-Gen

August 17, 1964

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Chairman
Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

I can be in Tuskegee on Sunday, September 13, and will be happy to do so.

Please give me as much guidance as you can on the situation and what you have in mind for the occasion.

It was good to see you on Saturday. I think Ed Stanfield is a good man and am grateful for your support of him.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala - Gen.

August 17, 1964

The Rev. C. Emory Burton
7400 First Avenue South
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Burton:

Thank you for your good letter and comments about New South. These will be passed on to Editor Margaret Long.

I am writing to answer in part the "What can we do?" portion of your letter. Your question about putting the Alabama Council in your budget is especially appropriate. The Alabama Council does need funds badly and, as you can easily imagine, there is no hope in the forseeable future of raising even a minimum budget from within the state. This Council of over 500 Alabamans does a magnificent job with its limited resources and outside support such as you offer will be very helpful.

You will learn, on trying to call on Norman Jimerson, that he is on vacation and thereafter is going to Kalamazoo College in Michigan. This move has come none too soon since Jimerson and his family have been under great strain with much harassment. (You may know that Bob Hughes, now a missionary in Africa, suffered a similar situation as director of ACHR.)

The new Alabama director will be a young Presbyterian minister, Edward Stanfield. I will also pass your letter on to him.

Hughes and Jimerson did good work under impossible conditions. I am sure Stanfield will continue this admirable

tradition. And any support of any nature which you and others may be able to give will be justified, appropriate, and certainly appreciated.

Again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Ala - Gen.

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

August 17, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This note confirms my oral invitation to speak in Tuskegee for the Tuskegee Civic Association at 3:30 P. M. on Sunday, September 13th. We shall be able to pay your expenses and give you a modest honorarium.

Sunday, September 13, will be two days before the run-off municipal election in which Tuskegee voters will have the opportunity to choose a mayor and two councilmen. As you see from the enclosed clippings and other materials, Negro voters helped to elect three white councilmen, two of whom are presently on the Council. On September 15, two Negroes will be competing with two white candidates, both incumbents, for positions numbers 3 and 4 on the Council.

Enclosed is a carbon copy of a statement which I am contemplating sending to the new editor-publisher of the Tuskegee News, Neil Davis of Auburn, to the white candidates whom Negroes supported in the municipal election, August 11, and [redacted] in the Democratic Primary, May 5, and to some white ministers and other whites known to be somewhat friendly to our cause. This letter should not be considered a threat.

As a part of your message, we would like for you to remind Negro and white citizens that many persons throughout the nation and in foreign countries are interested in what is taking place in Tuskegee and Macon County, and some are looking to Tuskegee for leadership, that there is an excellent opportunity for Tuskegee to become "the pride of the swift growing South", and that white Tuskegeeans have the obligation and the opportunity on September 15 to demonstrate their greatness by following the example set by Negro voters on August 11.

At your convenience, please return all of the enclosures except the statement concerning "THE MACON COUNTY DEMOCRATIC CLUB".

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
President

cc: Mr. W. P. Mitchell

Ala - Gen

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

August 22, 1964

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you for accepting invitation to speak in Tuskegee at 3:30 P.M. on Sunday, September 13. As soon as is convenient, please send to Mr. W. P. Mitchell, Sec'y., TCA, a biographical sketch and a glossy print or cut of yourself.

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

Ala - gen

August 24, 1964

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Chairman
Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

Enclosed is the material which you asked to be returned. I have today sent Mr. Mitchell the requested information.

I look forward to being with you on Sunday, September 13, at 3:30 P.M. I shall drive and plan to arrive at Dorothy Hall no later than 3:00 P.M. and will call you from there. Several people, probably including Miss Josephine Wilkins, will be with me. We will leave Tuskegee as soon as possible to drive on to Jackson, Mississippi.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

P.S. I hope to write out a ppeech for this occasion and, if completed in advance, will share a copy with you for your reaction and guidance.

PA
MM

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

September 22, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for speaking for us on Sunday, September 13th. Enclosed is a copy of the TUSKEGEE NEWS in which are printed some excerpts from your message.

We hope that the trip to and from Jackson, Missippi, was safe.

We are pleased with the results of the election of September 15th. If 829 Negroes voted, as reported by election officials, whites cast at least 89 votes for Buford and 120 for Smith.

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion

8
9 17 19

First Presbyterian Church

1701 Henry Road
Anniston, Alabama

J. Phillips Noble, Minister

John R. Hall
Minister of Education and Evangelism

January 8, 1965

P A
this deserves attention response

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In May of 1963, the City Commission of Anniston appointed a biracial Human Relations Council which has been at work since that time. We are interested in knowing whether or not your Council is equipped to make an objective survey of our community in this area of work. We are not sure that this is the time for such a survey, but we first wanted to know whether or not your Council did this sort of thing.

If you do not, could you suggest a facility which does this?

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
J. Phillips Noble (mw)
J. Phillips Noble

JPN/mw

LWDr
mM

First Presbyterian Church
1701 Henry Road
Anniston, Alabama

J. Phillips Noble, Minister

March 11, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In reply to your letter of January 22nd, we have not yet decided in Anniston just how and when we should have a survey made. We are grateful for your willingness to do this and when we come to the place of having such a survey made we will be in touch with you.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. Phillips Noble
(mw)

J. Phillips Noble

JPN/mw

March 15, 1965

Mrs. J. L. Nutt
Box 1
Enterprise, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Nutt:

We are delighted to respond to your request for information.

You should know of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, a biracial group of some 700 members with local Councils in seven or eight communities. The President of the group is Mr. Nat Welch of Auburn and the Executive Director is the Rev. Edwin Stanfield. The office is at 2809 Governors Drive, S.W., Huntsville. The purposes and programs of the Alabama Council are very similar to the interests you express in your letter. And, I am certain Mr. Stanfield would be pleased to come to Enterprise to talk with you about the Council and to assist you in some of the programs you mention.

Since this is the case we will not act more specifically on materials or program aids. However, should you not be able to work something out with Mr. Stanfield, we will be happy to respond further.

I will be in Huntsville tomorrow and will discuss this matter with Mr. Stanfield.

We sincerely feel that your type concern and expression of that concern is the most essential element for achieving the decent society and we would like to be of any possible help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Attendance at Leadership Conference on School Desegregation
March 12, 1966
Montgomery, Alabama

AKRON (Hale County)

Mr. Jack T. Williams
P.O. Box 94 - TEL: 372-3795

Miss Johnnie Mae Hopson
Akron, Alabama - TEL: 372-3868

Mrs. Larcenia W. Hollie
P.O Box 221

Miss Carrie G. Harrell
P.O. Box 112

Mrs. Pinkie Green
P.O. Box 184 - TEL: 372-3673

Mr. Hezekaih Davis
General Delivery

Mrs. Rose Lee Cheeseboro
P.O. Box 122 - TEL: 372-3615

Miss Lucinda Carter
General Delivery

Mrs. Lizzie Mae Bradley
P.O. Box 182 - TEL: 372-3995

Mr. Warren Avery
Akron, Alabama

Mr. Willie B. Carter
P.O. Box 173

Miss Gertrude Jackson
Box 53

Mrs. Bettie Miller
Box 164 - TEL: 372-4105

Mrs. Addie M. Naves
P.O. Box 101

Miss Carrie Wilson
Akron, Alabama

Mrs. Ollie W. Williams
Box 181 - TEL: 372-3730

Mrs. B. Williams
P.O. Box 181 - TEL: 372-3730

ALPINE

Mrs. Willie Ann Jones
Route 2, Box 60 - TEL: 362-7089
Housewife

ALBERTA (Wilcox County)

Mr. Lonnie Brown
Route 1, Box 40

Miss Sarah Lee Westbrook
Route 1, Box 32

Miss Eva Mae Irby
Route 1, Box 62

ANDALUSIA (Covington County)

Mr. John D. Shakespeare
517 N. Cotton Street - TEL: 222-5930

Rev. Gary Leslie
106 Knox Street - TEL: 222-4614

ANNEMMANIE (Wilcox County)

Mrs. Corine H. Fisher
Annemmanie, Alabama - TEL: 385-2183

ANNISTON (Calhoun County)

Mrs. A. M. Evans
300 Lincoln Street - TEL: 831-0160

Mr. Isaiah Evans
300 Lincoln Street - TEL: 831-0160

AUBURN (Lee County)

Mr. Roger L. Kelly
311 Brookwood Drive - TEL: 887-6897

Mrs. Carolyn Carlisle
519 N. Donahue Drive - TEL: 887-8849

Miss Susan Darmer
341½ N. College - TEL: 887-7981

BIRMINGHAM (Jefferson County)

Mrs. Nan Watson
921 2nd Street North - TEL: 324-4775

Mrs. Willa I. Adams
14 12th Avenue, N. - TEL: 322-6481

BIRMINGHAM (Jefferson County)

Miss Lillie Brown
605 Center Place No. - TEL: 252-3831

Miss Mary Lynn Buss
64 6th Avenue South - TEL: 324-9353
Parish Worker

Mrs. Katie James
1673 - 19th Pl.,S.W. - TEL: 788-5855
Housewife

Mrs. Bradine King
6332 - 36th Ave. N. - TEL: 592-1369
Housewife

Mrs. H. L. Russell
3425 - 28th Street N. - TEL: FA 3-3061
Housewife

Mr. Irwin Schulman
1715 City Federal Bldg.- TEL: 322-1641
Anti-Defamation League

Miss Eileen Walbent
431 Woodland Drive - TEL: 871-0267

BOYKIN (Wilcox county)

Miss Janet Heimitz
General Delivery
SNCC Organizer

Mr. Josh Gould
General Delivery
Organizer

Mr. Julius Hamilton
Boykin, Alabama
SNCC

CAMDEN (Wilcox County)

Rev. Daniel Harrell
P.O. Box 511 - TEL: 682-4777
Civil Rights (S.C.L.C.)

Mrs. Juanita Harrell
P.O. Box 511 - TEL: 682-4777
Civil Rights (S.C.L.C.)

Mr. Albert Gordon
P.O. Box 417 - TEL: 682-9145
Director, Wilcox County Civil League

Mr. Robert R. Moore
P.O. Box 511
Wilcox County S.C.L.C.

CLANTON (Chilton County)

Mr. Otho McKinney
Clanton, Alabama - TEL: 755-4066
Farmer

COMER (Barbour County)

Mrs. Janie D. Battle
Route 1, Box 40 - TEL: 687-5066
Teacher

Miss Francere Crittenden
Route 1,Box 40 - TEL: 687-5201
Student

Mrs. Fannie D. Davis
Route 1, Box 40 - TEL: 687-5066
Dietitian

COTTONWOOD (Houston County)

Rev. Willie C. Truett
P.O. Box 365 - TEL: 3491

Mrs. Pearl Hardrick
P.O. Box 312
Cook

COURTLAND (Lawrence County)

Mr. W. G. Adams
Central High School - TEL: 637-2735
Teacher

COY (Wilcox County)

Mr. J. H. Perryman
Route 1, Box 63
Farmer

Miss Ophelia Baldwin
Route 1, Box 120
Teacher

Miss Caroline Saulsberry
Route 1, Box 72

Mrs. Martha Saulsberry
Route 1, Box 74 A
Housewife

Miss Louiza Stallworth
Route 1, Box 74
Housewife

Mr. John Cook
Route 1, Box 31 - TEL: 337-4462
Blacksmith

DEMOPOLIS (Marengo County)

Rev. Samuel B. Wells
207 E. Monroe - TEL: 1078
Field Secretary, S.C.L.C.

Mr. Ernest Essex
Route 1, Box 187
Farming

Mrs. Shirley Jean Branch
P.O. Box 103 - TEL: 842

Mrs. Annye H. Braxton
307 East Monroe Street - TEL: 613
Housewife

Mrs. Mary L. Essex
Route 1, Box 187

Miss Bessie Essex
Route 1, Box 187 - TEL: 503-J-3
Maid

Mr. Julian H. Murdoch
Route 1, Box 187 - TEL: 503-J-3
Insurance Agent

Mrs. Mary Essex Murdoch
Route 1, Box 187 - TEL: 503 J-3
Housewife

Mr. Leroy J. Moton
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S.C.L.C.

Mrs. Christine Williams
207 E. Monroe Street - TEL: 1078

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Mr. J. C. Forrester
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Mr. Bernest Brooks
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Teacher

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Rev. S. Little
Route 1, Box 14 C
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Retired Minister

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Retired Teacher

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133 Indiana Ave. - TEL: 264-8614
Sales Clerk in Department Store

GADSDEN (Etowah County)

Mrs. Mildred Williams
1332 Spruce Street - TEL: 547-6583
Housewife

Mrs. Ida Rea Williams
1609 Murry Street,E. - TEL:492-4033

Mrs. Rosell Ellison
2004 E. Broad Street - TEL:546-7073

Mrs. Hannah Beavers
118 N. 20th Street - TEL: LI 6-6858
Housewife

GADSDEN (Etowah County)

Rev. A. L. Bodley
1504 Murry Ave - TEL: 492-1341
Minister

Mrs. Mattie Cunningham
2210 Center Street,East - TEL: 546-0219
Housewife

Mrs. Mary L. Evans
Route 7, Box 163 - TEL: 547-2085
Penn Ave. E.
Housewife

Miss Beth Livezey
1052 Tuscaloosa Ave. - TEL: 547-4604
Field Worker, S.C.L.C.

Mrs. Mary L. Love
1051 Jacksonville St. - TEL: 547-1008
Housewife

Mrs. Beulah Sealey
513 Tuskegee Cir. - TEL: 546-4443

Mrs. Daisy P. Steele
1107 Fairview Ave. - TEL: 546-9307
Housewife

GANTT (Covington County)

Mr. Acy Bailey
P.O. Box 554
Construction

GRADY (Crenshaw County)

Mr. Sandy Foster
Route 1, - TEL: 537-4604

Mr. Oscar Gibson
Route 1

Mr. Collins W. Harris
Route 1 - TEL: 537-4423
Farmer

Mr. Wilson Pruitt
Route 1, Box 134
Farmer

GREENSBORO (Hale County)

Mr. Henry McCaskill
39 North Street - TEL: 624-7924
Minister

GREENSBORO (Hale County)

Miss Marian Nasif
P.O. Box 101
Organizer

Mrs. James Lyles
Route 3, Box 33-A
Farmer

Mr. Ronald Kaufman
Box 101
S.N.C.C.

Mrs. Julia Holifield
1122 Blunt Street

Rev. M.C. Holifield
1122 Blunt Street

Mrs. Mildred Black
20 Washington Street TEL:624-7118
Treas., Federal Credit Union

Mr. Lewis Black
20 Washington St. - TEL:624-7118
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Mrs. Margret Ann Dent
1122 Bluff Street
Farm Labor

GREENVILLE (Butler County)

Mrs. Mattie Durant
407 W. Perdue St. - TEL:382-8390
Housewife

Miss Dorinda Parmer
156 Carver Circle - TEL:382-8739

Miss Minnie Lee Parmer
156 Carver Circle - TEL: 382-8739
Private Home

Miss Sadie Mae Phifer
312 Perdue St. - TEL: 119-382-4514
Student

HAYNEVILLE (Lowndes County)

Mr. Richard C. May
Route 1, Box 102
Farmer

Mr. Sidney Logan, Jr.
Route 1, Box 140
Community Leader

HAYNEVILLE (Lowndes County)

Mr. E. Logan
Hayneville, Ala.
Farmer

Rev. J. C. Lawson
Box 107

HEADLAND (Henry County)

Rev. S. D. Parker
401 Hollan Street - TEL: 693-5794
Minister

HUNTSVILLE (Madison County)

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2300 Stanley Dr. - TEL: 539-5585

Miss Evelyn Falkowski
2206 E. Governor Dr. - TEL: 536-7829
Historian - Curator

Mr. Ennis Hardy
9104-A Redstone Park - TEL:881-9196
Military

Miss Mary Pandow
7810 Charlotte Dr.- TEL:881-7466
Chemist

Mrs.Jane Reed
11017 Crestfield Dr., S.E.
Housewife - TEL: 883-0286

Mr. Gregory Wilkins
3605 Blue Spring Rd. - TEL:852-0283
Student

LAFAYETTE (Chambers County)

Mrs. Essie J. Handy
Box 156 - TEL: 864-3651
Retired Teacher

LANETT (Chambers County)

Mrs. Gladys Stringer
1301 Cherry Drive
Teacher

LISMAN (Choctaw County)

Miss Margot Thomas
Box 226 - TEL: 398-2792
S.C.L.C. Field Worker

LISMAN (Choctaw County)

Mrs. Hattie Ruffin
P.O. Box 216 - TEL: 398-3681
Housewife

Mr. Joseph M. Marsh
Choctaw County Training School
Teacher - TEL: 398-3272

Mr. M. H. Howard
P.O. Box 226 - TEL: 398-2231
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LUVERNE (Crenshaw County)

Mr. James Kolb
Route 2, Box 90 - TEL: 355-6338
Farmer

Mrs. James Kolb
Route 2, Box 90 - TEL: 335-6338
Housewife

Miss Maxine K. Sanders
Route 2, Box 90 - TEL: 335-6338
Housewife

LOWER PEACHTREE (Wilcox County)

Mr. Roosevelt Russell
Route 1, Box 124
Farming

Mr. Fred King
Route 1, Box 125

Rev. Frank Smith
Lower Peachtree, Ala.
Unemployed

MARION (Perry County)

Mr. Patt J. Davis
P.O. Box 141
S.C.L.C.

Mr. Spencer Hogue, Jr.
201 Thompson Street
Insurance Agent

Mrs. Eloise Davis
P.O. Box 141
Housewife

Miss Emma Jean Jackson
Route 3, Box 40-B - TEL: 683-8406
Student

MARION (Perry County)

Rev. A. Edward Banks
North Centerville St. - TEL: 683-8277

Mr. Liona Langford
P.O. Box 473 - TEL: 683-8186
Minister

Mr. Hampton D. Lee
132 Lee Street - TEL: 683-5391
Mortician

MOBILE (Mobile County)

Mr. C. J. Johnson
762 Willington Street - TEL: 452-1870
Mobile Housing Bd. (Laborer)

Mr. Leo H. Brinkley
364 Gaston Street - TEL: 432-2070
Civil Service

Mrs. Jacqueline Jacobs
2063 Tucker Street - TEL: 452-0375
Teacher

Mr. Sylvester Williams
7223 Twelveth Street - TEL: 344-0140
Shipyard Worker

Mr. Gabe Davis
2102 Club House Rd. - TEL: 432-4738
Mobile Housing Board

Mrs. Dorothy Williams
702 N. Craft Highway - TEL: 456-6877
Civil Rights Worker

MONTGOMERY (Montgomery)

Miss Gloria German
1015 Bragg Street - TEL: 264-6650
Student

Mrs. Zecozy Williams
2010 Hill Street - 264-7688
Maid

Mrs. Rachel L. Jones
455 South Jackson Street -
S.N.C.C. worker

Mrs. Thelma Jones Parks
1058 Pelham Street - TEL: 265-3049
Teaching

Mr. Norman Lumpkin
1619 Tuttle Ave. - TEL: 264-6440
Radio News Reporter, WRMA

MONTGOMERY (Montgomery

Miss Faymoriett Brewington
1520 Hill Street - TEL: 263-2156
Student

Miss Gladys Williams
725 Malner Street - TEL: 264-6650
Student

Mr. Percy Smith, Jr.
721 South Holt Street
Ministry - TEL: 264-2851

Rev. Richard L. Hardy
926 Alexander Street - TEL:262-5267
Pastor

Rev. Edward Martin
1408 Bragg Street - TEL: 265-3690
Student

Mr. Joseph Dickerson
225 Douglas - TEL: 263-5549
Federal Employee

Miss Parthenia Jackson
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Civil Rights Fighter

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Pastor

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2161 Dorothy Street - TEL:262-1500
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Route 3, Box 406 - TEL: 272-2634
Housewife

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Miss Doris N. Storey
Route 1, Box 140 - TEL: 362-7689

Miss Willie Emma Storey
Route 2, Box 2211 - TEL: 362-9186

NEW MARKET (Madison County)

Mr. T. J. Taylor
Route 1 - TEL: 379-7247

NOTASULGA (Lee - Macon County)

Mr. Drue W. Williams
Route 1, Box 512
Farmer

Mrs. Annie Mae Sinclair
Route 1, Box 522 - TEL: 257-3168
Farming

Mrs. Jimmie L. Williams
Route 2, Box 154
Community Aide, O.E.O. Program

OPELIKA (Lee County)

Mr. Henry L. Jones
618 East Ave. - TEL: 745-4689
Building Contractor

OPP (Covington County)

Mrs. Corine B. Crayton
125 Harden Street - TEL: 493-6395
Teacher

PINE HILL (Wilcox County)

Mr. Leroy Randolph
P.O. Box 244 - TEL: 963-2842

PRATTVILLE (Autauga County)

Mr. Willie L. Wood
139 - 8th Street - TEL: 365-6655
Substitute Teacher & Steel Worker

Mrs. Sallie M. Hardnott
626 Easy Street - TEL: 365-7887

Mr. Dan Houser
556 E. 6th Street - TEL: 365-5360
Brick Mason

Miss Nitricia Hadnott
626 Easy Street - TEL: 365-7887

Mr. James Hadnott
626 Easy Street - TEL: 365-7887
Student

Mr. Freddie L. Davis
235 Easy Street - TEL: 365-8011

Miss Ocie Goodson
510 Jones Street - TEL: 365-5215
Student

PRICHARD (Mobile County)

Mr. Richard G. Welkerson
857 South Garrison Ave.
Transportation Foreman
TEL: 452- 4279

RIDERWOOD (Choctaw County)

Miss Melvoria Ruffin
Route 1, Box 1-A - TEL:398-2453

Mrs. Christine R. Hopkins
Route 1, Box 68 - TEL: 398-2107
Teacher

Mrs. Corine Collins
Box 94

RUSSELLVILLE (Franklin County)

Mr. Robert James, Jr.
Route 5, Box 285 - TEL:332-0367
Teacher

SELMA (Dallas County)

Mrs. Henrietta Williams
615 Short Moxey St. - TEL:872-3777

Mrs. Alice West
313 E. Geo Wash. Carver Homes
Teacher - TEL: 874-6555

Mr. Lonzy West, Sr.
Apt. 313 E. Geo Wash. Carver Homes
Civil Rights Worker
TEL: 874-6555

Mr. Everett P. Wenrick
704 Minter Ave. - TEL:874-8748
Civil Rights Worker

Mr. H. Smiley
724 Bradford Circle
Substitute Teacher, County & City

Mr. George Sallie
1314 Center Street

Mrs. Louise Shelton
1712 Oliver Street - TEL:872-1725
Supervisor, Citizenship Teachers

Mr. Elder James C. Prichett
1331 Fairview Street
Minister - TEL: 45011

TALLADEGA (Talladega County)

Mrs. Laura R. Daly
923 West Battle Street - TEL:362-4332
Retired

Mr. Bruce Benson
Talladega College
Student

Mr. Andrew Woodgett
618 Grant Street - TEL: 362-4793
Student

Mrs. B. F. Coleman
832 W. Battle Street - TEL:362-2915
Teacher

Mr. Alfred Radney
9 Church Street - TEL: 362-3537
Anniston Ordiance Depot

Miss Mary Louise Farrior
911 Cruikshank Street - TEL:362-4546

Miss Jackie Richardson
Talladega College, Box 480-A
Student - TEL: 362-9923

Mrs. E. W. MacNair
Talladega College - TEL:362-7918
Part-time Librarian & Housewife

Dr. Everett W. MacNair
Talladega College - TEL: 362-7918
Dean of Chapel

Mr. William Tyler
203 Jackson Street - TEL: 362-3471
Retired

TOMEY (Choctaw County)

Mrs. Virginia S. Johnson
Route 1, Box 88
TEL: 459-2861 - Butler Alabama

TROY (Pike County)

Mrs. Johnnie M. Warren
1011 R.R. Avenue - TEL: 566-2009

Miss Minnie Pennington
416 Walter Street - TEL: 566-4711
Housewife

TUSCALOOSA (Tuscaloosa County)

Rev. T. Y. Rogers, Jr.
2621 - 9th Street - TEL: 758-2833
Minister

TUSKEGEE (Macon County)

Mr. John Brown, Jr.
P.O. Box 871 - TEL: 727-2616
Tuskegee Institute

Mr. C. P. Patterson
118 N.Greenwood, Dr. - TEL: 727-0132

Mrs. Helen C. Campbell
404 Bibb Street - TEL: 727-0289
Part-time Secretary & Housewife

Mrs. Vera C. Foster
520 Montgomery Rd.
Tuskegee Institute
Social Worker

Mrs. C. L. Franklin
122 Moton Street
Tuskegee Institute
Pres., Ala. Assn. of Women's Clubs

Mrs. Wilhelmina R. Jones
1900 Howard Rd. - TEL: 727-3062
Tuskegee Institute
Personnel Clerk - VAH

Mrs. Thomas L. Puryear
P.O. Box 1243 - TEL:727-1633
Tuskegee Institute
Asso. Dir., Community Development

Mrs. Elizabeth H. Richardson
308-C Auburn Street - TEL: 727-2234
Instructor

Mrs. A. R. Shields
Box 297, Tuskegee Institute
Teacher

TYLER (Lowndes County)

Mr. Howard McCord
Route 1, Box 129
Farming

UNION (Butler County)

Rev. R. B. Cottonreadder, Jr.
312 Purdue Street - TEL: 382-4514

WETUMPKA (Elmore County)

Miss Marie F. Bracy
Route 4, Box 135

Mr. Roosevelt Bracy
Route 4, Box 135
Farming

WETUMPKA (Elmore County)

Mr. C. M. George
Route 4, Box 137 - TEL: 263-0302
Farming

Rev. J. L. Jones
P.O. Box 461 - TEL: 567-5850
Funeral Director & Minister

Mrs. Cornelious Peavy
12 Short Street

Mrs. Carrie G. Peavy
P.O. Box 83 - TEL: 567-4190
Sub-Teacher

Mrs. Annie M. Williams
602 Osceola Street - TEL: 567-9209
Housewife

WHITE HALL (Lowndes County)

Miss Lillian S. McGill
P.O. Box 25
Sec., Lowndes County Christian
Movement

YANTLEY (Choctaw County)

Mrs. Thelma Craig
Route 1, Box 2 - TEL: 398-2162
Insurance Agent

Mr. R. C. Craig
Yantley, Alabama - TEL: 398-2162
Farming

YELLOW BLUFF (Wilcox County)

Mr. Zack Dumas
Route 1, Box 14
Farmer

YORK (Sumter County)

Rev. F. N. Nixon
Route - Box 151 - TEL: 509
Minster

Ala - Miscellaneous

ES

Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director

ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

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June 9, 1966

TO: Mr. Benjamin S. Gerson

Mr. Edward J. Schweid

Mr. Louis H. Ewald

SUBJECT: Request of the Harry K. Fox and Emma R. Fox Charitable Foundation Trustees for $1,000 Grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations for 1966-67

The Alabama Council on Human Relations is most grateful for the annual grants made by the Fox Foundation. This has been of substantial financial assistance for the expansion of a significant program. In 1966 membership in the Alabama Council on Human Relations was tripled to over 1,000. The Alabama Council on Human Relations received the George S. Mitchell Award, granted annually by the Southern Regional Council for the State Council in the South showing the greatest percentage increase in membership.

The professional staff is being expanded from one to three full time qualified professional staff persons.

The Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council was attended by 250 persons at the Jefferson Davis Hotel in Montgomery in February. The principal speaker was Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, St. Louis Negro attorney now serving as a Commissioner on the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. A special presentation was made to U. S. Assistant Attorney General John Doar for his "important role in advancing the cause of democracy in Alabama."

Mr. Robert S. Valder, Associate Director, reports as follows on activities since the February 5 Annual Meeting:

"Some of the more important activities of the State office and local chapters would include the following: Lewis Black was hired on February 1 as Director of our Rural Advancement Project. He has been instrumental in getting six (6) Federal credit unions either already functioning or at least chartered (all in low-income Black Belt counties); he was responsible for getting a grant from the Southern Regional Council for a voter registration project in Hale County; he has disseminated information to many persons in various meetings across the Black Belt relative to school desegregation, Federal programs and how to initiate them; voter registration, political education, how to file and run for political office, etc.; he has established an on-going dialogue with many county and state officials, e.g., Farmers Home Administration, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Probate Judges, School authorities, County Extension Service, etc. and in general civil rights economic improvement movement."

The Huntsville chapter has been instrumental in closing one, small Negro elementary school as well as the only Negro high school in the city by encouraging Negro parents and students to apply for transfer. It has also worked on school transfers for lower grades.

The East Alabama chapter has also been involved in school desegregation and the more than token desegregation of Auburn University. We have reason to believe that the number of children desegregating the Auburn and Macon County school systems will be significantly increased as a result.

The Mobile and Birmingham chapters have both been active in school desegregation efforts (Birmingham especially) but their success is unclear at this time since all school systems involved are now in Federal Court.

The Muscle Shoals chapter has also been working on school desegregation with some reliable indications of success.

Voter registration or voter education projects have either been initiated or entered into on a cooperative basis with civil rights groups by the East Alabama, Mobile, Birmingham and Tuscaloosa chapters.

The Muscle Shoals chapter is involved in a continuing project with regard to the desegregation of area hospitals. The Talladega chapter is currently involved in desegregation of the hospital and the State schools for the Blind and Deaf. Birmingham and Mobile have done surveys of hospital practices in their areas with reports of this to the Federal government.

The East Alabama chapter has been funded for two Headstart projects. One project is a "follow-up" project on last summer's project and the other is a new Headstart program for this summer (this was a $65,000 grant). Both of these are, for all indications, quite successful programs.

We co-sponsored, and helped finance, a "State Leadership Conference on School Desegregation" in March. About 300 persons attended this. We are also co-sponsoring a meeting on school desegregation on June 11 in Birmingham."

The 1966 budget of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is $35,000. Of this sum $16,370 has been raised in Alabama primarily in $5, $10, $50, and $100 donations. . . a demonstration ~~of~~ THAT native Alabamians have a strong belief in the need for this type of organization. Paid membership in 1966 is 1,093 members.

The Southern Regional Council and the Ford Foundation have made grants of $14,500 to the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

A continuation of the $1,000 Fox grant is vitally needed and would be deeply appreciated to continue this on-going dynamic program.

$1,150.00

Arkansas Council on Human Relations

1310 Wright Avenue

Little Rock, Arkansas

Regular grant quarterly payment.

Regular grant

in aid

July 11, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

July 15, 1966

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Acting Chairman
Macon County Community Action Committee, Inc.
308 Bibb Street
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Gomillion:

Mrs. Beulah Johnson asked me to send to you the enclosed check in the amount of $250.00 for the Macon County Community Action Child Day Care Center.

To meet a requirement of our auditors, please sign the enclosed copy of this letter to acknowledge receipt of the check and return it to me at your convenience.

We hope that the day care center will be successful depsite the untoward circumstances and difficulties.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director, Field Activities

JES/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #1195, $250.00)
cc: Mrs. Beylah Johnson
122 West Northside
Tuskegee, Alabama 36083

Dear Paul,

Mrs. Cox asked me to send the enclosed to you.
Have you thought of Rev. Ellwanger as executive director of the ACHR?
He is actively engaged in interracial work.
He is a minister with a Th M.
He is a native Alabaman.
He knows Birmingham well enough to get around.
He is a dedicated man with convictions.
He is a courageous man with good common sense.
He seems to me to fit all the qualifications.

C. Herbert Oliver

Keep for Pl's

CLIFFORD J. DURR
ATTORNEY AT LAW
17 MOLTON STREET BUILDING
MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Don't forget we are looking for you to come over on the night of the 15th. Let me know if you will get here in time to have dinner with us? We hope so much that you will. If you want a place to stay, Welton Gregory has invited you to stay with him. Will you let him know if you are going to stay there. I am sure you have his address but if not it is:

Rev. Welton Gregory
1125 Woodley Road
Montgomery, Alabama

AM 5-2850
5-9241

In view of Bob's recent experience, I am afraid our ranks will be smaller than ever but we do appreciate your coming and I hope we can discuss our problems with you and get some good advice.

Sincerely yours,

Virginia Durr

Virginia Durr
Program Chairman

AM 5-3157

EAL. 7:00-8:00
Dd. 1:15-1:33 #411
" 8:10-8:33
EAL. 9:14-11:55
DNL. 9:20-11:07
#440

S A V E (Save Alabama's Vital Education)

P.O. Box 1643, Montgomery, Alabama

HERE'S HOW

Y O U

CAN HELP SAVE!

1. YOU CAN know the facts: the facts of previous school crises in the South, in Little Rock, in Virginia, in New Orleans, in Georgia; the enormous penalties to the entire community or state when public education is ceased or converted to makeshift "private" schools. You can show how one way or another these consequences affect every segment of the community and that the effects are long range as well as short range. SAVE meetings will discuss many of these facts. SAVE literature will present more information. Armed with these facts, you can fight the apathy and unwillingness to acknowledge that there is truly a school crisis; these are the real enemies of continued public education.

2. YOU CAN organize and participate in discussion groups. Get small groups of your friends together; invite neighbors in to talk about the school crisis; gather a group of parents whom you know through the PTO or through your children. SAVE will donate materials that will make these sessions interesting and informative. And SAVE will offer a means of corporate voice for thousands of Alabamians who want public schools.

3. YOU CAN talk SAVE in any or all of the established groups to which you already belong—in church groups, in business men's luncheon clubs, in the Chamber of Commerce, in PTO's, in social and charitable organizations. Once again SAVE will provide material for further discussion or, upon request, wil provide a speaker.

4. YOU CAN help save for SAVE. The very fact that materials are provided will make people realize that SAVE needs money to provide the material, to maintain its mailings, and to perform the research and publication of additional material. Ask these groups or ask individuals to invest in SAVE and thereby invest in the future of their community and of their children. In some cases Save for SAVE parties can be combined with teas or bridge parties or other functions.

5. YOU CAN send SAVE literature to friends and relatives throughout the state. Get them interested so they will start SAVE organizations in their own towns.

6. YOU CAN give personal financial support—as much as you can spare—to help SAVE Alabama's public schools. Remember, whatever you give will be a lot cheaper than private schools.

7. YOU CAN insist at every opportunity upon a calm, reasonable, open approach to the school problem, in the belief that this approach is the only one suited t such a serious crisis and the only way we can replace emotionalism with logic

8. YOU CAN express your opinions: talk to anyone who will listen; write letters to the editor of your local paper; write to all political levels in the state from the Governor to the legislators to the mayor to the school board. Point out that we must SAVE our public schools.

Literature you will want to use in urging others to SAVE is available at SAVE, Montgomery, Inc., P.O. Box 1643, Montgomery, Alabama

Please report any action you take to SAVE. If you wish to contribute, please make checks payable to the address immediately above.

S A V E (Save Alabama's Vital Education), Montgomery, Inc.

P.O. Box 1643, Montgomery, Alabama

A L A B A M A ' S T I M E O F D E C I S I O N I S N O W!

DON'T LET A FEW DECIDE FOR THE MANY!

SAVE IS

- A nonprofit organization ~~chartered in April, 1961 by a group~~ of concerned parents and citizens "to further, by all proper and legitimate means, the continuation of a state-wide system of free public education."
- A rallying point of moderate opinion on the school crisis.
- Supported voluntarily by any citizen who wants to invest in the maintenance and improvement of free education.

SAVE asserts that public education is necessary if popular government is to function effectively; if Alabama children are to have a decent opportunity in life; and if our society is to continue to achieve economic progress. For these reasons, SAVE opposes the closing of the public schools of Alabama and calls on all Alabamians to unite in opposition to the closing of the schools.

SAVE DOES NOT

- Argue the relative merits of segregation and desegregation.
- Discuss whether the 1954 Supreme Court decision was right or wrong.
- Debate states rights vs. federal rights.
- Advocate any one method of compliance.
- And will not at any time participate in action or litigation aimed at closing a public school in Alabama.

SAVE DOES

- Give wide distribution to the facts on the school crisis.
- Point out the high cost of private schooling and its consequent unavailability to the majority of parents.
- Warn that our state will suffer drastic economic losses unless our schools remain open.
- Work with individuals and groups by furnishing factual material and speakers.
- Conduct public meetings.
- Offer support to public officials who work to continue free education.
- Stand ready to support any reasonable plan, acceptable to the courts, that will keep the public schools open.
- Hold that Boards of Education, legislators, the Governor, and all citizens owe allegiance to the Constitution of the United States.
- Assert the right and necessity of free and open discussion of the school crisis and opposes the use or encouragement of violence or intimidation by persons or groups of any shade of opinion.
- Believe that each of us has an individual responsibility to let official local leadership, and our fellow citizens know now where each of us stands: on the side of law, order, and public schools.

EXERCISE YOUR RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP NOW

S A V E A L A B A M A ' S V I T A L E D U C A T I O N

The Methodist Church
Huntsville District
1009 Westmoreland Ave.
HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA

DUNCAN HUNTER
District Superintendent

Phone JE 6-1526

Aug. 3

Dear Paul:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed clipping - I have checked this out. The personnel committee in several meetings put pressure on Hall to withdraw from the HRC. He finally took a firm stand and they gave him the out. His performance in his job was irrelevant.

Hall gave a full statement to the press but it was toned down. The wire service must have picked it up but our paper did not print it. He is moving to Louisville which I understand is his wife's home and try to find a job.

Yours,

Duncan

Under "Dope"

Ala - Gen

This tape is from Birmingham, Alabama, and is being sent to you for your consideration.

WSFM series of editorials on informing our listeners about communistic activities - We'd like to qualify with a few statements. We're not extremists. No individuals are putting us up to this. We do not belong to any organizations. We're doing it on our own out of the great alarm of ourselves after considerable study in the subject as to the activity in and around the area. Again we would like to repeat: there is great concern of the communistic activity in the area. The greater concern - and we do mean the <u>greater</u> concern - is the apathy, ignorance, and general shrugging of the shoulders attitude of most Americans..thinking and hoping that this might die out, and all along your apathy, my apathy laying the foundations for a tremendous amount of inroads of social unrest and agitation which the communists are seizing upon, particularly in the South. We've touched upon the Southeastern Conference of Human Welfare, Southeastern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Regional Council, we showed how all of these organizations have similar same members on the board who are known communists. This doesn't mean that these organizations are not to some degree causing some good. They happen to be about the only organizations entering into the problems of trying to do something for a lot of people in a positive manner. However, the motive is underneath, the communists are the masters of deceit, and it's up to us to be informed about it .. one, two [too?] most important for us to do something positively in our own way and through our American processes. We can..we have personally..

we can criticize City Hall, and they certainly do a botched up job down in Birmingham City Hall. However, it's easy to criticize; it's far more difficult to do something about it even if such poor leadership is exemplified.

Now the Alabama organ of the Southern Regional Council is the Alabama Council of Human ..on Human Relations, offices in the Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama. The Reverend Robert Hughes, Methodist minister formerly residing on 3209 Ridgely Drive, Cohaba /?/ Heights, was the Executive Director through 1960. The Southern Regional Council was represented at the Highlander Folk School seminar Labor Day weekend, August the 30th-September the 7th, 1957 at Monteagle, Tennessee, by Fred B. Routh. Mr. Routh hears the..bears the title of Assistant Director of the Southern Regional Council. Notorious communists, veteran communist fellow-travelers and Negro leaders in all the recent major incidents attending integration were present at the Highlander Folk School 25th anniversary on quote "The Human Aspects of the Integration Struggle." The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was organized around 1932 by Miles Horton and Don West. Paul Crouch, before his testimony of the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities.. Mr. Crouch said, "I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was a school organized by Miles Howton sp? and Don West and which James Dombrowsky sp? shortly thereafter joined." Paul Crouch who gave the foregoing testimony concerning the Highlander Folk School was the top communist functionary in the South. His communist

record given to the Senate committee by Crouch himself attests his importance.

In the early period of the Highlander Folk School, a prominent, present, Birmingham businessman was a member of its faculty. On August the 13th, 1938, Mr. John P. Fry, op? President of the Metal Trades Department of the AFofL testified before the Dies /?/ Committee on the Un-American Activities, and named Elizabeth Hall, this prominent Birmingham businessman that we just mentioned, and Miles Horton, as persons who attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South. Mr. Fry further testified in connection with this "I might mention that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention in which three CIO organizations took a very prominent part."

We've offered over the year free copies of The Communist Menace, by J. Edgar Hoover. We'd like to offer it again to any of our listeners who have not received a copy. It's free for the asking; just call us at Fairfax 3-5291. We'll try to pass on any specific information of particular questions that you might have. If we have information about it we'll pass it on to you. We will not talk with you, however, unless you give us your name and address, and We must know who we're talking to. Call us at Fairfax 3-5291 for further information on this and if you'd like to receive The Communist Menace by J. Edgar Hoover. Now, Again let us emphasize..we're just giving factual history. One of our listeners called up and asked us if we belong to the John Birch Society. We do not; we don't belong to any group or organization. We're concerned, we want Americans to be concerned.

We continue with our morning programming, and the time is thirteen minutes until eight o'clock.

The preceding was recorded in the morning of Friday, 9 February, 1962.

On Friday, February 9th, in the afternoon, it was learned by the Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that the officials and administration at Birmingham Southern had put a stop to the editorials. One of the members of the official Board at Birmingham Southern stated that any editorials were against the policy of Birmingham Southern. It is unknown the exact relationship between the radio station and Birmingham Southern, but there was sufficient relationship that the school could report there would be no further editorials. On the following Monday it was learned that this man who spoke, who is the owner of the station, had stated that Birmingham Southern had stopped him but he would continue to make his exposés on his own. At this point it is quite uncertain as to how he proceeds to make his viewpoints known.

Ala. VJ
Gen. PA

Dear Paul:

The meeting of the Birmingham Council Tuesday evening will be a sort of briefing session for the bi-racial teams of two people who will call on Negro families who have children involved in desegregation, or at least who have applied for transfer to formerly white schools. The teams may go out for one call on Tuesday evening following the briefing session, or we can postpone the calls until the following night if the group gets too interested in the discussion with Vernon Jordan. This will be a full council meeting so there may be questions for Jordan in areas other than the calls on Negro families.

One of the purposes of these "goodwill" calls is to tell the families about the Council sponsored tutoring service available to Negro students and to set a date for apptitude tests (to help determine areas of specific need in tutoring) if the family desires this. Of course, this must be handle diplomatically.

We are currently having difficulty obtaining the names of students who have applied--or will apply--for transfer. We are trying to obtain the names from the Alabama Christian Movement (affiliated with SCLC) and hope to get enough names to begin some calls on Monday evening as planned (thought we'd make some "test" calls Monday to be able to give some report to the larger group at the Tuesday meeting who will be making the calls the remainder of the week). The Christian Movement people have said they would try to notify the families in advance of our planned call and if possible get them together at one Negro home in groups of two or three families.

Vernon also has an engagement immediately upon arrival with a small group of white high school students who are meeting to try to decide what they can do to influence fellow students, keep down lawlessness, promote understanding, etc. The group will be small because we have had a difficult time getting young people to commit themselves even this far. It will be a very liberal group--mostly Unitarians--who are delighted to have Jordan meet with them.

Jordan can call me (324-9208) upon arrival if he likes or he can go directly to the Unitarian Church, 2365 Cahaba Road, Phone 879-5150, where the group of students will gather with Mrs. Peg (John) Fuller (Council member) at 2:45 (it will take him at least 20 - 25 minutes from the airport). Mrs. Fuller will bring him by my house following this meeting, or I will pick him up at the Church. We will have dinner, time for a chat and go on to the Council meeting at 7p.m.

Forgive my haste in getting off this to you. Hope it will fill Vernon in a little on our situation. I'll add to it when he arrives. Thanks so much for arranging this. We are looking forward to having him here [redacted] very much and the timing couldn't be better.

I'll be in touch

Ann

P.S. Don't forget ~~this~~ the 50 Cole's booklets via Vernon.

GREAT BOOKS *A Discussion Program for Adults*

34 ~~354-9208~~ Home - Ala - Gen -

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Birmingham Council on Human Relations has a problem, so naturally Norman Jimerson suggested I write to you. The Council has just formed a "rarin' to go" committee to work "in any way possible" with the parents and students involved in the desegregation process here this fall. (Better late than never, we hope!)

Not the least of our many problems is to determine just what effective action can be taken by a group such as ours (the committee is composed of approximately 25 people of both races and from a wide cross-section of professions). Of course, as with everyone else, our time element is a real problem since the Board of Education won't submit its desegration plan to the courts until August 19, and even then we have to wait to see if the court approves the plan.

We are having a "brainstorming" committee meeting next Monday night and a full Council meeting Tuesday night. I realize this doesn't give you much time, but if you have any advice, suggestions, literature, etc. we would certainly appreciate hearing from you. (Ernest Lent, director of the Jacksonville Human Relations Council will be our guest Tuesday evening.)

Thank you for any thing you might send us to help guide us in deciding what we can effectively do in the framework of the Birmingham School situation.

Best regards,

Ann Howell

Ann Howell (Mrs.)
3404 Altamont Road

Call collect

COMMUNITY SPONSORED IN COOPERATION WITH THE GREAT BOOKS FOUNDATION
A NON-PROFIT CORPORATION • 5 SOUTH WABASH AVENUE • CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

Mrs Myrna Copeland
104 Westleigh Dr., S. E.
Huntsville

Ala
Gen

Sent SOS
materials

Note:

This application was prepared on the direction of and in consultation with our state president. The program as outlined and the budget are both subject to the final approval of our state Board of Directors on ~~July 2~~ Aug. 2, 1957.

- R E Hughes
Exec. Dir.
Ala. Council on H.R.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPLICATION FOR GRANT-IN-AID FROM THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

— Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Dir.

I ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN ALABAMA

A. General Feeling:

The futility of the legal approach in the Montgomery bus case and the lack of further Negro challenges has caused whites over the state to lose their sense of urgency on one hand and on the other to become disillusioned and frustrated, and to a certain extent turn to or tolerate intimidation as a new method of preserving segregation. At the same time some "moderate" white elements have come forth to speak for the first time by condemning this intimidation.

The Negro population has been deeply influenced by the non-violent "spirit of Montgomery" and generally accepts this along with the legal approach as the appropriate methods to gain equal opportunities. However the intimidation has caused Negro leadership over the state to re-evaluate its immediate goals and to become more cautious. The ballot box appears to be the next general target over the state rather than public transportation.

The state of tension characterizing the state in 1956 has eased considerably and the present is generally thought of as a "lull" between storms by both groups.

Recognition must be made of the comparative open-mindedness although segregationist feeling of the Upper Piedmont quarter of the state above Birmingham where somewhat enlightened policies among the sparser Negro population has partially relieved frustrations and consequent "challenges" to white economic and political security.

B. Official State Position:

1. State Legislature -- The state House and Senate are equally adamant to pass any legislation that might be termed friendly to the Negro position. Dispite Klan resurgence and editorial condemnation no new restrictions have been discussed.

No new major anti-Negro legislation has been passed or is contemplated in the current legislative session reflecting the public's desire to perpetuate the "lull".

2. The Executive -- Gov. Folsom is still occupying a "neutralist" position refusing to date to sign or veto local hate bills.

C. Opposition Groups:

1. White Citizens Councils -- The only active group in the state is Englehardt's Assn. of Ala. Citizens Councils which has receded from a peak of some 80,000 members in 104 chapters in 40 counties a year ago to an estimated maximum of 20,000 in the three currently active chapters (Birmingham, Bessemer and Montgomery) and various scattered inactive chapters. This recession is due primarily to the lack of a challenge and frustration over the failure of their pride, the once potent 14,000 member Montgomery Citizens Council. Neither Englehardt nor Ace Carter were successful in penetrating the Upper Piedmont area of 15 counties above Birmingham dispite several efforts to establish councils there.

2. The Klan -- Two organizations are currently active -- the Gulf States K.K.K. and the U.S. Knights, K.K.K. together numbering 10-20,000 persons. The U.S. Knights, much the strongest, is presently in a state of revolt over finances and the dictatorshop of Imperial Wizzard E.L. Edwards. Immobile at the moment, they will soon come forth as the Alabama K.K.K. The Klan rose from the ashes of the failure of legal efforts in Montgomery and has never been able to penetrate the Upper Piedmont.

D. Constructive Forces:

1. "Moderate" Opinion -- The "moderates" of Ala. have yet to really speak and constitute a potentially effective segment of opinion numbering 1,000s. Their influence is best seen in what has not happened, i.e., organizations that have not rebelled against liberal parent national organizations, etc.

2. Labor -- Tied to democratic processes labor's Alabama leadership is most cautious, probably over-cautious, due to political considerations. The heralded labor revolt of last summer never materialized in any concrete form and constitutes a vague "boogey man" to the AFL-CIO liberal officials. It is doubtful if Alabama labor can be counted upon for anything other than a "moderate" role for some time to come.

3. The Church -- Or more particularly the white clergy, constitute by far the most promising constructive force in the state. Proof is the constant reference to "integrationist preachers" by the Citizens Council and the Klan. A number of clergymen have taken courageous stands, lost pulpits over the state and others have worked effectively and quietly. At least a quarter of the full-time ministers of the state can be termed moderate to liberal. These need and desire social support from one another.

4. The Future -- As Negroes resume ~~their~~ pressure for their rights, the "challenge" will result in a resurgence of Citizens Council and Klan activity throughout the entire state, paced by race legislation, if not before certainly at the time when public school desegregation is faced. This full-blown conflict of interests is yet years away.

II THE ROLE OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL IN THIS SITUATION

A. Service of Local Affiliates:

1. Local chapter and district organizations must continue to be serviced by the State Office in the execution of their general programs of discussion, fact-finding and cooperative community action. New chapters must be established but due to limited resources emphasis must be placed upon areas where comparatively little effort can result in constructive precedents.

2. The Alabama Council should undertake to create general interest in crucial or strategic program areas with the State Office coordinating concerted work of local units. It should be noted that during the past three years no local affiliate of the Alabama Council has undertaken any project within the separate but equal context in recognition of the fact that our meager resources ~~arrived~~ aimed directly at the central problem of segregation.

B. Stimulation of Moderate Forces:

The Alabama Council should undertake to mobilize moderate to liberal forces according to opportunity and resources by interpreting the racial problem in terms of their interests and keeping them informed of developments in the field. Two alternatives present themselves:

1. Where these forces are not unified they should be organized and influenced to assume responsibilities in their area.

2. Where these forces are already organized they should be induced to undertake constructive activity now to the end that when crisis situations arise they will already be involved.

C. Information Gathering and Distribution:

Surveys to factually determine opportunity and problem areas should be carried out by local chapters and the State Office, such information to be distributed to appropriate persons and agencies.

III PROGRAM OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL DURING THE COMING FISCAL YEAR

A. Due to the more moderate prevailing attitudes and the weakness of resistance groups, the State Office will place greater stess on local organizational and program development in the North Alabama area. Successful work will be regarded as precedents to be publicized as appropriate, throughout the rest of the state.

1. Workshop: In October it is hoped that a workshop can be held by the Southern Regional Council Consultant Service Program in Birmingham for present and prospective

local and district officers of the four North Alabama districts, such a workshop aimed at local program development for the conditions of this area.

2. Strengthening of Affiliates: The Executive Director will place emphasis upon the strengthening of the district and local affiliates in North Alabama with special stress given to bringing forth more effective activity in the Upper Piedmont, i.e., the Tennessee Valley District and its two local chapters.

3. Organization of New Chapters: The Executive Director in conjunction with district officers will seek to organize new chapters in already specified communities where currently there are sufficient numbers of members to form a nucleus. Again special emphasis will be placed upon the Upper Piedmont area where initial cultivation has already been made.

4. Field Representative for the Upper Piedmont: A Field Representative (formerly termed consultant) residing in a central location, probably Decatur, will be secured to serve without remuneration on a travel paid basis in the Upper Piedmont Area (Tenn. Valley District). His duties will be to: (a) keep close tab on developments in the Tri-Cities, Decatur and Huntsville areas, (b) stimulate the Alabama Council chapters in the first two cities and organize a chapter in Huntsville and (c) keep the State Office informed on developments.

5. Provision for Central and South Alabama: While district and local affiliates in Central and South Alabama will continue to be serviced by the State Office, the Executive Director will not undertake new organizational or program work except in crisis situations such as Tuskegee. Two Field Representatives (former Consultants) will be used as available for work of opportunity in this area.

B. Stimulation of the Clergy:

Recognizing the strategic position of the clergy, the Alabama Council through

a group of its ministerial members and its State Office has been instrumental in establishing a state-level program designed to unify the ranks of white liberal to moderate ministers. This informal group has no official tie with the Alabama Council and has been able to involve in its two annual state meetings far more persons than we would be able to reach directly. At the group's annual meeting recently we were able to secure a decision to hold a conference in the Fall to which Negro clergymen would be invited and a formal organization established. Thus the Alabama Council contemplates a program to include:

1. Assisting in the planning, promotion and execution through its clergy members of an integrated, interdenominational state-wide ministers' organization to be established at a two day conference-workshop in Birmingham in the Fall;
2. Assisting with a follow-up program of several area meetings of ministers along the same lines throughout the ensuing Winter months, with the goal of eventually establishing a number of local formal or informal bi-racial ministerial groups.
3. The State Office has been instrumental in organizing in Birmingham a permanent fourty member bi-racial ministerial group three months old for the specific purpose of establishing a pilot project for the above program. Emphasis will be placed upon expanding this precedent initially in the Upper Piedmont area generally and in Mobile and Montgomery where cultivation has been undertaken.
4. Completion of a statewide survey to determine the degree of contact across racial lines between interdenominational and denominational clergy groups, such information to be distributed to the entire clergy in Alabama.

C. <u>Stimulation of Voter Expansion:</u>

In recognition of the new emphasis on voting by Alabama's Negro leadership and the strategic nature of this social area, the State Office anticipates a program involving:

1. Compilation of information on Negro voting registration in Alabama based upon the SRC survey, Alabama Council surveys and census reports along with a summarization of trends, such material to be released to the press of the state. This will be prepared with the assistance of several social scientists at Alabama colleges.

2. The State Office through the organization's nine districts will seek to bring forth a coordinated suffrage program in local chapters consisting of : (a) study of local registration problems, (b) stimulation of Negro voters leagues or in their absense the organization of such and (c) persuasion, negotiation and pressure upon members of registrar boards where discrimination is practiced. Special emphasis will be placed in the Upper Piedmont area in order to decure precedents of success for other areas.

3. Cooperation of the League of Women Voters, the Alabama State Coordinating Committee (state level body of Negro voters leagues) and the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education will be saught on the state and local levels.

D. Inter-Agency Cooperation:

During the Fall an effort will be made to establish regular monthly meetings of representatibes from the Anti-Defamation League, National Conference of Christians and Jews, AFL-CIO and the Alabama Council plus Negro leaders and a state legislator for the purpose of sharing information, ideas, problems and coordinating programs and resources especially with regards to crisis situations and the Upper Piedmont area.

E. Resources Required for the Above Program

Professional staff needed for the above program are an Executive Director and a minimum of two Field Representatives. The principle of Field Representatives operating on an expense only basis has been approved by the Board of Directors and

found successful in limited use to date. The primary function of the Field Representative is to fulfill liaison between the Alabama Council and local affiliates and undertake organizational and program development work as possible. By the employment of such an arrangement, total travel expenses will be reduced and the Executive Director released to a certain extent to fulfill State Office duties dictated by other items in the program.

Contact with and coordination of the various local affiliates will be maintained primarily through regular district and local officer memoranda with staff personnel making only occasional visits rather than regular visits as currently practiced. Carbons of minutes of all local affiliate meetings will be solicited by the State Office.

IV REQUIRED BUDGET TO SUPPORT THE ABOVE PROGRAM

A. Anticipated Expenditures:

Salaries		
Executive Director		$ 5,000.00
Office Secretary		2,500.00
Travel (Staff, Bd. and Com. Mtgs.)		1,325.00
Office Rent	@$62.50/mo.	750.00
Telephone	approx. $45/mo.	540.00
Electricity	approx. $41/mo.	36.00
Office Supplies		600.00
Miscellaneous		49.00
		$10,800.00

B. Anticipated Income:

1. Non-Member Sources:

(a) State Level Organizations

Ala. State Tchrs. Assn.	--	$500
Central Ala. Conf./Meth. Ch.	--	250
A&FM Masonic Order	--	500
Other	--	500
		$ 1,750

(b) Ala. individuals and local organizations	$ 1,800
(c) Non-Ala. individuals and organizations	700
(d) S.R.C. Grant-in-Aid	4,050

2. Membership Sources --

(a) Profit on memberships	500
(b) Contributions from members	2,000
TOTAL	$10,800

C. How These Funds Will Be Secured:

1. Approximately $3,000 of the funds needed for the coming fiscal year have already been secured in cash or pledges through a financial campaign this past Spring and early Summer.

2. Each district will be allotted membership and non-membership contribution quotas based upon number of members and potential of the area respectively. This pattern has already proved to be effective in the campaign just ending.

3. The state-level and non-Alabama funds will be secured through our Board of Directors committees. Again this plan has proved to be successful.

4. We recognize from experience that acquiring funds from outside the state is an expensive task requiring "know-how" and extensive contacts. Hence we place relatively little emphasis on this source realizing that we have to dig down in Alabama in order to survive. This we intend to do.

RECEIVED SEP 18 1957

First Methodist Church

RECEIVED SEP 18 1957

ALEXANDER CITY, ALABAMA

DUNCAN HUNTER
MINISTER

RES. ADAMS 4-2633

SEMMES AND GREEN
STREETS

BUS. ADAMS 4-3331

September 17, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is to certify the acceptance of the grant-in-aid made by the Southern Regional Council to the Alabama Council on Human Relations effective Oct. 1, 1957 under the conditions set forth in a letter from you on July 19th.

As you know from Parish's visit at the meeting of our Board we will have to readjust our organization when Bob Hughes leaves in January, if he leaves for as yet he does not have an absolute commitment from the Mission Board.

Things are dragging pretty badly. He has the feeling of carrying the whole organization and I have the feeling he is about right. Our white Board members need reactivating. Of course the present climate has a lot to do with this.

I have enjoyed serving on the Ex. Comm. of the SRC Board and understand that my term will expire in November.

Sincerely,

Duncan

September 11, 1957

Mr. Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Duncan:

Since the grant-in-aid to the Alabama Council was only a few dollars short of the amount requested, you and Bob Hughes probably felt that no further correspondence between us is necessary. It occurs to me, however, that we should have in the files a letter from you indicating the Alabama Council's acceptance of the grant under the conditions set forth in my letter of July 19th.

As you know, the membership of all ex-officio (State appointed) representatives of SRC's board will automatically expire on October 1st, with the end of the affiliate relationship. We recently registered with dismay that this means we will lose your services on the board and the executive committee, at least temporarily. Happily, you are eligible for re-election as a regular member at the November meeting, and it is my personal hope and belief that the nominating committee will see the wisdom of so doing.

This is a good time for me to tell you how much I have admired and appreciated your contributions to the executive committee's deliberations. We have had some knotty questions to work through, and nobody could have shown sounder and fairer judgment than you have.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Alabama Council on Human Relations

REGARDING

Anonymous gift

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

See HCF ltr. dtd. 12/31/58 in folder marked: "Currier-Yarmolinsky Special Correspondence"

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Grants-in-Aid to State Organizations
1957 - 58

State	Amt. Req.	SRC Staff Recommendation	Exec. Committee Action
Alabama	$4,050	$4,000	
Arkansas	5,000	4,500	
Florida	6,000	4,000	
Georgia	5,500	4,000	
Kentucky	5,000	3,000	
Louisiana		2,500	
North Carolina	5,000	4,000	
South Carolina	8,000	5,000	
Tennessee	6,000	3,000	
Texas	4,873	2,500	
Virginia	6,000	4,000	
Totals:	$55,423	$40,500	

7/16/57

July 19, 1957

Mr. Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Duncan:

I am pleased to inform you that our Executive Committee, at its meeting just concluded, approved a grant-in-aid to the Alabama Council on Human Relations, for the fiscal year 1957-58, in the amount of $4,000. Final approval of this sum is contingent on a mutually satisfactory agreement as to the matters discussed below.

The Executive Committee regretted that it was unable to grant an amount as large as that requested. As you know, the total available was $40,000, and eleven state organizations had to be considered.

This means that the grant-in-aid to Alabama was above the average, and we are glad that it is only $50,00 short of the amount requested.

Once the terms of the grant are satisfactorily worked out, the following conditions, as set by the Executive Committee, will apply:

(1) The grant will be distributed on a quarterly basis effective October 1, 1957.

(2) Succeeding quarterly distributions will be contingent on adequacy of performance, in terms of the agreement under which the grant is made. To this end, you will be requested

to submit brief quarterly progress reports on program activities and fund-raising.

(3) The grant-in-aid is not earmarked for any specific expense, but may be applied against the total budgetary needs of the organization.

(4) Since the grant is not earmarked, and since our affiliate relationship expires on October 1st, your organization will handle its own payroll, including the withholding of income taxes and social security.

(5) As has been true during the subsidy period, these funds are granted on the condition that your organization not engage in political activity or other activity inconsistent with tax-exempt status.

We shall look forward to receiving word that the terms of this grant are satisfactory to the Alabama Council and to a mutually sustaining relationship in the months ahead.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Robert E. Hughes

February 2, 1959

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Following up my letter of December 31, I am enclosing the Southern Regional Council's check for $3,500.00. This represents the special grant-in-aid made possible by a gift to SRC from an individual donor who wishes to be anonymous.

The prohibition on political or other non-tax-exempt activity, which applies to SRC's regular assistance, also attaches to this gift.

On behalf of the staff and the Executive Committee, I want to express the hope that these additional funds will make 1959 the most fruitful year yet for your program.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
Enclosure - 1 (Check #5204, $3,500.00)

cc: Rev. Thomas Thrasher

November 17, 1959

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

At the Annual Meeting here November 11, the Council approved a 1960 grant-in-aid to the Alabama Council on Human Relations of $4,200.

The total amount earmarked for state aid for 1960 is $33,000, approximately the same amount as that expended during 1959 for this purpose. These funds have been appropriated from the general operating budget of SRC. The distribution of funds was based on such criteria as program performance, program proposals for 1960, the strategic importance of the state situation, and state fund-raising ability.

The grant-in-aid is subject to the usual terms:

1. The grant will be distributed on a quarterly basis.

2. Succeeding quarterly distributions will be contingent on adequacy of performance, in terms of the agreement under which the grant is made. To this end, you will be requested to submit brief quarterly progress reports on program activities and fund-raising.

3. The grant-in-aid is not earmarked for any specific expense, but may be applied against

the total budgetary needs of the organization.

4. These funds cannot be used for any political purposes and it is understood that all state Councils and local affiliate groups will not undertake any such activities.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
cc: Dr. Welton Gregory

February 23, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The Southern Regional Council has received again this year special funds from an individual donor for assistance to state groups. This comes from the same source as the special assistance last year. Again, however, we have no indication or reason to believe that this assistance will be repeated yet another year.

The Executive Committee met Tuesday, January 26 and approved a procedure for allocating these special funds. It was the feeling of the Committee that the funds should be subject to some conditions so as to encourage local fund-raising efforts, expanded program, etc. It was the opinion of the group that such special funds could best be used in support of those Councils which have a firm financial base and increasing support from within the state.

The Executive Committee approved the earmarking of $3,000 of these special funds for the Alabama Council. We are enclosing a check for $1,500, or half of this amount. Some or all of the remaining $1,500 will be made available to the Alabama Council in June, on the basis of matching evenly all funds raised by the Alabama Council in excess of $2,500 during the first two quarters of this fiscal year (December 1, 1959 - June 1, 1960). To qualify for the entire $3,000, in other words, the Alabama Council must raise through its own resources and exclusive of SRC or foundation support, a total of $4,000 during this period.

It is our hope that this type of condition will not prove an extra burden but will make it possible for you to stimulate increased support for the Alabama Council throughout the state.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Enc.

P. S. SRC helps those who help themselves.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Dear Sarah, 1/60

mr. Billings "doubt" as to Alabama's ability to meet the SRC's goal of $4,000 between ~~Jan~~ Dec. 1 and June 1 has been a source of embarrassment, humiliation and chagrin to us. In response we answer with the following report:

Contributions (exclusive of SRC + foundation aide) -	$5,373
memberships -	806
Total	$6,179

make this will cool his caustics.

Best,
Bob

June 2, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I am delighted to enclose the check from the special grant to match funds raised by the Alabama Council in accordance with the terms approved by the Executive Committee of SRC.

In spite of his lack of faith, I know Paul Rilling will be pleased and I shall get word to him of your good work when next he lights.

Sincerely,

Sarah Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

Enc.

Ala
Grants
a

December 5, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

At the SRC annual meeting here November 10, the Council approved allocations of assistance funds to state Councils for 1961. A grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations was authorized in the amount of $3,900, payable in four quarterly installments and an additional sum of $2,400 which can be claimed in matching funds.

The matching funds will be made available to match, dollar for dollar, all local funds raised by the Alabama Council above a minimum figure of $3,000 and up to a maximum local total of $5,400. Matching funds can be claimed as of June 1, 1961, on the basis of fund-raising performance during the first two quarters of 1960 (December 1 - June 1). Any matching funds not claimed by the end of the third fiscal quarter of 1961 shall be redistributed as the executive committee of SRC may determine.

A total of $50,000 has been budgeted for assistance to all state councils during 1961. This is some $15,000 more than was budgeted during each of the last two years but about equal to that actually distributed during 1960. It is our hope that by budgeting the total amount we hope to distribute during the next year we can give you a firmer basis on which to plan. It should be noted, however, that $12,500 of this budgeted $50,000 is not yet in hand. Should we be unsuccessful in meeting our budget, 4th quarter grants would have to be cancelled. If this were to become necessary you would have at least three months advance notice.

The Alabama allocation was made on the understanding that the Alabama Council will continue to employ full-time professional staff. If full-time staff is not secured during 1961 this allocation will be subject to reconsideration and revision.

These funds cannot be used for any purposes inconsistent with federal tax-exemption.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
cc: Father Foley

ACHR
F F

A L A B A M A C O U N C I L O N H U M A N R E L A T I O N S

Office of the President,
Spring Hill College,
Mobile, Alabama.

June 24, 1961

To: ACHR Board Members
From: Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
Re: $2,500 Matching Fund.

Dear ACHR Board Member,

At our last Board meeting, Paul Rilling of the Southern Regional Council agreed to postpone until September 1 the deadline for securing the $2,500 in matching funds that had been promised by SRC this year.

Enclosed with this memo I am sending a dozen or so copies of the new form that we have developed for pledges to the Alabama Council. Mr. Nat Welch, the vice-president and chairman of our Finance Committee, has designed it and would like all of you to make use of these in the fund drive.

We are assuming, on August 1, the added obligation of the salary and expenses for the full time executive director. In the coming year this will necessitate some extra efforts at fund raising on our part.

I trust that we may look to your cooperation for at least $100 - $200 either from your local group or from the area. If each of the 25 Board members would raise $100 for this drive, we would be close to our goal in matching the $2,500 promised us by SRC. May I urge you, in the light of the desperate need we have for a more active program in the State, to go beyond this minimum and to give us a sufficiently sound financial base on which to mount the program for the coming year.

I shall be leaving tomorrow for my summer assignment teaching a course in Race Relations at Fordham University in New York. If there is any need to contact me, I shall be at Fordham University, Bronx 58, New York, until about August 20. I shall be at the University of Detroit for a Race Relations Conference, August 24 - 26, and at St. Louis University after that for the American Sociological Convention. I shall return about September 1.

With all good wishes and with deepest appreciation for your past cooperation, I remain

Sincerely yours as ever,

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President

Ala
ACHR

July 7, 1961

RHA PR

Quarterly checks, ACHR and SCCHR

Please let us have quarterly check for the South Carolina Council. A check for the Alabama Council (for one full quarter, due currently) may also be issued; however, we don't want to actually mail this one out until August 1, so it may be issued at any time convenient to you before August 1. Thanks.

October 4, 1961

RHA PR

Matching funds, Alabama Council

Please issue a check in the amount of $2,400 for matching funds for the ~~A~~ Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Thanks.

(Please issue today, if possible, since Alabama Director Norman Jimerson is in town.)

Ala: Grants in Aid.

November 21, 1961
(Dictated Nov. 17)

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

The board of the Southern Regional Council at its annual meeting November 8th and 9th approved assistance funds to the Alabama Council for 1962 amounting to a possible total of $6,300 in our basic budget plus $300 in our supplemental budget. The basic budget indicates the amount of money that SRC is committed to provide. Our budget also shows a $2,000 supplemental item for state assistance. These funds will only be made available if they can be raised by SRC.

Your basic SRC assistance of $6,300 is on the same basis as the 1961 assistance. You will receive $3,900 in 4 quarterly installments. SRC will in addition match all funds raised locally by the Alabama Council above a base total of $3,000 and up to $5,400. As last year, the funds calculated for matching purposes would include any funds raised locally by the Alabama Council between December 1, 1961 and June 1, 1962. If needed, the ACHR can have an additional quarter, or until September 1, to meet its matching quota.

If the $300 provided for the Alabama Council in the supplemental assistance item becomes available, it will be made available in the form of additional matching funds.

In accord with our traditional practice, it is understood that the quarterly grants are conditional upon the state councils furnishing SRC with quarterly financial and program reports.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
cc: Father Albert Foley

Ala
G IA

December 18, 1961

RHA PR

Quarterly checks

Please issue quarterly checks to Alabama, North Carolina, and Florida Councils.

Thanks.

Tenn
Ga

[> Va
SC
Ark ?

Ala - Grant-in-aid

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Room 1224, Comer Building

Birmingham, Alabama

Second quarterly grant-in-aid check,

April 1 through June, 1962

State Council grants-in-aid

March 12, 1962 62

Paul M. Rilling

Ala State Aid

June 19, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmignham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

In our letter to you of November 21, 1961, advising you of SRC assistance to the Alabama Council for 1962, we mentioned that the Alabama Council might receive $300 from our supplemental state aid budget. We mentioned that these funds would only be available if they could be secured by SRC.

This is to inform you that SRC will meet the supplemental state aid budget for 1962 and that the Alabama Council can therefore claim $300 above the quarterly payments and matching funds provided.

You will remember, however, that the supplemental funds were approved only as additional matching funds. This means that you will raise $5,400 to claim your regular matching funds. If and when you have raised a total of $5,700, you may claim the additonal $300. In view of the late notice on the supplemental budget, the ACHR can have until October 1 if needed to match these additional funds.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Ala - ~~NS~~
Grants in aid

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

Rev. NORMAN C. JIMERSOM, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

September 14, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

As of this date, September 14, 1962, the Alabama Council has received the following cash to be added to the matching funds previously reported to you on August 15, 1962: Contributions --------- $581.00

The correct financial statement on matching funds should now read:

Memberships----------	$ 1216.50
Contributions----------	3935.86
Pledges Due During 1962 (2/3 of total pledges of $1240.00)--	826.66
TOTAL CASH AND PLEDGES TO DATE	5979.02

I believe that we can now claim all of our matching funds of $2700.00.

Sincerely,

Annette Cox

(Mrs.) Annette Cox
Secretary to Rev. Jimerson

Base 3,00
Matching 2,700

Ala - Grants in aid

Alabama Council on Human Relations $2,700.00

Room 1224 Comer Building

Birmingham 3, Alabama

Matching funds, 1962

SState Aid

September 17 62

Paul M. Rilling

Ala - Grants in aid

December 4, 1962

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

The board of the Southern Regional Council at its annual meeting November 19 and 20 approved assistance funds for the Alabama Council for 1963 amounting to a possible total of $6,600, or the same amount you received in 1962.

This assistance will be made available on the same basis as last year. You will receive $3,900 in four quarterly installments. SRC will in addition match all funds raised locally by the Alabama Council above a base total of $3,000 and up to $5,700.

As last year, the funds calculated for matching purposes would include any funds raised locally by the Alabama Council between December 1, 1962, and June 1, 1963. If needed, the ACHR can have an additional quarter, or until September 1, to meet its matching quota.

In accord with our traditional practice, it is understood that the quarterly grants are conditional upon the state councils furnishing SRC with quarterly financial and program reports.

I will be leaving SRC December 7. I'm glad that my last communication can be one advising you of money available. Let's keep in touch.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Funds

Alabama Council on Human Relations - $975.00

1220 Comer Building

Birmingham 3, Alabama

Quarterly grant-in-aid

State Assistance

April 5
/Paul/Anthony/ 63

Paul Anthony

~~St assistance~~ in aid
8

$975.00

The Alabama Council on Human Relations

Room 1224 City Federal Building

Birmingham 3, Alabama

Quarterly grant-in-aid

State assistance

STANDARD FORM 1099

July 18 63

Paul Anthony

Ala - G - In - AIP

MONEY RAISED IN THE STATE OFFICE OF THE
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
December 1, 1962-August 29, 1963

MONTH	CONTRIBUTIONS	MEMBERSHIPS	TOTAL
December, 1962	$ 245.00	$ 86.00	$ 331.00
January, 1963	305.00	125.00	430.00
February, 1963	575.00	585.00	1,160.00
March, 1963	285.00	187.00	472.00
April, 1963	205.00	149.00	354.00
May, 1963	237.00	240.00	477.00
June, 1963	1,530.56	235.00	1,765.56
July, 1963	239.49	91.00	330.49
August, 1963	150.00	90.00	240.00
	$3,772.05	$1,788.00	$5,560.05

CONTRIBUTIONS TO LOCAL COUNCILS FOR LOCAL PROGRAMS

Birmingham	$ 75.00	
Mobile	70.00	
Florence	50.00	
Huntsville	60.00	
Tuscaloosa	30.00	
	$285.00	285.00
		$5,845.05

Matching funds
$2,700

Respectfully submitted,
Norman C. Jimerson

G N A

Alabama Council on Human Relations - $2,700.00

Room 1224 City Federal Building

Birmingham 3, Alabama

Matching funds 1963

State assistance

September 24, 1963

Paul Anthony

GNA

$975.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

1224 City Federal Building

Birmingham 3, Alabama

Quarterly grant-in-aid

State Assistance

November 4 63

Paul Anthony

Ala - G in Aid

Norman Jimerson

Alabama Council on Human Relations

Room 101 Twenty-One Twenty-One Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Expenses, trip to Atlanta November 13 and 14, 1963

Contingency funds

November 22 63

Paul Anthony

Ala -
Grant-in-aid

$1,500

The Alabama Council on Human Relations

101 - 2121 Building

Birmingham 3, Alabama

First payment, quarterly grant in aid 1964

File/ State Assistance

February 6 64

Paul Anthony

Ala - Grant-in-aid

February 6, 1964

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
101 - 2121 Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Jim:

At the 1963 Annual Meeting, held January 29-30, 1964, the Southern Regional Council approved a grant-in-aid of $6,000.00 to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. This grant is to be paid quarterly as of this date, and thereafter on April 1, July 1, and October 1, 1964. The grant is subject to the conditions stated on the enclosed.

You will note this grant is not subject to the matching funds provision used during the past several years, although local fund raising must be at least at the level of that of 1963. We feel the matching-funds provision has been very successful in its purpose of stimulating local support. To continue this practice would, however, if it continued to have meaning, require that there be a substantial increase in the base point of funds to be raised. We felt this provision would at this time place an undue burden on some Councils and defeat our purpose, which is primarily to help good operations to continue and to grow.

The first quarterly payment of $1,500 is enclosed. The remaining three payments will be made on or shortly after the dates indicated above.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

cc: The Rev. Powers McLeod

PA:mm
Encs.

Ala.
Grants in aid

$3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

2809 Governors Drive

Huntsville, Alabama

Quarterly grants in aid, first two quarters, 1965

State assistance

A FOAM BOND

April 19 65

Paul Anthony

Ala.
G in a

$1,500.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

2121 Building, Room 101

Birmingham 3, Alabama

Quarterly grant-in-aid

State assistance

April 29 64

PaulAnthony

$1,500.00

The Alabama Council on Human Relations

2809 Governors Drive, S.W.

Huntsville, Alabama

Quarterly grant in aid

State Assistance

July 6 65

Paul Anthony

Ala. - grants in aid

October 1, 1965

Mr. Ed Stanfield, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governor's Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

Enclosed is our final quarterly payment of $1,500, representing our 1965 grant-in-aid commitment to ACHR. Also enclosed is $625 representing the second payment on the intern program commitment. (This latter amount is sent for our mutual convenience, although the quarter ends October 15.)

Please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed carbon of this letter and return it to us at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mm

$21,165.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

2809 Governor's Drive, S.W.

Huntsville, Alabama

$1,500.00 - Quarterly grant in aid

625.00 - Second payment, intern program

State assistance, intern program

October 1 65

Paul Anthony

Ala
Grant in aid

November 29, 1965

Mr. Edwin Stanfield
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
2809 Governors Drive, S.W.
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Ed:

We are pleased to inform you that the Council has approved grant-in-aid in the amount of $5,500 for the Alabama Council on Human Relations for 1966.

Enclosed you will find the conditions and requirements of this grant.

We are hopeful that substantial additional funds can be secured for the grants-in-aid schedule and are encouraged by the initial efforts in that direction.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mm
Enc.
cc: Mr. Nat Welch, President, ACHR

Letter about this is in Nat Welch File - Robert Valder was sent to

$2,000

Alabama Council on Human Relations

2809 Governors Drive, S.W.

Huntsville, Alabama

$1,375 Quarterly Grant-in-aid

625 Internship

State assistante and

NAIRO Internship.

January 4 66

Ed. Stanfield

$325

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

2809 Governors Drive, S.W.

Huntsville, Alabama

Approved grant for Students Human Relations meeting.

Special Contingency Fund for Student Human Relations Council

January 7 66

Edwin Stanfield

$3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

2809 Governors Drive, S.W.

Huntsville, Alabama 35805

First quarter grant, Rural Advancement Project

Rural Advancement Project

February 7, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

J. Edwin Stanfield

$2,250

Alabama Council on Human Relations

2809 Governors Drive, S.W.

Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Ford supplemental grant-in-aid

program, first quarter

February 22 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

$2,000

Alabama Council on Human Relations

2809 Governors Drive, S.W.

Huntsville, Alabama

$1,375 quarterly grant-in-aid

$ 625 internship

State assistance and

NAIRO internship.

April 6 m 66

Ed Stanfield

$3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

2809 Governors Drive, S.W.

Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Quarterly payment of Rural Advancement

Project grant.

Rural Advancement

Project.

May 11, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

$2,250

Alabama Council on Human Relatéons

2809 Governors Drive, S.W.

Huntsville, Alabama 35805

Second quarterly payment--Expanded grant program

Ford grant for state councils.

June 14, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

$4,375.00

Alabama Council on Hu7man Relations

P. O. Box 1310

Auburn, Alabama

Quarterly payment, regular grant-in-aid; quarterly payment Rural Advancement Project grant.

$1,375 regular grant in aid; $3,000 Rural Advancement Project

July 14, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

58

July 14, 1966

Mr. Jerry Roden
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Jerry:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $4,375.00--a $1,375.00 quarterly payment on our regular grant-in-aid to the Alabama Council for 1966, and a $3,000.00 quarterly payment on the Rural Advancement Project grant.

Please sign the enclosed receipt copy of this letter and return it to me at your convenience.

Our thanks to you, Bob, and Lewis for the good report. Good luck in the new headquarters.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/km

Enc.

PA ms - copy Correspondence file
ES

Macon County Community Action Program

Office of Economic Opportunity

122 WEST NORTHSIDE STREET
TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA

Telephone: 727-3187

STAFF

MRS. BEULAH C. JOHNSON
Director

July 26, 1966

Rev. J. Edwin Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Rev. Stanfield,

For Macon County children, the entire community and the Community Action Child Day Care Center, we express our heartfelt gratitude to you for the donation of two hundred and fifty dollars ($250.00) you made to help us get ready our centers.

We'd like to say we are well on our way toward getting this center equipped. We have purchased the kitchen equipment and are now working toward getting same installed.

Again thanks for your very generous consideration and above all your heartfelt care and sympathy for us.

Sincerely,

Beulah C. Johnson

BEULAH C. JOHNSON

cc: Mr. C. G. Gomillion

$2,250.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 1310

Auburn, Alabama

QQuarterly Payment, expanded granti-
in-aid

Ford aid to

state councils

August 19, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

$1,375.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 1310

Auburn, Alabama

Quarterly Payment, regular grant in aid

Regular grants-in-aid to state councils

October 5, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

Ala - Grants - in - Aid

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

October 28, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To : Ed Stanfield

From : Bob Valder

Subject: 1967 grant-in-aid

This is in reply to your September 15, 1966 memorandum in which you asked us to summarize past and future plans concerning membership and finances and also to state our request for the 1967 grant-in-aid program.

(A) Steps taken to increase membership, number of chapters, and indigenous financial support:

(1) Membership:

In November we began the 1966 Membership and Financial Campaign by mailing to each chapter a carefully conceived "Plan and Schedule for the 1966 Membership and Financial Campaign." This was followed by personal visits, correspondence and telephone conversations with all chapters. In January, 1966 each chapter held their "Challenge Meeting" which is a special kind of meeting devoted to soliciting memberships and contributions. In addition to this nearly every chapter conducted a "home visit" program whereby potential donors were visited at home for the purpose of securing their financial support.

We are currently placing display advertisements in The Southern Courier in order to acquaint more persons with ACHR.

(2) Number of chapters:

(a) In the fall of 1966 the Board of Directors of ACHR committed themselves to taking leadership in developing new chapters and asked each chapter to help establish one new chapter.

(b) Persons from Tuskegee have established contact in Bullock County for this purpose.

(c) The Mobile Chapter is exploring the possibilities in Baldwin County.

(d) The RAP Director is working on a possible chapter in Marengo County.

(e) We have a person willing to work on this in Chambers County.

(f) We have made initial contacts in Phenix City.

(g) The Associate Director has made exploratory trips to Gadsden and Decatur.

(h) A "plan for chapter development" has been sent and explained to all members.

(3) Indigenous financial support:

See (1) above.

(B) Statistics showing actual results from these efforts:
See our memorandum to you of October 6, 1966.

(C) Any definite plans we have for this fall:

(1) Again this year we will send to each chapter a "Plan and Schedule for the 1967 Membership and Financial Campaign."

(2) We will conduct a "Training Session" for the ACHR Executive Committee, chapter presidents and local campaign chairmen. This is an idea which we are trying for the first time this year. It is our hope that by bringing the above persons together in a meeting on November 19 for four hours we will more certainly follow the 1967 membership plan mentioned above. The purpose of this meeting is to carefully explain the plan and to encourage each chapter to follow it. We will also use this meeting to emphasize to everyone the importance of a successful campaign.

(3) We are planning to form a "Special Gifts Committee" composed of persons from across the state. This committee's job will be to solicit persons with the means to make more than an average contribution.

(D) Request for 1967 grant-in-aid program:

For staffing purposes	$ 8,000.00
For basic operations	5,000.00
For staff travel for chapter development	2,500.00
Subsistences for chapter development	500.00
Special projects	1,000.00
TOTAL	$17,000.00

The figures of $8,000.00 and $5,000.00 equal a total of $13,000.00 which is $1,500.00 less than this year's total grant-in-aid from the Southern Regional Council. We believe we can survive with this figure if the additional $4,000.00 is forthcoming.

As noted above we are now working and will continue to work on chapter development. Since this requires a good deal of travel and related expenses we are requesting $2,500.00 for this program. The additional $500.00 would be to help defray some of the expenses of a few volunteer persons who will devote some of their time to chapter development.

We would like to undertake a comprehensive survey, and possibly publish our findings, of all or nearly all the "special institutions" in Alabama. We have particular reference to junior colleges, mental institutions, vocational training schools, schools for the deaf, dumb and blind and other institutions of that nature. It is our understanding that many, if not most, of them are both covered by and in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We would conduct this survey with the intention of using the information for Title VI complaints to the appropriate Federal agencies. And it might be necessary to supply other interested agencies with this information for the purpose of a law suit.

Ala - Grants - in - Aid

$3,000.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 1310

Auburn, Alabama

Quarterly payment on R.A.P. grant

1

Rural Advance-

ment Project

November 3, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

Ala Grants

$ 300.00

East Alabama Council on Human Relations

265 Cary Drive

Auburn, Alabama 36830

Tutorial program grant for Negro Students ~~f~~ in formerly all-white schools.

$318 -- fees and travel

November 11, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

Paul Anthony

F

November 11, 1966

Mrs. William D. Spears, President
East Alabama Council on Human Relations
265 Cary Drive
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Nancy:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $300.00 in response to your request for funds to enable the East Alabama Council on Human Relations to carry on a tutorial program for the students who integrated schools in Lee County. The grant is made for the purpose as set forth in the proposal.

Please sign the enclosed copy of this letter and return it to me, as required by our auditors.

At the end of the school year you should send us a brief report on the project, together with a statement accounting for the funds expended.

We are glad to be able to help.

Cordially,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

cc: Robert S. Valder

318 Fees & Travel

Tutorial Program For Negro Students Now in Formerly White Schools in Lee County

Requested From: Southern Regional Council, $300 to Furnish Gas Money To The Students Doing the Tutoring

ATTENTION: J. Edwin Stanfield

Lee County school system was integrated for the first time this fall 1966 on a freedom of choice plan. Only three children chose to transfer schools. These three children are from one family. All three are girls, one in the sixth, eighth and eleventh grades. The family is supported by Welfare only and their choice has been a continuous hardship for them in more ways than one. To begin with, there was a complete bus boycott by all but one white family when they chose to ride the bus to school. The parents, white parents, in the school called a special meeting to see if there was any possible way to get these children out of the school. The children themselves were abused, cussed, spit upon by the white children in the school. They were refused service in the cafeteria by one of the white workers so for weeks they did not eat in the cafeteria due to lack of funds and the treatment they had received. East Alabama Council has secured funds for their lunches so they can now hold their heads up and not receive free lunches as this seemed to cause the other children to say more ugly things.

All three children are far behind their grade level. The two in the sixth and eighth grade are only reading on the third grade level. Our program provided tutors for the students so that they can remain in the school and be able to learn. They are being tutored two nights a week and this will be raised to three if we can possibly secure funds. The tutoring is being done by one former student at Auburn who is now teaching in public school along with members of the Auburn Student Group. This student group is called the Civil Rights Forum. In order to get on campus last year and be an official university organization that could use facilities of the university for their meetings, their charter was restricted to educational functions which limits them to only bringing speakers on the campus. This means all of the other work that they must do has to be done through the East Alabama Chapter of which they are also members. Would request this under the student group projects if possible, but if not possible, under any category of which we could be funded, such as school desegregation. These students must travel from Auburn to Sanford community which is fifty two miles round trip in order to carry on the tutoring in the home of the children.

155 Cox St.
Auburn 36830

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$2,250.00

Alabama Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 1310

Auburn, Alabama

QQuarterly payment, expanded grant-in-aid.

Ford aid to state councils

November 15, 66

J. Edwin Stanfield

The Alabama Council on Human Relations

AN ORGANIZATION—

"To Attain Through Research and Action, Equal Opportunities for all People of Alabama."

one's self and one's family and mother country was passed from one generation to the next. *They all knew where they had come from and how they got to where they were and where they were going.*

Cultural Development Committee
Muhammad's Mosque #15
Portia Jamilah Siddiq

A child receiving a name is a sign of union with his ancestors and those who still wander upon the dry earth and waters of the sea.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

18 Oct 54

Mr. Robert Hughes, Exec Dir.
Ala. Div. S.R.C.
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Bob,

Just a note to inform you of the staff meeting to be held for all state executive directors here in the central offices on November 9-10-11. The 10th we will all sit in on the SRC Board meeting, thus, we hope, getting a fuller picture of the current thinking of the parent organization.

Please send us the office address and the phone number so we may communicate with you thru channels other than gen'l delivery.

My best regards to your good wife and you and I may get to see you before the meeting for I have to run out to Mississippi this week.

Best of everything,

FBR

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
Program Development

October 28, 1954

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Welcome to the company of staff members working with state organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. I am looking forward to seeing you when you come for the staff and Board meeting November 9, 10, and 11.

This letter is to inquire whether Alabama is far enough along in plans for completing its staff organization through one of the ways suggested in Memorandum #6, copy enclosed? We very much hope to have a staff meeting on the 9th as representative as can be of the people, both white and Negro, who will be carrying professional responsibility with state organizations, whether on a full or part-time basis. If your personnel committee has developed a list of potential "associates" or "consultants," we would very much hope that you would be able to know the person whom the committee will most probably ask to be associated with you in serving the state organizations professionaly. Would you let me know whether you have in mind such a person, and whether arrangements will be sufficiently along for us to be able to invite him or her to the staff meeting on the 9th?

There are many challenging matters to consider these days! It will be good to see you and the other folks from Louisiana.

Cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director for
Program Planning

GTH/eab
Encl.
cc: Mr. Dan C. Whitsett

Same ltr to: Mr. Wells
Mr. Brimm
Mrs. Spearman
Mr. Smith (C. Emerson)

See individual state files

November 4, 1954

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Secretary
The Alabama Division of the Southern
Regional Council
Room 206
Moore Building, Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Dr. Charles Johnson of Fisk University wrote me, in a letter that came in today, that a Southwide Conference is being held at Fisk University on things to do about school integration. Ought to be a good meeting.

The Conference has enough money to pay people's maintenance while at Nashville, but can't pay travel. Comes off November 26th and 27th at Fisk.

I gave Dr. Johnson your name, and you will probably be invited. I am going.

Looks to me like a good thing to learn at.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

MARIONA. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 6, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Room 206, Moore Building Court Street Montgomery, Alabama Phone 2-0450

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

Thank you for your welcome into the "family" of the Southern Regional Council. Every contact that I have had with staff members has always been pleasant, and I am looking forward to the time when we will be working even closer.

In reference to your inquiry about the degree of organization which we have achieved so far, I can state that only I as director have been appointed by our executive board. The board decided that it could not afford to raise the additional finances which an associate director would require, therefore it chose to follow the second suggested alternative of utilizing a group of 12 Negro consultants. However, due to the brevity of time involved, I have been able to acquire commitments for attendance on the 9th as well as the 10th from consultants located in only two geographical areas - Montgomery and Tuskeegee. At present I anticipate the attendance of either Dr. H Councill Trenholm or Mr. J. T. Brooks of Alabama State College for Negroes and Mr. Louis Jones of the Rural Life Council of Tuskeegee Institute.

I am looking forward to meeting you and to getting to know the other members of the SRC staff.

Cordially yours,

Bob Hughes

Robert E. Hughes

REH:dsh

J. E. Prince

An Editorial from the "BIRMINGHAM NEWS"
October 13, 1954

A School Plan of Good Will and Cooperation

RESPECT FOR BOTH LAW AND MUTUAL CONVICTIONS IS ESSENTIAL IN MEETING SUPREME COURT DECISION

The grave problems raised by the Supreme Court's decision outlawing compulsory school segregation are pressing hard upon the minds and consciences of the people of the South. But specific application of the decision will not be entirely clear until decrees are issued, and consequently in most areas a period of reflection and preparation fortunately now is available. Able students of the law pertinently point out that legal doctrine to be effective must be translated into actual legal practice. We are now seeking methods of legal practice in conformity with the newly pronounced legal doctrine. It is an inexpressibly complex and momentous task.

This interval of preparation does not mean that procrastination can be afforded. The situation even now is urgent though in most communities the climax is not yet at hand.

These grave problems will not be solved by bitter conflict among our people. They cannot be escaped by evasion.

* * *

This newspaper, having expressed its deep regret that this decision has come at this time, nevertheless believes that constructive and creative efforts must be made to meet it. After long and earnest reflection, "The News" has come to the conclusion -- which perhaps should have been obvious at once -- that a constructive approach requires recognition of two fundamental principles:

1. Respect for the law and its interpretation by the Supreme Court.
2. Respect for sincere, widespread community convictions.

If either of these principles is ignored or grossly subordinated, there can be no creative dealing with the situation. Instead there would be bitterness and conflict and a peril whose limits could not be defined.

* * *

The Supreme Court is our final interpreter of the law. Our system of government -- of justice and freedom -- is based on law and respect for law. Our way of life could not survive on any other basis.

But it is also true that law gains its support and effectiveness from the willing acceptance of the people. Law which deeply violates the conviction of the people of a nation -- or a region -- or a community -- cannot be adequately effective in that nation, region, or community. Any program of action under the Supreme Court decrees, to be constructive and successful, must take account of the deep conviction of the people involved.

* * *

WHAT KIND OF PROGRAM?

What kind of a program would be in accord with those two basic principles and avoid the great danger of disruption and conflict which would be involved in other courses of action?

First of all, it is to be recognized, we believe, that compulsory public school segregation is invalidated in principle by the decision. This newspaper recognizes force and reality in the contention that such segregation does involve a kind of discrimination in itself. But it also believes that contentions and conditions underlying the superceded "separate but equal" decision of more than a half century ago and bearing on state rights and the public interest and peace also are still to be recognized as involving considerations of great pertinence and weight. Who can fail to recognize that sentiment among white people in communities of the South generally, and even in some communities in other regions, is strongly against compulsory integration of white and Negro students in the public school.

* * *

What kind of a plan of action could constructively meet these realities?

It is the belief of this newspaper that a fundamental requisite of any such plan would require that our people of good will of BOTH RACES UNITE COMMUNITY BY COMMUNITY IN STRIVING TO ACHIEVE AS MUCH COMMON GROUND OF AGREEMENT as possible. They should STRONGLY RESIST being drawn into almost EXCLUSIVE CONCENTRATION ON DIFFERENCES. Different conditions and sentiments will make for varying problems in different communities. No one program will be equally effective everywhere.

There IS much common ground upon which we believe a great majority of ALL our Southern people CAN stand. That is true here in Birmingham and the rest of Alabama.

This great majority in both races do not want to defy law.

They do not want to foment new and terrible bitterness and conflict here at home in a world facing the menace of overwhelming destruction through strife.

The great majority of our white people want to respect law and to avoid compulsory action in defiance of law.

The great majority of our Negro citizens, we believe, do not want to try to force integration of students where it is against a prevailing white sentiment and would involve grave possibilities of trouble.

* * *

MUCH SOLID COMMON GROUND

These and other feelings, including longstanding realities of genuine friendship and good will between the two races, provide much solid, common ground upon which to work. Action on that basis, looking to POSITIVE, HOPEFUL results, rather than NEGATIVE OBSTRUCTION AND ANTAGONISM, could, we believe, evoke a powerful COOPERATIVE support among white and colored people.

It could develop the incomparable power of true good will.

It could conceivably lead to marked creative progress instead of mounting stress and hate and peril.

* * *

What kind of a definite program of action, then, could be evolved from such a cooperative spirit and attitude?

In seeking specific answer to that crucial question, let the court's decision be carefully considered. One thing seems to us especially important. The decision clearly invalidates COMPULSORY SEGREGATION. But to this paper it seems evident that it does NOT COMPEL INTEGRATION, especially if there is individual desire or community conviction to the contrary. This distinction points, we believe, to an opportunity for action in conformity with both the court's ruling against compulsory segregation and community sentiment against compulsory integration. In our anxiety over DIFFERENCES and DANGERS, have we OVERLOOKED a really HOPEFUL OPPORTUNITY?

* * *

HELPFUL VOLUNTARY ACTION

Specifically, "The Birmingham News" proposes the most careful examination and consideration of a plan under which it would be possible, we believe, both to give respect, and to conform, to the court's ruling against compulsory segregation, and to avoid by VOLUNTARY ACTION an integration of students profoundly against intense community sentiment among white people.

In seeking such a program, school districts might be evolved in each of which -- where both white and colored children resided -- there would be a school that now is white and one that now is colored. The problem of such districting should not be insurmountable.

Residential patterns in Birmingham as in many other cities are such as to be helpful in meeting school districting problems under the court's decision. It will be natural and logical for great numbers of colored school children to want to continue attending the schools they have been attending. But under the idea here suggested for study, there would be a genuine opportunity for colored children to choose and attend schools regardless of race. Anything less than such an opportunity would not, in a public school system, meet the court's decision.

This paper is unable to believe that a satisfactory solution can be found in abolishing the public school system, although a change in state law in due time giving the Legislature authority in that respect might be a wise precaution affording a means of dealing with an extreme situation of danger or conflict, should such a situation ever develop.

However, under a system which respected the court's ruling against compulsory segregation, which provided an opportunity for a free choice of schools, and which had the strong, active support of most citizens of good will of both races, we would have an excellent chance, we believe, to minimize problems and perils and to keep our schools in operation by VOLUNTARY MEANS along the lines of student body composition which now prevail.

* * *

A BASIS FOR COOPERATION

We repeat: We believe that, with compulsory legal segregation done away with by the court, with general recognition of that reality and with continued efforts to make progress in providing genuinely equal educational opportunities for both white and colored students, Negro students and parents in Birmingham and the rest of Alabama would not seek to FORCE UNWELCOME INTEGRATION except in isolated instances. Any instances of difficulty and controversy surely could better be met through the development of a bread measure of good will and cooperation than under conditions emphasizing differences and divisions.

There would be hard problems, challenges and difficulties under such a positive, hopeful and bold program. So would there be under any approach. But this program would have the stalwart foundation of a genuine effort to respect both the law and the deep convictions of community sentiment.

It should have the strength and vitality of a sincere endeavor carried forward in good will.

At the least such an endeavor should, this paper believes, hold more promise than continued efforts to exert compulsions from any quarter.

Such an approach of cooperation and good will to the very serious problems confronting us seems, in spirit, and in reason, to deserve thorough and prayerful exploration and consideration.

November 18, 1954

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building - Rm. 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

The enclosed editorial from "The Birmingham News" has come to our attention. We are sending a copy of it on to you in case you did not note it at the time it appeared.

We are interested and believe you will be in the statement that "a plan of action" requires "that our people of both races unite, community by community, in striving to achieve as much common ground of agreement as possible." Of course, the proposal that communities be encouraged to continue segregation through "volunteer action" is not in our opinion either practical or desirable. But the effort to get local and statewide consideration of the matter by people of the two races, communicating as equals, and, even in disagreement seeking as much common ground as possible is one of our principal aims. Out of this process can come the enlargement of understanding that will enable communities and states to accept the idea of integregation and to begin to move towards it.

We all hope that you have recovered from your virus. With all good wishes to you and Mrs. Hughes.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf
cc: Rev. Whitsett
Mr. J.T. Brooks

blind copy: CHP

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

November 22, 1954

Robert E. Hughes
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Ala.

Will arrive in Montgomery via EAL Flight 575 9:20 a.m. Tues.

Fred

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 20, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Room 206, Moore Building Court Street Montgomery, Alabama Phone 2-0450

Mr. Fred Routh
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred,

It was a pleasure to visit the Atlanta office last week and to meet some of the people that I have been corresponding with for some time now. I was strongly impressed with the caliber of the personnel and hope that there will be many opportunities for future associations.

The Executive Board of the Alabama Division is meeting on Tuesday, November 23, at 2:00 p.m. in the Campus Center Building at Alabama State College here in Montgomery. I hope that you can arrange to be with us at this time as a resource person.

From Atlanta I went to Gadsden where my doctor (my father) put me to bed for six days, so I am just now beginning to get back into the stream of work and hence you are only now being notified of this meeting.

I'll be looking forward to seeing you.

Cordially yours,

Bob

Robert E. Hughes

REH:dsh

December 2, 1954

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

This is by way of a postscript to Mrs. Tilly's letter about the miscarriage of justice in Tuscaloosa. We are hoping that you will find it possible to get the precise facts of what occurred through discreet inquiry among trustworthy local people.

If you should do that, we would, of course, like to have an account of the incident for our information. If it is at all feasible, I should like to run a carefully done version in New South, edited as much as need be to protect the local sources.

We feel that this is important since about the only way such injustices can be combatted is by publicity and wide dissemination of the facts.

Please let me know what the prospects are both for a private report to us, and for a publishable account of the incident.

I am sorry we had so little time to talk when you were here but I am looking forward to better opportunities in the future. Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

December 7, 1954

Mr. Robt. E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

From Birmingham Examiner 11/29/54 See A.H.

Thanks for your letter and the interesting clipping. We have been hearing, of course, about the spread of the "Citizens Councils" and will be eager to learn whatever you find out about them. That is a movement about which all of us will have to be concerned in the most serious way.

I am glad that you are making a trip to Tuscaloosa to ferret out the details of that incident. It is quite within New South's policy to run occasional accounts of local indicents that illustrate some significant lapse or achievement of democracy. Enclosed as examples are two past issues. So if the Tuscaloosa matter turns out to be suitable, we would like to consider it.

We are eager to get clippings and other materials not only for possible treatment in New South, but also for our information files which are used in a variety of ways. Anything you send us will be much appreciated.

I hear you have a new secretary. Cheers!

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf
encl.2 - New South, 7/49, The Sprinter Story
" " , 8/49, Mobile Violence

Dec. 3, 1954
Rm. 206, Moore Bldg.
Court St.
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your "postscript" which I have just received. As I told Mrs. Filly in a letter yesterday, I am planning a trip to Tuscaloosa the early part of next week. In the light of your interest I shall make as thorough an inquiry as possible and will be writing you on this matter late next week.

I did not realize it was the editorial policy of the New South to pin-point local incidents however great a travesty of justice they might represent. It might be of mutual benefit if you could give me a statement on your policy on local incidents. I also notice that you include significant speeches, surveys, editorials from over the South and nation. Is it your desire that I channel to you such items as this which might possibly be appropriate for the New South? Perhaps this was made clear at

the meeting of state directors, much of which I was unable to attend.

Enclosed you will find a clipping announcing the formation of White Citizens Councils in the heart of the West Ala. Black Belt which you or Fred might be interested in. This is nothing new, only the spread of the boycott idea from Mississippi. Even the reactionary Montgomery Advertiser has editorialized against it in strong terms.

The first of next week I am going to spend several days in these areas seeking to determine from what quarters they are receiving support, future intentions and the nature of white opposition. Marengo County (69% Negro) will be organized this coming Monday evening.

Forgive me for subjecting you to two pages of my handwriting, but Monday we hire our secretary so this will be the last of this. I'll be looking foreward to hearing from you on the questions I've posed.

Cordially yours,

BJ Hughes

December 17, 1954

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob Hughes:

Thank you for the copy of the December 8th memorandum to the members of the Alabama Executive Committee which you enclosed in your letter to Fred Routh. (Would you send us, as soon as is convenient, three more copies and mail one to Dr. C.H. Parrish, 926 South Sixth Street, Louisville, Kentucky.)

The plan for developing centers of work in the several geographic areas of Alabama seems very sound. It recognizes the need for the flexibility which is essential if meaningful processes to establish communication at the local level are to result from our program. I wonder, however, whether you and your Executive Board have considered other possibilities for getting program underway other than the annual membership meeting.

We have observed that annual meetings for the transaction of state business is frequently not really democratic. (In one state only seventeen persons out of a membership of three hundred attended the annual meeting.) If the state membership is large and most of the members attend, the group is too cumbersome to be organized and to transact business in a one- or two-day session. Such a meeting is easy to manipulate by a relatively small group, and may be dominated by members who happen to live near the city where the meeting is held. For another and more cogent reason there may be serious doubt of the wisdom of holding a statewide membership meeting. The inevitable fanfare of publicity in connection with such a meeting would keep many people away and would considerably reduce the effectiveness of our expansion program. It is alright to say that people of principle should stand up and be counted, but in actuality there are thousands of people throughout the South who agree with our objectives yet would hesitate to be publicly identified with such an interracial activity. We need these people. Our selling point is the kind of people we attract. The policy of playing down program at the state level will undoubtedly effect the availibility of outstanding persons who are needed for the state board of directors and who may be helpful in various ways at local levels.

Perhaps as your Executive Board considers the criteria for the development of state program (December 13th memoranda) other ways to stimulate communication

in the various parts of the state can be developed.

You may be interested in the plan of work which is being tried by the Kentucky Council. It also recognizes the differences in the several parts of the state. It is described briefly on the attached sheet. Perhaps the most important contribution which the SRC and its affiliated state organizations can hope to make in the present period is to develop understanding of our method for dealing with problems faced in communities throughout the South. This method is described in the concept of responsible groups of citizens of the two races, considering together on the basis of complete equality what is advisable and what is possible in terms of specific questions which affect all the people. We believe that the effectiveness of this method will be recognized in places where it is really tried and that financial support for the group which makes it possible will come.

We hope that the December 13th memorandum will be helpful as your Executive Board plans in greater detail the ways in which the program of the Alabama Council can be carried out. Please feel free to call upon the members of the central staff for help in any planning meeting which may be arranged.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf
encl.

In brief, the Kentucky plan is this:

(1) The Kentucky Council is considering employing an administrative secretary to work in the office which will be located in Louisville. This person will carry executive responsibility for the program and policy determinations made by the Executive Committee of the Kentucky Council and its Board of Directors.

(2) The Board has established several standing functional committees as follows: Finance and Membership, Community Services, Educational Program, and Publications. (Each member of the Board of thirty-six has accepted membership for work on one of these committees.)

(3) The Community Services Committee is developing and directing the work of a group of community consultants who will serve as representatives of the Kentucky Council and whose first responsibility will be to establish contacts in various communities accessible to them, as a basis for determining the kind of services needed which the Kentucky Council may be able to provide in the immediate period ahead when the implementation of the Supreme Court decision is under consideration by community groups.

The consultants (five white and five Negro) have been selected from several parts of the state. They are all highly competent professional people with the ability to recognize and work with community leadership of the various groups which are influential in making up a community's mind. They plan to recommend no single "program" to communities nor are they expected to "sell" a point of view. The need for establishing and/or strengthening communication at the local level is the first objective. They plan to have the Negro consultants concentrate upon contacts with white citizens and the white consultants concentrate upon the contacts with Negroes. Since they, the consultants, serve as representatives of the SRC and the Kentucky Council, the importance of their being oriented before beginning the work in the SRC purposes, objectives and ways of work was stressed. The meeting last weekend was called for this purpose and a second meeting of the consultants will be scheduled after a month or six weeks of their work. Since the consultants are engaged with other professional work, it is thought that they will be able to give a varying amount of time to this responsibility, probably averaging two or three days per month. They will be paid on a per diem basis and reimbursed for their travel expense by the Kentucky Council.

This plan of work increases the number of professionally equipped persons who will be actively participating in the program development of the state organization; it makes possible more first-hand knowledge of various parts of the state and it would seem to offer a greater chance for meeting the needs of communities where they now are. As your committee plans for the professional assistance which will be needed in carrying on the work of the Alabama Division, you may want to have more information about the Kentucky plan. Dr. Parrish (the consultant for state organizations of the SRC) is, in his capacity as a member of the Board of the Kentucky Council, one of the chairmen of the Kentucky Services Committee.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 16, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Enclosed you will find a copy of our first memorandum to the members of our Executive Committee. It gives a fairly accurate statement of our membership and financial status which you will recognize as being in pretty serious condition. I was not aware of these facts until this week when the second group of Alabama Division membership cards was received from the Atlanta office.

Also enclosed you will find a copy of a newspaper article written by a local reporter when I was out of the city in October. This has been the only publicity that we have received to date, our having delayed our press releases because of the considerable publicity which the "White Citizens Councils" have received lately. We do not feel it wise to announce the opening of our work at this time for fear that the public will look upon it as an opposition group.

Would you mind passing the copy of the article on to Harold Fleming after you have finished reading it.

The cold winds may blow, and the oaks may be bare, but above it all the scenery is raptured with beauty. When are you coming over?

Yers,

Bob

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb
Dictated by Mr. Hughes/signed in his absence

December 17, 1954

Dr. C.H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C.H.:

The Alabama group is having an Executive meeting on the ~~8~~6th of January. The purpose of this meeting, according to a memo we received today from Bob Hughes, is to plan for the annual meeting and the general SRC program in the state of Alabama.

After having talked it over with Grace, we both feel it important that you and I attend this meeting because it would seem that here will be hammered out much of the program for the coming year and we feel that the concept of an annual meeting as a business meeting is unwise. I believe there is a need to sit down with Bob Hughes and talk through our more recent thinking regarding state organizations.

The meeting takes place Thursday, January 6, 1955, at 2:00 P.M., in the state offices which are located in the Moore Building, Room 206, Court Street, Montgomery, Alabama.

Trust that this finds you well and enjoying the beginning of the holiday season. Merry Christmas - Happy Chanukah.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

FBR/rnf
Dictated by Mr. Routh/signed in his absence

December 22, 1954

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

I keep a private pocket book memorandum of all you guys. I have as yet no telephone number for you. If you have one, will you send it to me.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

December 22, 1954

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

It seems to me that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is outside the controversy that proceeds in Methodist circles, unless or until somebody in that controversy attacks the Southern Regional Council or the Alabama Council on Human Relations. In which case you'd better telephone over here.

For your information, I have been told that one of the participants in the Birmingham meeting of dissident Methodists was the Reverend Blake Craft. His story intertwines with ours, as follows:

He puts out, more or less monthly, a paper called One Methodist Voice. Printed at Clayton, Georgia, which is where he had a charge in the Methodist Church. His issue of April, 1953 gave almost all its space to an attack on the Southern Regional Council. He attempted to confuse us with various Communistic movements, said many past or present members of our Board of Directors had "records" with the House UnAmerican Activities Committee of affiliation with this or that pink or red cause; that I, Mitchell, had been related to two such outfits, and so on and so on -- the sort of guff anyone can put together by skillful and dishonest use of the files of right-wing groups. His complaint was that the Board of Trustees having authority over this Wesley Memorial Building had no business permitting continued occupancy of this space by a tainted outfit.

It is no part of my business to enter into his motives, but by all accounts they involve personal vindictiveness against certain Methodist officials, some of them on the Board of Trustees for the Wesley Memorial Building.

Craft's intemperateness in his paper continued, though directed against others, as far as I recall. When the Conference came in June of 1953 no church was found willing to take Mr. Craft, and a resolution critical of Mr. Craft and his paper was passed.

In later 1953 and early 1954 I did not see issues of his paper, but I am told that he occasionally cracked at Bishop Moore , and generally was embittered and reckless with the truth. Charges were preferred against him at the 1954 North Georgia Conference, for attacking his brethren, and on other counts, and he was tried by a Church Court, found guilty, and suspended until 1955. He has appealed to the appropriate Ecclesiastical Court -- the Jurisdictional Court?

I send a copy of some of the newspaper comments at the time of the 1953 business, and a copy of the release of the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church at the time of the 1954 trial.

I emphasize that the Southern Regional Council is not involved in the contentions within the Methodist Church, and I send these facts only because in your position a knowledge of them will be desirable.

I think the whole country is returning to sanity and accuracy from the lapse into McCarthyism, and I believe the perverters of truth will soon have had their best days. Anyway, we continue in that hope!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 20, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED 12/21/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Last week in Birmingham, there was an unofficial gathering of over 250 laymen and Methodist ministers from five Southern states called for the purpose of discussing a program of opposition to the supposed attempt to abolish the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church. They adopted the following program:

1. The church opposition to statements by Methodist publications conferences, councils, officials or others" to change the present segregation laws.
2. Formation of a practical plan to inform Methodists of movements to integrate the races in the church.
3. Taking necessary steps to request all delegates to various conferences to oppose integration.
4. Requesting church leaders to present "frank" statements to church members to inform them how integration would affect the church.
5. Formation of committees in "cities, towns, and counties" to iron out problems caused by leaders of racial groups.

Apparently this unofficial group is weakened by the lack of respectable clerical leadership and the absence of sympathy from the bishop, and the Alabama Christian Advocate.

No organized opposition has developed to this movement and no highly placed Methodist leaders have denounced it as yet. However, the greatest damage it has done so far is that it pretends to speak for the Methodist Church, while the general public has no reason to believe otherwise.

This movement has a great deal of Birmingham money behind it, and could easily do us a great deal of harm if it does not become discredited as an extreme movement.

Several of us Methodist ministers met recently with Dan Whitsett in Sylacauga, to discuss what reaction, if any, should be given to the movement. We are now in the process of discussing the problem with a larger number of members over the North Alabama and Alabama Conferences.

They have asked me to consult you for any recommendations which might guide us. in the future, on this matter. Specifically, they wanted to know whether or not you felt it would be advisable for the Alabama Division (recently renamed The Alabama Council on Human Relations) to enter in the picture, and if so, in what way?

We will be looking forward to any ideas that you might have for us along this line.

With warmest Christmas Greetings,

Sincerely,

Bob Hughes

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 24, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dr. George Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia (3)

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your very informative letter on the past history of the relationship of the Southern Regional Council to the Methodist Church. I was vaguely familiar with the proceedings of the North Georgia Conderence with the Reverend Blake Craft, and it is helpful to know the details of the whole incident.

I feel as you do that the Southern Regional Council is outside of any controversy with the Methodist Church, unless or until attacked by any segment of the church. However, when the President of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and a member of the Executive Committee go so far as to suggest action from this office, I felt it necessary to contact you for support. In the event of any attack on me or on the Alabama Council on Human Relations by spokesmen for this new movement I will contact the Atlanta office immediately.

For that private pocketbook memorandum that you keep on us "guys" here is my office telephone number, 2-0450. My home number is 3-6645.

Best wishes to you and your family for the new year.

Cordially yours,

Bob Hughes

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb

RECEIVED
12/27/54
Southern Regional Council

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
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FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 4, 1955

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Arriving Jan. 6, 9:19 a.m., EAL flight 575.

Fred Routh

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 31, 1954

Mr. Fred Routh
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Mr. Hughes has asked that I notify you of the Executive Committee meeting which will be held at the state office in Montgomery on Thursday, January 6, 1955, at 2:00p.m.

He would like for you to attend if you have no previous engagements and can arrange to be out of the office.

If you find that you will be able to be here please review the annual program for the Alabama Council on Human Relations that we will send to the Atlanta office within a few days, and bring in a criticism of the proposed program.

Mr. Hughes received the letter from Dr. Mitchell about which he called you. The letter arrived after Mr. Hughes left the office for Christmas and I placed it in my desk, therefore he was not aware of its arrival. My apologies to all.

Respectfully yours,

Roberta Butler

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

7 Jan 55

Harold –

Bob Hughes didn't get an Ashmore report while here in Atlanta, 'cause he thot he had one – he doesn't so could you please see that one is sent.

FBR.

Sent out – 1/14/55
mf

MEMO . . . From the Desk of
. . . . Fred B. Routh . . .

January 10, 1955

Dear Bob:

Have talked over your request for us to call Harry Ashmore or Hodding Carter to speak to the Alabama Council with George Mitchell who feels your third choice of Bishop Marmion to be far better -- because of his Alabama background. His address is:

Rt. Rev. Wm. H. Marmion
1000 First Street S.W. - Box 2068
Roanoke 9, Va.

Suggest you, Dan or T. Thrasher get in touch with him.

Have sent you underseparate cover the five copies of By-Laws which you requested.

Regards to Dottie.

Your Friend,

Fred

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January [illegible], 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Mr. Fred Routh
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Will you please send me five copies of the proposed constitution and bylaws for the state organizations?

You will be hearing from me soon.

Cordially yours,

Bob

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb

January 10, 1955

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Bob:

It was certainly nice to be out with you and the Executive Committee of the Alabama Council. I think we accomplished some considerable things. I believe that the group shows growth over the last time we met -- growth in terms of process in thinking through some of the problems that face them -- but I understand your frustration in their inability or unwillingness to really examine some of the critical questions which should be raised.

I have discussed with Mrs. Hamilton and Dr. Parrish (he was in town a few days) our meeting and they feel much as do we. Dr. Parrish informs me that he has information that there are now five county "White Citizens Committees." The counties involved are Dallas, Hale, Morengo, Perry and Macon. This information comes from Emory Jackson of the Birmingham World.

It was pleasant to meet Miss Roberta Butler and please assure her that the only reason I was upset was because she was upset and there was nothing I could do to help. I enjoyed very much the opportunity of being with you and Dottie in the evening for supper and still feel that waffles are one of my favorite meals. I trust that Dottie will remain well throughout the rest of her period of waiting and that the child will be healthy and happy. Certainly with parents such as you two there is every reason to expect such. I would remind you that the CAP and Army Reserve are time consuming and that you have rather special responsibilities to your family at this time which must be weighed in conjunction with a desire to assist these groups even as a chaplain.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/rnf

January 17, 1955

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Mr. Hughes:

I will be in Alabama during the week of February 7th. I will end the week by speaking at Tuskegee on race relations Sunday, February 13th.

As it is now I will have to have at least a day in Birmingham and should go to Gadsden, and of course will come to Montgomery. Are there other places that you feel it would be well for me to meet with a group? If so, please help make out the itinerary. Of course, I'm coming for the purpose of meeting the church women groups. However, they are told to bring in anyone they wish and in Mississippi there were men in every discussion group.

Awaiting your reply.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
In Charge of
Women's Work

MET/rnf

January 18, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

I am trying to get together a full set of the forms testifying that all personnel are loyal Americans.

We have one on file for you signed by Mr. Whitsett, but have as yet not received one for your secretary. Please, at your earliest convenience, ask Mr. Whitsett to sign one for her and send it back to us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

January 18, 1955

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

A reduced version of the speech-making at the Herald-Tribune Forum last Fall was reprinted at the request of the U. S. Information Agency for use abroad.

A few copies have been made available to the Southern Regional Council and I send one on to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

January 26, 1955

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Room 206
Moore Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Here's a good reprint the American Jewish Committee did of the Alan Paton articles. AJC is at 386 Fourth Avenue, N.Y. 16. The head of the Department of Community Affairs (which put it out) is Mrs. Dorothy Nathan. More copies from her at 10¢ each, or $8.50 a hundred. I guess they pay the carriage, but it wasn't mentioned.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

January 28, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

You overbudget me on time for my morning speech. I have never been known to take up an hour, even with questions. Push me down to an outside total of forty minutes, including some report on what is happening in the rest of the States. I will within the forty minutes point up the situations which we are facing today, and analyze some of the problems.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
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IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 27, 1955

JAN 28 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Your response to my telephone call of yesterday afforded us a great measure of relief, if you know what I mean. I hesitated to call upon you to speak on the occasion of our annual meeting because I realize that your time must be extremely limited.

The broad topic of the meeting will be "HUMAN RELATIONS IN ALABAMA-TODAY AND TOMORROW". There will be two sessions, morning and afternoon, each highlighted by a featured speaker. You as the morning speaker are asked to point up the situation which we are facing today, perhaps analyzing some of the problems. Dr. Dent, speaking in the afternoon, has agreed to deal with how we should face the situation tomorrow, and going on to suggest steps toward a solution to our problems.

Of course, we do not expect you or Dr. Dent to be intimately acquainted with the situation in Alabama I am sure that the dynamics of human relations which we are experiencing and will experience are common to the region. If it would help you in anyway, however, I could send you a summary on recent developments and prospects.

Dr. Dent has stated that he will improvise his statements somewhat in respect to the statements of the first speaker. In view of this, I might suggest that there would be more continuity between the two addresses if you could relate to Dr. Dent some of the specific problems which you will deal.

We are allowing approximately an hour for the morning address which will include a question and answer period if you are agreeable. The meeting

starts at 10:00 a.m. February 8, at Alabama State College for Negroes, and your address will begin at approximately 10:30 a.m. Dr. Dent's address will be in the afternoon session.

The Executive Committee has specified that you be given approximately fifteen minutes for a report on the Southern Regional Council, and the work of the other Divisions. If you are willing to accept this additional responsibility we would, of course, be very pleased, But if you feel that one hour is sufficient for one person to endure on a speakers rostum, perhaps Fred could pinch hit.

Thank you again for your acceptance, and please call upon me if I can be of any assistance.

Sincerely,

Bob Hughes

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb

February 4, 1955

Mr. Robert Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building - Room 206
S. Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your letter and order for materials on consignment. By now the materials -- with a few exceptions not in stock -- will be on their way to you. Keep them until you feel there is little further possibility of their sale; then return the unsold copies to us and they will be credited to your consignment account. There is no rigid time limit.

Please don't feel under any compulsion to make a special effort on the Tuscaloosa affair. I will cheerfully accept your judgment of the importance or non-importance of the incident. It certainly seems to have attracted no continuing attention by the press.

I hope your meeting of February 8th will be a large success. The New South reader that I may have mentioned to you earlier will be off the press today, and if possible we will send you a modest supply on consignment in time for you to display them at the meeting.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Rm. 206, Moore Bldg.
S. Court St.
Montgomery, Ala.
Jan. 27, 1955

Dear Harold,

I haven't forgotten your request for information on case of the negro girl who was raped in Tuscaloosa. I looked into it personally and felt that there was not as great a travesty of justice as it had been presented to us. Nevertheless, I'll see if I can't get off a report on it to you next week. I've really been snowed under for a month or more with program development.

Our annual meeting will be held here in Montgomery on Tues. Feb. 8th and herewith is attached a list of publications with quantities I'd like to have on consignment. We are hoping to have at least 300 persons in attendance so if you feel that the quantity I list is too great or small feel free to alter it. However, some of the material, especially the excelent "Answers

for action, I'd like to keep for distribution and sale at district meetings which will be held during the following month.

If the sale of some of the material should extend over several weeks or even longer is the order still considered on consignment, or do we pay for all materials in the near future?

Some of the quantities requested may be larger than the quantity you have in stock. In this case please send what you can and consider this an order for the balance to be delivered at a later date.

I apologize for this handwritten letter but my secretary snowed under.

Best wishes for your work.

Sincerely,

Bob Hughes

FEB 2 1955

Sat. A.M.

Dear Fred,

Sorry I haven't written you earlier, but thanx for coming over to our Exec. Com. meeting last month & for making with all the usual good advice.

Enclosed is a copy of a list of our Exec. Com. which we sent over once before. The officers are noted & we have no Bd. of Directors as yet.

We're looking forward to hearing Dr. Mitchell very much & hope you can be with us Tues. div bringing up constitutional changes at the Exec. Com. meeting around 4:00 which will regretably be after Dr. M. has left.

— Bob

Alabama

MEMORANDUM FOR FILES

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Tuesday, February 8,
1955

George Mitchell attended and spoke at the Annual 1955 meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Held in what is apparently a disused school building near the campus of Alabama State College. Attendance at its morning fullest probably in excess of 240, of which half anyway were State College students who crocodiled in and occasionally out! But the attendance of adult persons actively interested in the program was at least three times what I had ever seen before, and for the first time in my experience they had a large and representative body of white persons. I would suppose that the adult audience was composed forty per cent of white persons. I don't know how many new members they took in, but at lunch break I counted slips indicating the actual dues payments by twenty-five persons. Some were renewals. The girl at the literature table reported an active sale. Just before I left Hughes and Mr. Gomillion drew me aside and said that they were proposing to switch the Alabama Division's by-laws to the Kentucky form with non-voting members. Would we approve? Not then and there, I said. But we would not object to the principle, and they might send in their altered by-laws for review. I think they intended in the afternoon business meeting to take long steps toward this purpose.

Word reached me also that Whitsett,is about to retire as chairman, on the ground that he has done his stint. The mantle was hovering above the neck of Reverend Duncan Hunter, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Alexander city.

Hughes made a speechlet. And with no errors, no hits, no runs.

I talked so much myself that I heard very little conversation from others and have very little to report. I believe I do recall Hughes' saying that at his time of speaking they had 113 paid members, but that they are going to get many more -- that they are hoping to.

Observe that they were to break up in the afternoon and get acquainted as to district groups.

February 9, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Room 206
Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I thought your meeting went very well indeed. I have been to many Alabama meetings and I never saw anything like so many people, nor so representative an audience. I am mighty sorry I could not stay for the afternoon session when I would have learned more of what is going on in the State.

Expenses are as follows: Left home speedometer read 35470.

Rearrived at home, speedometer read 35857.

I claim the difference of 387 miles at 4¢ a mile, which is all I and my bitsy puddle jumper require. I had additional expense of 45¢ for a telephone call from Newnan to Atlanta to warn my next audience that I would be late. So if the Alabama Division can shell out ~~$14.93~~ 15.93 I would be grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 21, 1955

$15.93 total
Amount of exp.
FEB 23 1955 expenses
(ck)

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are greatly indebted to you for coming over for our annual meeting on the 8th, and appreciate the good message you brought during our morning session.

We were all very happy about the attendance and spread of representation at our state meeting. Since that time we have been concerned with our various district meetings, three of which have been held this past week. The other four districts will have met by March 15.

Enclosed you will find a check for $16 which should cover the expenses stated in your letter of February 9. Thanks again for helping us out with the annual meeting.

Sincerely,

Bob Hughes

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb

P. S. I called Duncan Hunter and asked him to look into the Wadley situation last week. Saturday I received a letter from him stating that the president was out of town until this week and he would be unable to dig up the information we need until his return. I will forward it on to you as soon as I have it in my hands.

February 23, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Dir.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building - Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is an invoice of the literature sent to you on consignment. We do not send individual receipts for New South subscriptions sent in by state organizations. Our assumption is that the state organizations give receipts; we simply add the names to the mailing list or give appropriate credit in the case of renewals.

Our supply of The South of the Future is temporarily exhausted. However, we are in the process of printing more and will send the 500 requested as soon as they are available.

I have heard good reports on your meeting.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . RHA . . . . . .

Mr. Fleming:

Would you say in your letter to Robert Hughes that we cannot supply them with 500 of "Toward the South of the Future" because our supply is nearly exhausted. Katherine says that we will have some more printed some time soon.

Also, that we do not send individual receipts for NEW SOUTH subscriptions sent in from State Organizations. Our understanding is that they give receipts and we add them to our list if they are new, or give them credit on their cards for payment, if renewals. Only ones receipted by us are the ones sent directly to this office.

2/16/55

Pls return to Hef for answer

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
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GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 15, 1955

FEB 16 195

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks so much for fixing up that rush order on literature for our annual meeting. It arrived just in the nick of time, and we were able to sell a fairly good number of them.

Due to the fact that some of it arrived on the morning of the meeting, we were to rushed to count it before putting it out on the tables for sale. Could you send us an invoice or list of prices of literature which has been sent to date so that we can determine how many we have sold up to the present, that is, only if these figures are readily available. Also I was wondering if the Atlanta office acknowledges the receipt of new subscriptions or renewals to the New South in any way other than just beginning the subscription.

RA (1) (2)

Lastly we have run out of Southern Regional Council descriptive folder, The South of the Future, and would appreciate a new supply of something around 500.

Thanks again for your help in getting the literature for us. We had a very successful annual meeting.

Sincerely,

Robert Hughes

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb
Dictated by Mr. Hughes/ signed in his absence.

February 24, 1955

check to K S

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for the check for $16.00, which I turned over to the Southern Regional Council which had floated me.

I will look on the next monthly report to see how many brand new members you have got. And I heard from Mrs. Tilly that you got some more at Tuskegee a few days after.

Will look for Wadley news a little later.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

February 25, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I am just back from a day at one of the schools currently going in the South; the Southern Police Institute at Louisville, Kentucky. This is an excellent agency, cordially disposed toward us and established with the advice of many of our friends. It trains police officials, mainly Southern, in normal police skills with good dashes of human relations put in. The head of it is Colonel David A. McCandless, and they are quartered at the University of Louisville. Mr. C. H. Parrish of our staff is in close touch with the Southern Police Institute.

I am the more encouraged from the conversations with the various police officials to write you and ask that you make it your business and the business of your agency to build a cordial working relationship with senior police officials in the principal cities in your state.

The notion of a working relationship between police officials and human relations agencies is in some spots novel. One of the things we all agreed on was that it is wise for friendships to be made before trouble comes.

Also, we agreed that whoever, being private citizen or police official, first perceives a problem coming up has the duty to be in touch with the other.

I think in most states we are the ones who will first perceive opportunities and needs coming ahead, so the bee is on us to go and see some Chiefs in our areas and simply tell them who and what we are and swap telephone numbers and make friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

report attached

February 28, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
The Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Very much appreciation for the careful and completely satisfying report on the matter of Southern Union College. I telephoned up the facts and they were received with welcome.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

February 24, 1955

FEB 25 1955

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is my report on the situation you asked me to look into at Southern Union College.

These facts were gathered at the earliest possible time, and I trust that they will be useful to you in forming an appraisal of the situation.

Cordially yours,

Bob Hughes

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb
Enclosure

REPORT ON SOUTHERN UNION COLLEGE

Sources of Information

Professor C. S. Bennet
Instructor in Sociology,
Philosophy, and Bible
Southern Union College
Wadley, Alabama

Mr. David Eddy
Treasurer
Southern Union College
Wadley, Alabama

Reverend Duncan Hunter
Pastor: 1st Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Background

Southern Union College is located in Randolph County on the edge of the town of Wadley (population-535), and twelve miles from Roanoke, the county seat (population-5,053). This rural county is 26% Negro and situated on the northern edge of the Black Belt, and has strong cultural ties with the past.

Southern Union college is related to the Congregational Christian Church and normally supported by this denomination's American Missionary Society to the tune of $4,500 per year compared with $9,500 per year for the denomination's near-by Talladega College(Negro).

Approximately seventy-five white students are presently enrolled. The school is not listed as acredited either by the Alabama State Department of Education or the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of Southern States.

Sequence of Events

In January, 1954, the Board of Trustees ruled that no qualified person is to be denied entrance into the college for reason of race. The administration did not specifically solicit Negroes to apply.

During the late Summer, school officials talked informally with a group of about six Randolph County Negro school teachers, all high school graduates, on the subject of enrolling and continuing their educations at Southern Union College that Fall. The County School Superintendent, Mr. J. S. Lovvorn, in Roanoke threatened these teachers with the loss of their jobs if they enrolled at the school. I do not know if they had been employed for three consecutive years and therefore protected against arbitrary dismissal by the tenure system. None of the teachers applied for entrance at the beginning of the Fall semester.

On February 9, 1955, the Birmingham Post Herald carried a United Press dispatch that Southern Union College at Wadley, Alabama, had admitted Negro students last Fall and that the enrollment had come up some 40% because of this. (I was unable to secure a copy of this edition to varify these statements). Dr. Clyde Flannery, President of the college, telephoned the Post Herald and they told him that the dispatch came to them from the Atlanta Constitution. None of the school officials seem to know what provoked this news article or the source of its information. The facts are that no Negro students have sought to enroll nor have been accepted, and the enrollment has not enjoyed any rapid increase.

REPORT ON SOUTHERN UNION COLLEGE
(cont'd)

The faculty and administration, I understand, are unanimously in favor of the action of the Board of Trustees. The student body is overwhelmingly agreeable with only "three or four malcontents". I understand that no overt criticism has been forecoming from the alumni or parents of students as yet.

The town of Wadley itself, has a strong economic dependence on the college, and both enjoy harmonious relations with one another, at least on the surface. It is thought that the opposition is centered in Roanoke where there is something of an unofficial White Citizens Council organized there. The opposition is not voiced to the college itself, but is undercover and apparently takes the form of the spreading of rumors about the liberal policy of the college. When pressed for what reaction the college would take to the opposition, Professor Bennet did not mention any appeal to any "northern sources" nor any other specific plans.

Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

March 10, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

We are sending you under separate cover a copy of Dr. Sander's book, "Make Good Communities Better."

It seems to us an excellent guide to sound processes of community organization. The Kentucky Community Services Committee and consultants, who are looking into the state of communities in Kentucky in terms of the public school situation, are using Dr. Sander's book for their own guidance.

We believe you will be interested.

Cordially yours,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf

March 10, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I notice that your February finance report has not yet come in.

I know you are busy, but it will have to be a rule that the report does come in in the first two or three days of each new month.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

11 1955

THE GLORIOUS FULFILLMENT OF HOPE

A three point sermon
by
Reverend and Mrs. Robert E. Hughes

TEXT: "That which was foretold has come to pass."
-Hezakiah 12:7

I Blessed are they who shall be called Dorothy Forrest Hughes: for they shall bring great happiness into the dwelling place of their parents.

II Blessed are they which weigh seven pounds and four ounces at birth: for surely the Lord will increase them in size and stature.

III Blessed are they who are born in the second month of the year, especially on the twenty-eighth day: for they shall rule over the household of 1101 Magnolia Curve in the city of Montgomery, Alabama

March 15, 1955

Mr. Robert Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We have been working out a plan to bring together the staff in the states early in June.

Partly for the felt need of further conference on all our joint problems, and partly to give an opportunity for the new state staff to get acquainted with W. W. Alexander. Dr. Will started in 1919 the work which preceeded the Southern Regional Council. He farms now in retirement near Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

Harry Jones has arranged for accomodation for us at a point about four miles from Chapel Hill. Time proposed: from before supper Wednesday, June 1st, till the afternoon of Friday, June 3rd. Details later on travel, but in general by train one would go to Raleigh or by plane to Raleigh-Durham.

Travel into and from and maintenance at the spot(quite reasonable) for state staff would be at the expense of state organisations.

We would warmly expect you, and any one regularly-serving professional staff of the other race. Please begin the process of clearing the travel with your Executive Committee, and let us know if you can come.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

March 16, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Please take some time over this one.

I send you with the letter a pamphlet called, How to Organize a Freedom Agenda Project. We will send you separately the six related study pamphlets

One of our good friends is working hard to get the Freedom Agenda Project going. I would like us to help. That really means finding some people in this or that community who would be a discussion group and go through the program.

Admitted that it is not exactly our business. Admitted that we have got our hands full. Still, it is good freedom-loving material, and all of us have some friends who would know ways of putting this sound underpinning beneath local freedom.

I carefully do not urge that helping with this be in any way an official project of your group. But I do ask that you try privately to find ways to spread the project -- if you agree.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

File

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council)

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama
March 18, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Alabama

Dear Fred:

I have not heard anything from you in a coons age, and I trust that no news is good news.

First I would like to inform you in the Atlanta office that I will make every effort to attend the June meeting of the State Executives at Chapel Hill. I think that such meetings can be of great value as us pioneers struggle through the virgin forrest.

It seems that our secretary, Miss Butler, is going to see a preacher about a man come June, and will be leaving sometime around the middle of next month, therefore, we are looking around for a new secretary. Sometime ago a Mrs. Maund called the office telling of her interest in this work and stated that she had had a good bit of secretarial experience. Since then I have met Mr. and Mrs. Maund and know them to be very fine persons. However, a question mark arises on one point. While living in New Orleans she stated that she was employed as a secretary in Jim Dombroski's office and both are now active members of the Southern Conference. Ofcourse, if we should decide to hire her there would be an explicit understanding that she would agree to work within our philosophy, and with our methods, and possibly some understanding about personal activities with the Southern Conference. However, there might be still some question as to the advisability of hiring a person with this background, so what is the thinking of the Atlanta office on the subject.

Shortly we will be selecting our District Consultants and there is a question I would like to get your ideas on. As I invision it the District Consultants work will be in charge of giving guidance to and interpreting the Alabama Council program to district, county, and local Alabama Council units and members. It would also seem appropriate that he should be needed for cultivation and extension work among nonmembers. As far as our two Black Belt districts go this latter phase of the Consultant's responsibility offers a problem if the Consultant is a Negro.

I believe that I fully understand the reason for specifying that Consultants be Negroes, to offer a counterpart for myself when working in his area. But it appears that in any given District the Consultant will do far more interpreting in program etc., than myself. In other words, I don't see how it will ever be a 50-50 proposition, and would be more along the line of 75-25 approach. Such an approach in the Black Belt districts , I feel certain, will alleviate many potential Alabama Council members and will stultify our program there. Therefore I am seeking your approval of exploring the possibilities of acquiring the services of two white consultants for the two Black

Belt districts...while the rest of the consultants would be Negro.

Let me know right away whether or not the Negro Consultant idea of the Atlanta office is held hard and fast or subject to some exceptions.

We have an Executive Committee meeting scheduled for Tuesday, March 29, at 10:00 a.m. here at the state office. We would be happy for you to be with us on that occasion. Hope you can make it.

Cordially yours,

REH

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb

ladies.

April 12, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We have a good many useful links with the National Council of Negro Women.

In your state we have the following members of its National Committee and Board: Mrs. Henry Clay Bryant, Birmingham; and Mrs. Belzora S. Ward, Birmingham.

When opportunity offers, I think you will find it helpful to be in touch with these ladies.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

An original of this letter to:
Thomas Sutherland
Nat Griswold
Guy Wells
Margaret Dagen
Milton Vigo
Mrs. Lyells
Harry Jones
Mrs. Spearman
Mr. Finner

April 11, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The man at the head of the Department of the Rural Church at Drew Seminary in Madison, New Jersey, is a devoted and informed person, of Southern background. He has put out three excellent pamphlets, copies of which I am sending to you.

We can play a part in strengthening the rural churches, and in firming their purposes. I hope that reading the booklets will strike sparks in your mind, and give you hints as to helpful things to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover:
These My Brethren
Go Down, Moses
A New Gospel of the Soil

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama
April 8, 1955

Ofc - 2-0450
Home - 3-6645

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed you will find the first draft of a proposed pamphlet for the Alabama Council which I would like for you to look over and make constructive criticism of it.

You will find that we had to make a definite decision as to whether this pamphlet will be primarily designed for promotion of the Alabama Council as an organization or promotion of the program ideas of the Alabama Council. We chose the latter. We are anticipating a printing of 5,000 copies.

Enclosed is a slip of paper showing the color and grade of the paper which will be pale green. Ink will be dark brown. I had thought that we might use one additional color to be used for the cuts and/or paragraph headings. This color might possibly be red which I do not feel would be very attractive, but I know of no other color that would be appropriate. What are your ideas along this line?

Enclosed also are drawings from which the cuts will be made. They are giving us the cuts at cost and I think they will help to impress and simplify our three methods. You will find that the content of the material on the typed sheets has a key which is matched in the dummy copy. The rear page of the pamphlet will belleft blank in order that we may use it for an address for mailing purposes.

It is regretable that the Board of Directors has not as yet drawn up a full statement of purpose which would provide a context for the briefer stated purpose of the Alabama Council. After consultation with Dr. H. C. Trenholm, one of our local Board members, I have taken the liberty of drawing up the statement of purpose as it is found in the material. This along with the content of the proposed pamphlet will be sent to the members of our Executive Committee for final approval and/or alterations.

Due to the fact that this folder is in great need for promotional purposes at the present time and long over due, I would appreciate very much your getting it back to me via Air Mail at your earliest convenience.

Thanks in advance for the assistance you are rendering to us in this matter.

Cordially yours,

Bob Hughes

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/rmb
Dictated by Mr. Hughes/signed in his absence.

May 2, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your good letter and please excuse the delay in answering it. Let me take your questions one by one and seek to give some answer to them. This is after consultation with Kathrine Stoney, Grace Hamilton and George Mitchell.

1. The four committees -- Membership, Research, Finance and Community Relations -- which you propose for the state organization would doubtlessly work well with the district organizations. You might even simplify the structure by combining "Membership and Finance," and "Community Relations and Research." The decision should be up to your Executive Committee.

2. In financing the work of district committees, I personally prefer a small kickback of a certain percentage of contributions received in the district for such work. We believe here that most of the secretarial wonk should be handled through the central office in Montgomery.

3. Regarding membership dues: it is the proper business of the Executive Committee or the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council to determine membership dues. Our only requirement is that you send $2.00 per member to us for New South. We agree with you that other souces of income must be found beyond membership dues within each state if the organizations are to be placed on a sound financial basis.

4. The actual money set aside for an associate director is $wenty five hundred dollars ($2500) and not thirty five hundred, although one of our memoes probably indicated the latter. It is up to the Executive Committee or the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council to decide how to spend -- and in what proportion for various aspects of the work -- the operating budget ($3200 from SRC plus $1800 or more raised within the state). Budgets which we have sent you haferbeen suggestive in nature only. The few things upon which we insist are that we handle from this office salary checks for all personnel, and the amounts set aside for this purpose are $5000 for the Executive Director, $2500 toward the salary of the Associate Director and $2500 for secretarial help.

5. Regarding the attack on SNC and GSM by Mr. Carter of the American States Rights Association, Harold Fleming has already been in communication with you and in matters of this sort continue to confer with him.

I reckon this answers to some extent the questions which you raised in your letter. If there is anything further with which we can help you, please don't hesitate to ask. We are always pleased to find our state executive directors seeking advice on questions which rise in the states.

Best regards to Dottie and you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organizations

FBR:rnf

Suggested reply to Robert Hughes letter - questions re additional funds

We believe that the Executive Committee of the Ala. Div. should determine the delails of its own operating budget. ($3200 assistanca from SRC plus 1800 rai sed within the state.

In other words, it would be up to the Exec. Com. of the Ala. Council to decide how to assist the area committees, if their organization is decided upon as the best way of work. Similarly it is entirely the business of the Ala. Council to determine the amount of its membership dues

The only requirement of the SRC is that each member receive New South whic costs $2.00 per year.

It is not possible to allocate any part of the money reserved for salaries Exec. 5000, Asso. 2500. office secretary 2500) but the $3200 assisstance towards the operating expenses should be used to the best wisdom of the Ex Com.

We agree with you that dependence upon membership dues for the financial support of the organization is not sound. It wo ld therefore seem advisabbe for the Ex. and Finace Committees to think about other ways of securing support for operating costs.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Room 206, Moore Building
South Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I would like to get your ideas on what standing committees to recommend to each district organization of the Alabama Council. I have been thinking of four, i.e., membership, research (survey), finance, and community relations (program).

As you remember, the Board of Directors is in the process of dividing itself into these four groups on the state level, and I hope that each group will write a simple guide or manual to be mimeographed for each of the district and local committees. Do you have any material there which you feel would be of particular assistance to them in preparing this material?

The next matter will probably have to be answered in consultation with Miss Stoney and possibly Dr. Mitchell. Each district needs a certain amount of money for administrative purposes which are largely of a promotional nature. Mimeographing and postage for notification of district and local meetings over a period of time are not negligible. Several alternatives for meeting such expenses appear.

1. a kick-back out of membership fees of a certain percentage of the $5.00 or $8.00
2. a kick-back of a certain percentage of contributions received in the district
3. letting each districk solicite small contributions to cover local work
4. providing each district with a certain amount of money from the $3500 originally allotted for consultants services.

On a recent visit to Birmingham, I was told that the American States Rights Association, through their radio commentator, Mr. Ace Carter, has attacked the Southern Regional Council as a Communist front organization. Mr. Carter has attacked Dr. Mitchell, accusing him of being a fellow-traveler, along with many of the Council members. I understand the Alabama Council has also been attacked on one or more occasions. I do not have any specific information as to exact charges or dates.

We have received mounting complaints against the $5.00 membership fee making it prohibitive for large numbers of people in several areas to join the organization. My inquiry is whether or not the Executive Committee has the authority to change this rate, or does it have to be cleared with the Atlanta office? Four dollars

Suggest attached

is almost as bad as $5.00, so it looks like it will be either $3.00 or $3.50 if the rate is changed. As a matter of principle, the idea of financial support of an organization largely through membership is subject to question.

Please let me have your advice on these matters as soon as it is convenient with you.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

May 19, 1955

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Ex. Sec.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Robert:

Thanks for the note of confirmation about coming to the camp. We all look forward to seeing you there. If you come by way of Atlanta stop off and say hellow at the office. I'll probably have already gone on to the camp a day early for I will want to make arrangements for the rest of the folks coming.

Yes, this is a camp meeting. You will get a chance to "testify" -- in fact, you may well get the third degree!

Are you going to bring Dottie and the baby. I hope that Jim Pierce will find it possible to get away from the University because I think he can contribute to the meeting and also learn more about SRC in general and our new efforts in particular.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant for State
Organization

BBR:rnf

File

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama
May 24, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks for your note of May 19, which I have just received upon return to the office.

No, I will not be bringing Dottie and the baby as they are already in North Carolina at her home near Charlotte. I'll probably bring them back with me on my return though. Mr. Pierce will come up with me in my car and we will spend the night in route some where, probably in Atlanta.

Between now and the meeting, it could easily be that the Supreme Court could ~~answer~~ announce its ~~incumberation~~ implementation decree. What response, if any, do you think should be made on the part of the state organization. We are planning to telegraph our senators, liberal congressmen, and perphaps some state officials, suggesting, that when they are interviewed for their response to the decree, that they ~~will~~ suggest something along the line of co-operative planning and work by the leaders of both races.

Cordially yours,

Bob

Robert E. Hughes

REH/bmcd

May 25, 1955

Mr. Robert Hughes
Room 206
Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Fred showed me your letter about travel to Chapel Hill, etc.

I suggest that you and Mr. Pierce spend the night of the way up at the Mitchells' house. You would be very welcome and there is plenty of room -- two entirely empty rooms.

We live three or four miles from the thick of town on your way out toward Chapel Hill. 906 Lullwater Road, N. E., telephone DEarborn 5961. Map enclosed. Alice, my wife, will be expecting the two of you. Come early or late. If late, you may find nobody up and around, but there will be lights on and Alice will appear.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

cc: Mrs. Mitchell

P. S. I will be coming in that night by plane from the West Coast -- about 10:00 p.m. But disregard me -- I'll show!

June 8, 1955

Mr. Robert Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The following are the members of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council residing in your state.

Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Rev. Duncan Hunter*
Alexander City

Dr. H. C. Trenholm*
Alabama State College
Montgomery

Rev. A. S. Turnipseed
251 Island Court
Mobile

Rev. Dan C. Whitsett
First Methodist Church
Sylacauga

We are dependent upon you and all connected with your state movement to bring these people into full knowledge and participation in the general program.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

*Ex-officio

June 9, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

At the recent staff conference at Camp New Hope various of you asked to be enlightened on the matter of Fellows of the Southern Regional Council. The appointment of Fellows began in 1945 and 1946, and has been little altered since then. It fulfilled a purpose of Dr. Howard W. Odum's to give recognition to and stimulate interest from young persons likely to increase in stature in this field. Under the by-laws these were to be honorary Fellows not exceeding 100 in number "to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership." The Fellows were to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents and special representatives. They were to receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Council might direct. The terms were to be for two years unless otherwise provided by the Council, and were renewable or withdrawable at the discretion of the Council. This language continues as Article III in our present by-laws.

Some few of the Fellows have faithfully all these years sent us clippings and an occasional letter telling about special circumstances in their areas. But for most of them the honor, if remembered, has been empty.

Technically, as the fellowships were not specifically renewed they may be thought of as having lapsed. But it should be said that they have not been specifically withdrawn.

The matter of having Fellows is a program from which we have not as yet contrived to extract anything like a full benefit.

One practical result has been that Fellows were exempt from dues and except as a matter of courtesy I think few of the Fellows have in practice paid dues to SRC. I know no reason why they should not be billed for dues in the appropriate state organizations.

Inactivity in this office does not signify failure to appreciate the possibilities of a live program with Fellows.

The Fellows still carried on our rolls and believed when last the list was compiled to be resident in your state are: Dr. Charles G. Gomillion, Box 31, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 20, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I speared around some on the long distance phone about your CIO problems. If people were less than cordial, I am sure I could interest my good friend, Charlie Gilman, who is Southeastern Regional Officer for the CIO with an office in Atlanta.

The best advice I can get for you is to renew your contact with the CIO through Cecil Robertson who has an office in the Steelworkers office at first and 19th Streets and whose telephone number, from memory, is believed to be 48534.

In spearing around, various high personages said that they would be friendly and they hoped all the local people in Alabama would be.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

1st in M.'
Carl Petersen
4-8-54

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama
June 17, 1955

JUN 20 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In a recent conversation with Mr. Gene Wells, director of the Alabama State Industrial Relations Department and immediate past secretary of the C.I.O. Council of Alabama, I was advised to contact you and request that you as a former C.I.O. official and/ or Mr. John Ransey there in Atlanta, write Mr. Carl Mc Peak, director of the Councils Department of C.I.O. in Washington in reference to the following problem.

Mr. Maurice Allan, who is coordinator of the C.I.O's Councils for Alabama of 28½ South 20th Street, Birmingham, Alabama is rather legalistic and generally confines his work and interest to strictly C.I.O. activities. He is a key figure in this state as far as labor is concerned and I am hoping to get him and the heads of the A. F. of L. and U.M.W. along with assorted assistants together in Birmingham for a luncheon meeting to explain our program. Being forwarned by Mr. Wells that Mr. Allan would give a negative response to such a meeting, I am requesting that you communicate with Mr. Mc Peak, requesting that he in turn communicate with Allan encouraging his participation and assistance to what the Alabama Council On Human Relations is trying to do in Alabama.

Obviously, a line from Mc Peak to the coordinators in each of the states in the southern region would be an assist to our work in each of the states.

Further work in this line will have to awaite Mc Peak's communication with Allan as he apparently is the big stumbling block. If at all possible, I would like to know when the communication is established so that we can build upon it immediately.

Thank you very much for the help that I hope to receive in this matter.

Cordially yours,

Bob

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/bmcd
cc: Dr. Allan Koplin
127 Lorend Lane
Birmingham, Alabama

June 27, 1955.

Mr

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Dr. Mitchell being out of town for the week, I hasten to acknowledge with thanks the transcript of Ace Carter's broadcast. It is as vile as one might expect. I am having it copied here in the office and will return the original to you. When Dr. Mitchell gets back, we will check it with suitable SRC people and let you know what action, if any, seems called for.

Congratulations on the first issue of your newsletter-very informative and stimulating. I am very much interested in your handwritten note about Wadley's developments. I had a visit from the Negro congregational ministers who got involved over there, and Fred learned whehn he tried to reach you that you were already onto the problem. It sounds as though you made some real headway.

All best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc

June 28, 1955.

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

You may recall that both at Camp New Hope and in Fred Routh's last newsletter the matter of interracial ministerial associations was mentioned. We have had the suggestion from several quarters that a listing of such associations in the South would be helpful.

I would greatly appreciate it if you would write me what you know, or can readily find out, about fully inclusive ministerial associations in your state. Not all instances are clear-cut, of course; some groups will be partly integrated, some will be planning it, others will have committees that meet jointly, and so on. We would be as interested in these qualifications as in the open-and-shut cases.

I don't want to add an undue burden to your already heavy schedule, and I make this request on the assumption that you will not find it necessary to do more than check with one or two strategically situated persons in your state -- for example, the president or executive director of the state council of churches. If it turns out to be a big, time-consuming project, let me know and we will consider other channels of information.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director.

HCF/vc

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama
June 29, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter which arrived today. Enclosed you will find several articles which appeared in the Alabama Press on the Wadley situation which mentioned the Alabama Council. We would appreciate your returning these after copying them at your convenience. This is in response to a memorandum request for copies of all press articles which mention the Alabama Council or the SRC.

Cordially yours,

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/bmcd

P.S. Enclosed are two copies of our proposed by-laws. These are only proposed because they have been approved only by the Executive Committee and will not become official until approved by our state Board of Directors, meeting on July 12th or 13th, by our general membership at its annual meeting next February, and by the SRC. It might be pointed out that the by-laws are patterned largely upon these suggested by the SRC with provision made for a Board of Directors and District organizations. I hope that we might have the benefit of criticism, both positive and negative from the SRC before our Board of Directors meeting, with specific statements with the negative criticism as to whether or not approval by the Atlanta office hinges upon these features. In other words, which additional features are mandatory and which ones merely suggestions.

P.P.S. The Dallas story (Selma) Ministerial Association in Alabama is biracial. This is the only one that I know of.

July 14, 1955

Rev. Robert Hughes
Moore Building Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery Alabama

Dear Bob:

Could you send us about a dozen copies of your fine promotion leaflet? We need them for reports, samples, etc...

Enjoyed being with you last week--particularly the home cooking at your parents' home. I hope C.H. helps you and your board unscramble some of the policies confusions.

Regards.

HCF

HCF/vc

Dear Mr. Mitchell, (if absent, attention Ted Routh) July 15, 1955

Have just received a batch of publicity on the workshops up at Highlander Folk School this summer. It looks like a good series + they offer scholarships.

But I wanted to make sure that Highlander's nose is clean + that by promoting the workshops at various meetings whether or not we would establish ourselves as sanctioning a questionable group. Would like to have your advice by Thurs evening before our local city group meets. Thanks. - Bev Hughes

July 25, 1955.

Mr. Bob Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for the promptness in sending in the list of board of directors, in Alabama, and the answers to the questions. Your promptness makes far more easy the administration of 12 state organizations.

Best personal regards to you and Dotty and the wee one.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/vc

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama
July 28, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Received your note requesting a copy of the Advertiser's recent editoral, treating the action of the Georgia School Board. A quick check here at the office does not reveal the where abouts of clippings and it still may be out at the house. When, and if I can locate it, Ill send it right on.

Sincerely yours,

Bob

Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH/omcd

FILE COPY

August 8, 1955.

Mr. Bob Hughes
Moore Building Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Have received your letter of August 6 and am glad to hear that you have a new secretary, whose name I assume is only coincidently Hughes (you can chuckle here). From what you say of her, she seems a highly competent person and if you and your committee are convinced that she is on the right side of this particular question, then certainly we give our approval to her being hired.

I think it was wise that you let Miss McDonald go and I agree with you and your board that she is not due any bonus from the $2,500. As you say, her work was mediocre and she was far from competent, and a bonus beyond normal salary is a reward for good service.

Anne Queen's address in Atlanta is: Box 366, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia, but she leaves here August 19. Her home address is: 335 McIver Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.

The check that Katherine Stoney sent you for $1,000 with C.H. back in July is the balance of Alabama funds ~~-under~~ other than salary- for the fiscal year ending October 1st. All of it and whatever else you raise will cover rent, travel, communications and other state expenses.

Would you check by the office of the Montgomery Advertiser and see if you could dig up a copy of the editorial written about the situation of teachers and the Georgia Board of Education. We understand it is a good one and would like a copy of it.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/ts

Ruth see pg 2 et al FBR

Rm. 206, Moore Bldg.
S. Court St.
Montgomery, Ala.
Aug. 6, 1955

Dear Fred,

We now have a new secretary in the office. She is Mrs. Alice Ward Hughes, 32 yrs. old, high school ed. at Cuba, Ala. in Pickens County, 10 yrs. experience as sec. with two firms - Troy Laundry's office in Meridian, Miss. & Gen. Chemical Branch of Allied Chem. Co. in B'ham. Her last position was sec. to mgr. ($240 mon.) and office manager of the clerical personnel upon quitting when husband (sales rep. for Ala. for a rubber concern) was transferred to Montgomery permanently.

She's open-minded on the race prob., had not done too deep thinking on it, but is concerned & chose us in preference to a second offer with same salary because it ~~holds~~ should be very interesting work. She feels need for this approach to the race problem. In other words she seems to have a good foundation upon

which to build. She child 1 yr. old cared for here at home by her mother while she works. Has never been affiliated with any questionable organizations or the Party.

She started last ~~Monday~~, Aug. 1 at $200/month. Social Security no. - 427-32-1902. Address - 72 W. Cloverlane, Montgomery, Ala. Phone - 2-1415. Presently employed subject to your final approval. Bd. of Dir. gave me power to fire Miss McDonald (2 wks. notice was given) & she terminated on Fri., July 29, 1955. I forward her last check & as far as I am concerned is not due the bonus derived from the $2,500 yr. pay scale. But make you determine that. Her work was mediocre & after notice was given it became poorer. Our files are a mess! The Bd. didn't concern itself with the bonus, but feel certain that they, like myself would feel, that we aren't under any obligation to grant it.

Ted, how's about checking on the mailing address of Miss Ann McQueen of the Greensboro, N.C. office of the A.F.S.C. temporarily in Atlanta. I want to write her about some material I want her to feed her friend Ralph Hammond, Folsom's press sec. here.

Also I need to know what the check for just over $1,000 was for that Kade sent ~~just~~ over by C.H. on July 12. Her accompanying letter wasn't very clear & I didn't get a chance to inquire fully with C.H.

Our program report for June & July will be over next week after I get out some memorandums & newsletters.

Cheers,

BV

P.S. —

Tell Harold I haven't been able to locate the Advertiser editorial attacking the Sa. Bd. of Ed.'s action. I marked it to be clipped but Miss McDonald must have missed it.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

12 Aug 55

Mr. Robert Hughes, Exec Dir.
Ala. Council on Human Relations
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob,

On the matter of SRC Board members from Alabama: DR. Gomillion is a regular member elected by SRC's Bd. DR. Trenholm is Ex-Officio Representative, elected by your Executive Committee, April 1954, according to our information.

Returned herewith is the editorial from the Advertiser; many thanks we are having it mimeographed and sent out in Georgia to key people.

Best personal regards to your family,

cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/s

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama
August 10, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

This letter deals with two matters. First, you will find enclosed a copy of the editorial which appeared in the Montgomery Advertised critizing the action of the Georgia State Board of Education. This is the only copy that we have and I would appreciate your returning it after copying it.

Secondly, I would like to clear up a bit of confusion that appears to center around Alabama's representation on the S.R.C. Board of Directors. According to a list of board members which President Duncan Hunter received he, Mr. Goumillion and Dr. Trenholm are all listed as state representatives from Alabama. As I understand we are limited to two representatives and I am at a loss to find reference in the minutes of the annual meeting of the Executive Committee to the election or any persons to the S.R.C. Board. President Hunter's name is O.K., the second elected representative is the position in question. I know nothing of Dr. Trenholm's appointment to the board. Mr. Goumillion states that to the best of his memory he received a letter from Chairman Dan Whitsett of the Alabama division informing him of his appointment as Alabama's second representative. He served in the capacity at the state board meeting last November as the only representative from Alabama. The Executive Committee has taken it for granted since I have been with the Alabama Council that Mr. Goumillion is the second representative from Alabama. I would like any information which you might have as to when Dr. Trenholm and Mr. Goumillion were elected or appointed to the Board of Directors and also if there is any limits set upon the terms of office of such representatives under the S.R.C. By-Laws.

With this information perhaps we can make an official appointment to the board as this has been lacking in the past.

Sincerely,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
State Director

REH:awh
encl:1

P.S.- A private school bill was favorably reported out of a House committee last Fri. Am presently trying to get details on it - no local papers gave it a play.

Stat

FILE COPY

September 28, 1955

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter with the information on the Mobile Baptist Association and the several questions which you raised.

I have shown Fred your letter and he has been searching for Mr. Madison's address. He will send it along, if he can find it.

There are precious few examples of human relation councils in the South. About a year ago, an Emory sociologist named Earl Brewer did a study and lengthy report for us on the question of official human relation agencies in this country. I believe at one time you were given a section of this report, mineographed. I am sending you a full copy of his manuscript with the request that you return it reasonably soon. Most of the material in print on the subject deals with non-southern experience. But if you need specific information of that sort, we will be glad to look further for you.

By all means go ahead with the article on the Marengo County meeting. I don't think the time element is important for this kind of article, and I would like to run something from you as soon as possible.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama
September 26, 1955

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

As yet I have not been able to put any time on the Citizen's Council article that you requested. The meeting which I attended in Greenville just after speaking to you was very different from the others which I attended earlier in that it was much more subdued and no inflammatory speaches whatsoever were made. Therefore, this particular meeting was different from the general run of the mill and I do not think that it would be wise for me to treat it because it would be taken as typical. I will see what I can do with the Marengo County meeting which I attended last December, if you do not think that the time element is too important.

I understand that the Ministers of the Mobile Baptist Association of the Southern Baptist Convention (such groups often are referred to as the Pastors Union of the association) meets once a month with the pastors of the (Negro) National Baptist Convention Mobile Assocation for Bible study and discussion. The pastor of a large downtown white Methodist Church in Mobile told me that he was going to introduce a proposal at the first fall meeting of the Methodist Council of Churches to invite Negro pastors to meet with them as members of the Council. This would be today, September 26th, but he may have said this for my own benefit. I will follow it up with an inquiry later.

I need to get the address of Mr. James Madison + leisure time activities who is working with the Air Force on problems of off station recreation. Dr. Mitchell and Fred met him at Fisk as I did and probably know how he can be reached. I want to get him to see what he can do about putting pressure on the Brookley Air Force Commanding Officer to support the proposal for a human relations council for Mobile which we are working on. I would appreciate your sending me Madison's address if available at the earliest possible time because we must get support for the idea built up within about two weeks.

That's all for now.

Cordially,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

P.S. I have written Fred for any material which might be there at the Atlanta Office or the address where I might be able to write for resources on city level human relations councils. This was some time ago and he has not replied to my letter. Could you check around to see if there is any material on the subject available, other than the Rock Hill, South Carolina story?

Thanx!

FILE COPY

October 6, 1955

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206, Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Reverend Hughes:

It has been necessary for us to do some re-scheduling of my visits in the states to take care of some snags in the original schedule.

We are now proposing to make my visit to Mississippi January 30-February 3, instead of February 6-10 as originally proposed.

Will you let me know as soon as possible if this will be satisfactory to you? I'm making every effort to stabilize a schedule which will be as convenience as possible for all concerned.

Let me know. Thanks!

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne

IO/ys

October 10, 1955

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for the dope on the Troy Ministerial Association. I will add it to our gradually increasing list.

As for your question about the newsletter, a full-scale treatment of the Citizens Councils in Alabama would be quite in order. My caution applied only to such "inside" information about your own techniques and activities as might be profitably used against you. In other words, I wouldn't put into the newsletter anything you wouldn't want the other side to know. Otherwise, the sky's the limit.

I appreciate the word of reassurance on the prospective article for New South. We are most anxious to get it.

Best regards.

Sincerely

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Diredtor

HCF/ys

FILE COPY

October 11, 1955

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I will certainly be glad to fit into the plans which you have already partially made. We will skip the February date since it does not seem to fit.

Since December is heavily scheduled, we will do best to plan my Alabama trip in March. Since it is totally unscheduled you can choose whichever week in March you prefer.

I will tentatively hold March 19 through 23. If you prefer the week before or some other week, let me know and we can easily make that change.

Thanks for the prompt reply.

Send me a confirmation of the March date when you can.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne

IO/ys

FILE COPY

October 20, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Mrs. Earl Andrews is the Chairman for the Presbyterians in Alabama of their intergroup work, and came lately to a Conference in Atlanta, which I had a chance to talk to briefly.

If she is not already related to the Alabama Council, you might perhaps hunt her up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Rm. 206, Moore Bldg.
S. Court St.
Montgomery, Ala.
Oct. 27, 1955

Dear Harold,

Enclosed is an article or editorial probably written by the Alabama Journal editor himself, Mr. C. M. Stanley, an native Black Belter. The Journal has a circulation of about 20,000 primarily in Montgomery.

His mentioning Hutchinson's report that the SRC grant ~~is~~ including funds for full time professional personnel for each state must have made him wonder about Ala. Conceivably he may have overlooked the Ala. Council as the affiliate as we have gotten no press play locally since the annual meeting last Feb. except for my statement about the Wadley incident. It's probably just a matter of time until he will turn on us as I'm sure he'd regard us as red meat.

Due to my relaying tips to the Advertiser and A.P. they would probably protect us to a certain extent. I'll see how I can cultivate the Journal and U.P. in the near future — I have no personal relationships there at all.

If you're interested - Grover Hall made his attacks on the W.C.C. and his statements on "no integration in Ala. for a long time" on his own hook and has never been reprimanded or cautioned in anyway by Publisher Hudson according to editorial writer Bill McDonald.

Bill is the one who wrote the review of Dr. Jay Murphy's article in the Ala. Law Review proposing the tri-racial state advisory board & added that the advertiser endorsed this proposal. Hall printed all of Bill's editorial except cutting the endorsement. This was told to me confidentially & you can regard it so. Bill states that he doubts if Hall would push the proposal now 8 months later as he distrusts Folsom's appointive wisdom.

Am half way through the W.C.C. article & you should have it about Wednesday of next week.

Sincerely,

Bill

Stac

November 4, 1955

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I will be arriving at 3:30 P. M. on November 8, Via Airlines from Louisville. It now occurs to me that I may as well go out to Tuskegee Tuesday night, since otherwise it would mean leaving very early on Wednesday morning. I know Tuskegee is counting on housing people. So let us plan that if it fits your schedule. If it does not, make a hotel reservation for me and I'll adjust.

Do not feel obligated to meet my plane. I'll go to the office when I get in and get travel directions from you, and from that point we can play it by ear.

I'll be looking forward to seeing you!

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne

IO/ys
Dictated by IO/signed in her absence by ys.

November 15, 1955

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We have received your letter of November 11th and I have discussed the points you raise therein with Dr. Mitchell at length. You will recall, also, the conversations C. H. Parrish, you and I had at Tuskegee.

Your Board proposes that the $5,000 allocated for "additional staff personnel" be divided as follows: $2,500 for a half-time Associate Director (Negro) and $2,500 for the services of consultants and for the services of a special category of persons such as district officers, workshop resource persons both from within and without the state, etc..."

This plan deviates somewhat from our intentions but we are not arbitrarily opposed to it. We suggest the following safeguards: 1) that the majority of consultants be Negroes; 2) that the majority of workshop resource persons be Negroes; 3) that no more than $100 per district be allocated for expenses of district officers who are to do an organization job.

It is important for each state office to have full participation by competent Negro staff personnel, not because of the symbolism, but because of the absolute necessity of good communications and as a demonstration of the society we seek for the South of the future.

Sincerely,

F. B. Routh.
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf
cc: C. H. Parrish
Ruth Alexander

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama
November 11, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

It was good to see you and all the others at the Board Meeting Wednesday in Tuskegee. Here is confirmation of two Alabama dates for your calendar. The State Board of Directors Meeting will be on Wednesday, December 7th at 10:30 A.M. at Alabama State College, Montgomery.(This is the second semi-annual meeting of the body. C.H. attended the first last July) The Annual Meeting will be on Saturday, February 11th at 10:30 A.M., presumably in Montgomery but possibly in Birmingham.

The state Executive Committee has requested that I write Dr. Mitchell about the possibility of our using the second half of our $5,000 for "additional staff personnel" for the following services. The committee, as well as the Board meeting last July is desirous of using the second $2,500 for the services of consultants and for the services of a special category of persons such as district officers, work shop resource persons from both within and without the state, etc. We realize that the additional "staff personnel" funds are for salaries and are designed to give a better racial balance to our staff. The special category of persons could receive either honorarium or travel expenses which ever meets the terms of the grant, if either. As for the attainment of a relitavely racially balanced staff, we would have the half time services of a Negro Associate Director, at least half of our consultants would be Negro and presumably some of the special category persons would be Negro. We are trying to get as flexible a staff as possible within the limitations of this new grant from the Fund for the Republic. If necessary we will draw up a list of these special category persons who would be able to utilize these funds and they would be paid only upon presentation of voucher from our office to the central office. I am writing you about this matter with the request that you take it up with Dr. Mitchell and attempt to explain to him our situation in Alabama, as you are doubtless more familiar with it. We think that because so much of our program is dependent upon district officers, probably more than in other states, we merit some type of special consideration, if this can be granted under the grant.

Please let me know at some time prior to the Board of Directors meeting Dr. Mitchell's reaction to this proposal. Thanks a million.

Cordially,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:ah

November 22, 1955

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Dir.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter regarding the new secretary. I do not think there is any doubt about our accepting her if she meets with your approval and is sincerely open minded on the question of race. I have turned over to Mrs. Alexander your letter so that she may record the young ladies Social Security number, etc.

I look forward to being with you on December 7 for your Board Meeting. Best personal regards to Dotty and the wee one.

Your Friend,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

Mr. Bob Hughes,
Alabama Council on Human Relations,
Room 206, Moore Building,
Court Street,
Montgomery,
ALABAMA.

December 2nd, 1955.

Dear Bob,

So much is apopping I thought I'd better fly to Mobile, and I will. That does me no good on a stop-over in Montgomery, unless by chance (I booked by 'phone and don't know) the plane does stop at Montgomery enough minutes for it to be worth your while to come out and say "Hi!" I go to Mobile on December 5th on EAL's flight 571, and come back from Mobile on December 6th, leaving there at 11.46 A.M. on flight 598.

I will try to see Mr. Kaufman on the morning of December 6th.

Best wishes,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.).

GSM:rl.

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Alabama Council on Human Relations,
Moore Building, Room 206,
Court Street,
Montgomery, ALABAMA.

December 5th, 1955.

Dear Mr. Hughes,

A couple of years ago we had an idea knocking around that our State people in each one could set up a body of distinguished citizens in some rough parallel to the State School Board, only ours would mostly represent all the people of the State. Then you find paid executives would do the hard work of digging out the facts for the unofficial Board, about the schools and what to do. Thereafter on each occasion that the sure enough State School Board came out with some wickedness-inspired plan to avoid doing what was lawful and educationally right, the unofficial Board would call in the Press and give really helpful advice. That was thought of as a powerfully educational device, anent public opinion. I still think it would be. And it could also be done locally.

Last month our Virginia group fired to the idea, and spoke the truth in a way that was listened to. Here 'tis.

I think when the history of the ultimate desegregation of the schools in that state is written the book will say that the thing began to turn toward achievement when the lesson of this newspaper story had had time (sorry to say it takes that in the Old Dominion) to sink in.

We've told the Board people about this.

I hope you will like the idea staffwise, and do so much of it, in such and such a modified way, as may seem suitable in your situation.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director).

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Alabama Council on Human Relations. December 5th, 1955.

P.S.

Observe that the Virginia Council nowhere presumes to advise people in any local community as to the rate at which desegregation should occur; it just says that if citizens, white and Negro, work together on the matter we have faith that they can reach wise and workable agreement.

GSM:rl.
2 encls.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

December 5, 1955

AIR MAIL

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Just a brief note before you come over for the Board of Directors meeting Wednesday. Apparently the Personnel Committee has settled on a young Negro lawyer here in Montgomery who has handled several Civil Rights cases and has a pretty good outlook on affairs in general. ← as assoc. dir.

But most important I wanted you to know that I am not aware of any further effort on the part of Duncan Hunter or other members of the Board of Directors to secure the establishment of a Finance Committee of the Board and unless unforeseen developments occur, I rather doubt that we will have a Finance Committee appointed at the meeting on Wednesday. May I suggest that you make a strong statement to the Board as near the outset as possible on the necessity for the establishment of an active functioning Finance Committee which will take the complete responsibility for meeting the $3500.00 goal by next October 1. We met our $1800.00 this time without pinching anybody excessively and largely on a basis of our memberships; however, we will never reach $3500.00 without the solicitation of a large number of sizeable contributions. So any help that you can give me in prompting the Board will be much appreciated. The mentioning of what the Boards ~~of~~ some of the other affiliates have done might prove to be a valuable incentive. Please stress my role as being concerned with organization and program development as apart from finances.

Thanks a million. See you Wednesday morning.

Cordially yours,

Bob

REH/mp

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

P.S. - Montgomery is ~~a~~ not fed of tension tonite as a negro protest boycott against the bus lines has been very successful in its first day. We have been doing everything possible to bring something constructive out of it. - Bob

December 13, 1955

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
217 South Court Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

I have your letter of December 9, 1955, in feference to accounting for petty cash disbursements in your office.

On the basis of experience I have found it easiest to handle petty cash in the following manner:

1. Establish a petty cash fund account on your books by drawing up a check made payable to Petty Cash. This check should be given to the person who is to be responsible for disbursing petty cash funds and the person should be required to sign a receipt for these funds. On your financial statements under the general heading of "Cash" you would show "Cash in Bank" and also "Petty Cash" in the amount of the above check.

2. Require the person who disburses the petty cash funds to get receipts, invoices, etc. for all expenditures. Then periodically, in order to reimburse your petty cash fund a check would be drawn up for the total of all disbursements as evidenced by receipts, invoices, etc. This would give you a breakdown of the expense items. Each time the petty cash fund is reimbursed you get a detailed accounting as to how the petty cash funds were spent. At any time the petty cash fund could be checked by counting the cash and the receipts, invoices, etc. The two together should equal the original amount of the petty cash fund at all times.

Mr. Robert E. Hughes December 13, 1955

As you can see from this arrangement the initial check drawn to petty cash would only represent a transfer of cash to another category and would not be construed as an expense item. All subsequent checks drawn to petty cash would show a detailed anaylis as to how the money was spent.

We hope that this information will shed some light on your problem. If we can be of further service please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

Alabama

January 4, 1956

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Reverend Hughes:

The Council wishes to compile a list of the communities in each state in which a local committee has been established to advise the school board relative to the U. S. Supreme Court's decisions on segregation in the public schools.

Mr. Routh informed me that the North Carolina Council on Human Relations has written each of the 174 school superintendents in that state in order to collect this information. I wonder if your office has made such a study or if we might secure your cooperation through the assumption of this project. We are especially desirous of learning which committees are interracial. If any additional information (such as presentation, acceptance, or rejection of reports) is available, that too would be helpful. The enclosed form shows one method in which your information might be summarized and reported to this office.

We hope that it will be convenient for you to provide the above information or undertake the suggested project very shortly.

Sincerely,

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant

FBI/ys
Enclosure

January 4, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Dir.
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Greetings on my return to active duty. I hope that various communications relating to change to schedule have not been too confusing to you.

I know that you and I had earlier agreed that I would come to Alabama March 19-23. The corrected schedule, I now find, schedules Alabama for March 26-30. It occurs to me that this may be very unsuitable to you as I believe you had urged that I be present forthe third week of the month. If I am right about this, you and I can agree to disregard the corrected schedule and proceed with March 19-23 as planned. This change was really just a slip that happened because I was not in the office when the corrections were made.

Drop me a note as soon as you can to re-confirm March 19-23 if that is still the way you feel about it. Of course you are welcome to the new date if that really is suitable.

My apologies for requiring of you so many new confirmations. Best regards for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

January 5, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Moore Building, Room 206
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I owe you some report on the meeting at Phenix City.

I got thrown a little by the notice board as you cross the river that from here on you were on Central Time. But in the nick ot time, I discovered that something was wrong and that Phenix City ran on Eastern Time. And at 3:00 PX, EST, I pulled up in the neighborhood of the church and inquired of two men where I might find Mr. Battle. One was Mr. Battle. We were hard by the church and went right in.

Adequate crowd, not squeezed in. Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts be-uniformed and perforce present. Then the usual smartly dressed teen-ager to read the Proclamation of Emancipation. Came time for me. I read them some parts of Exodus, about the ten plagues of Egypt and pointed out how hoppergrasses and chills and blains hit the Egyptians and not the Hebrew children. Turning to one of the Reverends, I asked how long ago it was. 4,000 or 5,000 years? The Reverend said he didn't know, but that it was a long time ago. And then I said that hereabouts in Phenix City and Russell County one people held another in scorn. Could you count ten plagues resting on white people's shoulders? Well, in Phenix City, it mounted to ten pretty fast. At my instance, the choir had been asked to be ready later to lead us in "Go Down, Moses." When I sat down, there was an awkward pause. The choir-ladies indicated tactfully that so old-timey a piece was outside their repertoire. Whereupon, one elderly Reverend, with a voice not in its prime, said, "I'll line it out for them." There wasn't man, woman or child that didn't know and use every word of "Go Down, Moses." And when they came to the

last syllable of that Pharaoh, it wobbled, rocked, rose and twisted eight seconds anyway. All of which was balm to my soul; and I'll long remember Phenix City.

They pleasantly paid my expenses for the trip and offered more from the collection, but I refused.

Many thanks to you for all your kind arrangements.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Gilbert
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

January 12, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Dir.
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Bob,

As a matter of fact, it is usually done -- and we will be sure to pass along new reactions to your article. It is a little early yet for any to have come in.

Many thanks for the dope on the Monroeville Ministerial Association. I have just read the AP story on the young Lutheran pastor in Montgomery and have forebodings about what this publicity will bring down upon him. Keep us posted.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Dear Harold,

Jan. 9, '58

I know it isn't usually done — but I'd be interested in any response by readers of New South to my article in the Dec. issue, if you can share such conveniently.

Thanks,

BW Hughes

P.S. — One negro minister is a member of the "white" min. assn. in Monroeville, Ala.

January 17, 1956

Reverend Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Sorry to notify you of the death of Dr. W.W. Alexander, at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, January 13.

It was Dr. Alexander who carried the earliest and the first burden of organized interracial work in the Southern States. He was the head staff man of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation from its beginning in 1919 until it was succeeded by the Southern Regional Council, in 1944.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

January 20, 1956

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

As yet it is rather early for us to be receiving any comments from your December article in New South. However I am enclosing a condensation of the article printed the Afro-American. Too bad they would not give SRC credit for it, but that's the way it goes.

We will be getting the Afro-American each week, and I will forward to you any letters which might appear concerning the article.

With best regards,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mef

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
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REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 30, 1956

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Due to the fact that the last memorandum from you to all of us contains a veiled threat, this is one little ant that's getting on the ball! The following constitutes a narrative report covering December and January for the Alabama Council. The Newsletter has given you a brief run-down on conditions in the state, and the January edition will serve to bring you up to date a bit further; hence, I leave out such material.

During the past two months each of our Districts have held meetings with the exception of one. Here is a quick run-down.

The Tennessee Valley District met in January in Decatur with twenty-seven persons present, one-third Negro representatives from the Tri-cities and Decatur. Can get no interest up in the Huntsville area, even though Alabama A & M group offers potential. They elected officers to represent the District organization and both the Tri-cities and Decatur local chapters have met and elected permanent officers during January.

District 1. Northwest Piedmont, Tuscaloosa, Jasper and Winfield area. Some forty persons in attendance, predominately white, at Stillman Institute, Tuscaloosa, Actually was a joint meeting between the Interracial Committee of the Tuscaloosa Religious Council and the local Alabama Council group. No representatives outside of Tuscaloosa. There is difficulty and confusion in relationships between a bi-racial committee of a Jim Crow Council and the local Alabama Council members. A number of people are members of both and they are trying to arrange some type of affiliation which will provide for the acceptance of ~~representation~~ responsibility for the other seven counties in the District as well as State Board representation. The group had presentations by a Principal of a Negro High School, a Negro Minister

white YMCA Secretary, County School Superintendent, University Political Science Professor, and A.C.H.R. Executive Director. This represents its first meeting of District 1.

District 2. Some forty persons, racially balanced, met at Talladega College in December for their Fall District meeting. President of Talladega College, Dr. Gray, Mr. Fred Gray and R. E. Hughes of A.C.H.R. presented the program. Members were appointed toward establishing local groups wherever possible.

District 3. Birmingham. Has met for its regular meeting in December and January with Mr. Arthur Shores and a white female attorney speaking in December, and Fred Routh in January. The emphasis of the group is upon bringing outside persons into the group and presenting very fine programs as a means of education. The group is doing nothing outside of itself, which represents its glaring weakness. Approximately one hundred persons attended the December meeting, sixty persons at the January meeting.

District 4. Twenty-eight persons, racially balanced, met in December at Selma at a Negro community center for this District's third consecutive monthly meeting. No program was presented, only discussion of the Council and organization by District Chairman and A.C.H.R. Director. Will meet again in March.

District 5. No District meeting held during this period. The Tuskegee local chapter is inactive, having held but one meeting in the early Fall. The Montgomery local chapter has held meetings in both December and January. The January meeting was attended by some thirty-five persons, racially balanced. Heard panel discussion of the "Pastor's Role in Race Relations" by one Negro and two white pastors.

District 6. The Western end of this District met in January attended by fourteen persons, racially balanced, and discussed A.C.H.R. principles and business. Plans were announced that the white ministers of Andalusia would meet this week to adopt a joint statement for Race Relations Sunday. These plans were modified to include a joint statement by Negro and white ministers and a bi-racial Ministerial Association was recommended. The Eastern end of District 6 has not met during this period but several persons in the Abbeville-Dothan area are promoting the annual meeting. They met in Nov.

District 7. Some thirty-five persons have attended each of the regular December and January meetings at the Catholic McGill Institute. At the January meeting a film on Economic Discrimination was shown, distributed by the President's Committee. This group suffers

from lack of Protestant participation and is 2/3 Negro, both of which factors are not conducive to the attraction of white Protestants, who make up the power structure of Mobile. Mayor Joseph Langan has not as yet appointed his Bi-racial Human Relations Committee, although it has been pending for two months or more.

At all of these meetings the annual meeting was emphasized and at several arrangements were made for a central person to arrange for transportation and the prospects are good for an adequate representation from over the state.

On the state level the State Board of Directors held its second semi-annual meeting in December, adopting a budget of $17,275.00, Mr. Fred Gray as half-time Associate Director, and completed plans for the annual meeting and the raising of finances. In early January the State Finance and Program Committees held a joint meeting, their first, and laid down the first steps in a plan to acquire financial support for the Alabama Council program. This financial support will come in two steps. First, at the annual meeting a special appeal will be made for pledges to the Council's program by everyone present, the Board of Directors being presently encouraged to make initial contributions to "prime the pump". Secondly, the balance not covered by the pledges will be divided up among the Districts on a proportional basis.

A major function of the state office has been the preparation and circulation of the Alabama Council Newsletter. The last edition of 650 copies was quickly exhausted and new names come in for our circulation list almost every day. Response from the Newsletter has been most encouraging and it is fullfilling its purpose of (1) unifying the membership and keeping them informed, and (2) cultivating prospects for membership. Mr. Fred Gray, the new Associate Director, has made two field trips with the Director since coming with the Council on January 1st, but has been kept extremely busy with the bus boycott and has not been able to help with the Alabama Council program per se otherwise.

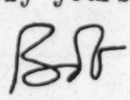
The State Executive Committee met in January to consider the Montgomery bus boycott situation. It was felt that the most effective work that we can do at this time will be to mobilize businessmen, ministers, outstanding citizens in general of all professions and vocations, the bus company which has become alienated from the City Commission, womens' groups and perhaps labor. This would be done not under the name of the Council, but in the spirit of civic pride, fair play and economics. It is too early to adjudge the results of efforts to mobilize these groups although action has been undertaken. Efforts

are being made to insure that all incidents and mal-practices of the City administration are brought to the light of the local press and time has been spent in chauffering representatives of the New York Times and Life magazine around and getting them to interview the right people. As far as public relations go the big problem locally and nationally is getting a constructive treatment of the situation across. In other words, there are white people in this area who, although silent, by no means approve of the strong-handed methods of the City Commission.

These things are coming soon-Life magazine coverage in its Thursday edition of race relations over the South with expected prominent play on the Montgomery boycott; also, Senator J. O. Eastland will speak at the 18,000 seat coliseum on February 9th, just prior to our annual meeting on the 11th. At this time the State Citizens Council will be organized with the election of officers. The Central Alabama Citizens Council, whose backbone is Montgomery, has received a tremendous stimulus from the action of the City Commissioners in joining and their boast of hundreds of memberships daily is probably true. They have rented the second floor of an apartment house just around the corner from us and appear to be doing a land office business. Present membership is said to be around 3,500 although this might possibly refer to the state figure.

Enough rambling for now.

Sincerely yours,



REH/mp

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

February 1, 1956

The Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Dir.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

As yet we have not received any comment on your article. In truth we receive very little comment on any specific New South article, so I doubt that there will be very many if any at all. The new Africo-American has not come yet so I do not know if there is any comment in it but I will let you know.

As for the Ministerial Associations, Florence Irving, our Research Assistant, is in the process of gathering information on all the integrated Associations. When this is completed, the information will be made available to you.

I have been seeing quite a bit of news on Montgomery Bus activity. That is really something, isn't it?

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Information Service.

JC:mf

February 14, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

This man as photographed herewith. The missing half of this letter I used to draw a picture for some visiting Britisher. No mystery - just blank paper.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mcf

DISCIPLES STUDENT FELLOWSHIP
UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH
TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

RECEIVED FEB 9 1956

1200-12th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama
February 8, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr.Mitchell:

When you visited The College of The Bible several years ago I little felt I would ever be calling on you for help, but was so impressed with your approach to problems involving human relations that I made a mental note of your office.

I need not tell you the details of the incidents and mob actions of the past week; certainly you are receiving them. Bob Hughes was here Monday and Tuesday during the height of the tension and demonstrations. I feel that the important thing is that most of us who had been through an experience of this kind have been pretty throughly shaken if not taken off our hinges. We did not know quite what to do, felt we had to do something and yet did not trust ourselves to move out to do it, being aware of the possibility of a "backfire". However, from it all has come the desire to do something constructive to prepare for the next series of events, whether they be in the next days or weeks or in the next months and years. We do not want to be caught unprepared again.

Perhaps out of your experience with this type of situation your can better prescribe what we need than we can. I earnestly hope that you will. Just to give you my own impressions, I feel that we need to know how to influence those in responsible positions in advance of anticipated problems to seek the best help; how to study the situation ourselves in advance; the kinds of things we should to educate people within our spheres of influence. We also need to know the principles of conduct in the actual situation once conflict has occurred and tension is high. Can you advise on the sources of such information and how to best use it in connection with our students and our ministers?

We have had a number of outsiders on the campus and in town, engaging in the activities, in various capacities. Some of them are not merely hot headed people wanting to express their views but are professional agitators seeking to give experienced guidance to the agitation. This fact coupled with the fact that some of the newsmen and photographers are

sympathatic with the continuance of the whole affair has raised a question in my own mind of the degree of caution one has to exercise in conducting himself in a highly publicised situation. This may well be merely an effect of the tension and confusion on my own thinking but I am wondering whether it is known whether the pro-segregation forces are highly and efficiently organised, making use of all types of counter-publicity, or preparing to do so? The use made of certain psuedo-communistic pieces of literature Monday night might easily be applied to student leaders and others if future demonstrations break out.

I do hope you will be able to send some advice to guide us in our actions and some listing of resources to be used.

Sincerely,

Walter W. Anderson, Jr.

Walter W. Anderson, Jr.
Minister-to-students

P.S. Send mail to 1200-12th Avenue, Tuscaloosa.

February 17, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206 - Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Rev. Hughes:

An area meeting for members of the newly-formed SRC Finance Committee will be held 2:00 P.M. Friday, March 16, 1956, in Atlanta at the SRC office.

As yet the Alabama Council has not sent us the name of a person selected to serve on this committee. However, we are urging that you send some representative to this meeting. It is very important that the finance committee proceed with its organization and plans for raising funds for the Council and its affiliates.

Please let us know as early as possible whether or not a representative from your council will attend this meeting.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

February 27, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

A good many evidences have appeared in the national press that the Communist Party would like to worm its way into the current civil rights issue in the South.

That being the case it may be expected that here and there they will try to gain a foothold in our State organizations.

This is an alert to be watchful. And to exclude from any influence in our organizations people not primarily devoted to the protection of American freedoms.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

March 1, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Recently in Washington I went to see the man who runs the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice.

I wanted to tie us and you into his work.

He gave me a few copies of a talk he did a year or so ago, which tells just what his show can and cannot do. You should read it. And thereafter feel free (and invited) to let us or him know of suitable occasions for the concern of his Department and Section.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

February 28, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 1 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In accordance with your request, I am sending you today under separate cover, twelve copies of the speech to which you refer, and hope they will be of some service to you and your people.

Sincerely,

Arthur B. Caldwell

ARTHUR B. CALDWELL
Chief, Civil Rights Section
Criminal Division

Enc. No. 81950
(Separate cover)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 26, 1960

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

RECEIVED MAR 1 1960

Mr. George W. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 1529, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In accordance with your request, I am sending you today under separate cover, twelve copies of the speech to which you refer, and hope they will be of some service to you in your work.

Sincerely,

ARTHUR H. GARRISON
Chief, Civil Rights Section
Criminal Division

Enc. No. 12930
(separate cover)

Lee is coming down
Friday in Washington
I want to see it
man who runs
Civil Rights Section of
the Department of
Justice.
Forward to him
as you will the
work
He gave a few
copies of a book he
wrote a year or so ago, which
tells just what his show
is.
Lee is coming in Friday & Saturday.

March 12, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Rev. Hughes:

So far we have not heard from you in regard to sending someone from the Alabama Council to an area meeting of the SRC Finance Committee. This meeting is scheduled to be held at 2:00 P.M. Friday, March 16, 1956 in Atlanta at the office of the Southern Regional Council.

We are quite aware that you have been ill and that this is not your job but we have not been able to get a response from the other people.

The meeting should last only about 3 or 4 hours and should end around 6:00 P.M.

The Southern Regional Council will pay the travel expenses of your representative to this meeting.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

March 15, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Here is Mr. Gray's check. We are agreeable to the reasoning. I would urge though that if you do plan to use him actively and pretty much on a full-time basis you shift to a consultant relationship. But you know generally speaking I am in favor of full-time and active staff help.

We will loose your Finance man come Friday.

We will be delighted to see you and Mr. Hunter and Mr. Pierce come March 23.

We are sorry about pressure but it seems all around.

We are glad you are well enough to write letters.

Mrs. Ruth Alexander, our Secretary-Treasurer, returns the Witholding Exemption Certificate for Mr. Gray, because Mr. Gray has not signed nor dated it nor totaled up the number of exemptions - in the box.

I think it would be mechanically possible for you to get the Witholding Exemption Certificate signed by Mr. Gray before you turn loose the check.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encls. (2)

RECEIVED MAR 14 1956

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

March 13, 1956

Dr. FBR -
This was the agreement. He performed his duties - we are obligated to pay him.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

After negotiations between the Personnel Committee of our Board of Directors, and Mr. Fred D. Gray, our Associate Director, Mr. Gray is agreeable to relinquishing the Associate Directorship in favor of a consultant's position, due to his realization of a conflict of roles between his primary work and that of the Council.

However, he feels that we are obligated to pay him on the regular half-time salary schedule for January and February rather than on a per diem basis for services rendered during this period. Personally I concur in this, because that is the contractual agreement, that he would serve as our Associate Director, and he has done all the duties we have asked him to perform to the best of his ability. His social security number is 423-26-1727 and request is submitted herewith for the salary payment for this period. Rev. Hunter concurs in this request.

The Alabama Council apparently will not be represented at the Finance Committee meeting on Friday, due to the fact that we have no one agreeable to serve as representative from the A.C.H.R. I forwarded the letter requesting the name of our representative to Rev. Hunter, as the selection of such was out of my province, and I have reminded him of the necessity of getting such a person which is as far as I am able to go.

Mr. J. E. Pierce, Rev. Hunter and myself will represent the Council at the "hard core" staff conference on March 23rd and 24th. One of us will bring Irene over with us at that time, as she will be here in Alabama working with us through Thursday afternoon of that week.

Pressure is very heavy on us here and a number of our leaders are under fire apparently from spontaneous reactions rather than any organized plot; however, there is some basis for believing that there will be an organized effort to attack at least several of our board members in the near future. Such a move apparently is sponsored by several conservative Methodist clergymen, although this is not at all definite.

See you on the 23rd. Best wishes to all.

Cordially yours,

Bob

REH/mp

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

March 15, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

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We will miss your Finance man come Friday.

We will be delighted to see you and Mr. Hunter and Mr. Pierce come March 23.

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We are glad you are well enough to write letters.

Mrs. Ruth Alexander, our Secretary-Treasurer, returns the Withholding Exemption Certificate for Mr. Gray, because Mr. Gray has not signed nor dated nor totaled up the number of exemptions - in the box.

I think it would be mechanically proper for you to get the Withholding Exemption Certificate signed by Mr. Gray before you turn loose the check.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mcf

Encls. (2)

March 29, 1956

The Reverend Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 206, Moore Building
217 South Court Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks very much for your comments on the March New South. Do appreciate compliments!

Harold tells me he answered your question concerning Blanktown when he talked to you on the phone yesterday. We had been holding that story for sometime. It is really nice now to have so much copy that you have to worry about space for it rather than worry about copy for space that you have.

Also sorry that I missed you when you were here at the conference. I was running around trying to find out exactly what was happening in the case where the Negro students applied to Georgia State College of Business Administration. It was quite a runaround handed out by the administration, but that was expected, of course.

I had used the names of the White Citizens Councils in the Autherine Lucy story, but Harold and I decided to delete them and used the more indefinite term hate groups, etc. There's no telling what those groups will try. It is gratifying to hear that they are in disagreement.

Come see us in Atlanta again soon.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Managing Editor, New South

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

March 28, 1956

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

I thought your March issue of the New South was very good; in fact, it informed me about conditions in Alabama of which I was not aware. Therefore, I am writing not only to congratulate you on a good job, but also to make some inquiries.

Just where is "Blanktown", Alabama, and who did the good job of reporting on the local situation? I presume it is either Selma or Dothan and more than likely the former. I was unaware that any of our military base schools had been integrated at any time and it is good to hear that someone has gotten on the ball and uncovered the facts.

Sincerely yours,

Bob

REH/mp

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

P.S.— Sorry I didn't get to see you at the staff conference last week.

April 6, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I was at a meeting of Negro highschool principals from all over the South at Dillard late in March. Here are those who came from your State.

Maybe they are already your members. I daresay if they aren't they would most likely join if you wrote them and asked.

Mr. George C. Bell, Ullman High School, Birmingham
Mr. R.C. Johnson, Parker High School, Birmingham
Mr. C.L. Reeves, Westfield High School, Birmingham
Mr. John T. Smith I, Moton High School, Birmingham

Dr. C.W. Hayes, Director, Negro Schools, Birmingham
Mr. E. Paul Jones, Director, Negro Schools -
Jefferson County Schools, Birmingham

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:maf

MEMORANDUM

April 11, 1956

TO: Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Alabama Council on Human Relations
Montgomery, Alabama

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

Attached is a brief outline of five progressive steps which might be taken by groups of persons who consider themselves "moderates" but are not yet prepared to commit themselves to positive program of desegregation. It resulted from discussions with staff members of ADL's Southeastern Office and is intended as an aid to key people working with such groups rather than as a document for general distribution. It is also applicable mainly to the larger towns and cities.

I pass this outline along to you not as an official program suggestion but as a matter of interest and possible usefulness to you.

HCF:o
enc.

April 12, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 206, Moore Building
217 S. Court Street
Montgomery 4, Ala.

Dear Bob:

Thanks for the additional items for our survey of desegregation.

The announcement of the Mobile Human Relations Commission sounds very hopeful. I am glad that the Alabama Council had a hand in it. As soon as the Commission begins to function and proves worthwhile, we will certainly want a good write-up of it for New South.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

April 18, 1956

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

When I was in New York last week bells began ringing and pink notes went into my slots in order that all the resources of the metropolis would put me into communication with one Carleton Nash of Dothan, Alabama. The resources of the metropolis being what they are, I pretty soon found myself in the presence of Carleton Nash.

He turned out to be a watchmaker and something of a lay preacher who had a conscience on matters of race. I was never quite certain whether, from his account, he had been closed out of Dothan by the expressions of the town, or whether he had just decided to come to New York and see if he could better his fortune as a watchmaker.

The moments we had to confer were exigious ones; I was due in a meeting which was being kept waiting.

I told Mr. Nash that if he got into serious trouble and thought I could help him he was welcome to telephone me here. I also told him that you are a good egg. He may never pop back into circulation; on the other hand, he may, and quite persistently. A gentle soul and right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

P.S. My scratchy notes on the subject yield, as a Dothan address where Mr. Nash would sometime lodge: 505C, Edmond Avenue, Dothan, Alabama

/cd

April 27, 1956

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 206 Moore Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

As we discussed on the phone sometime back, I am sending you separately 300 copies of the reprint of Thrasher's article in The Reporter. Keep in mind that the reprint will be inserted with New South next month, so you should use it with people other than your members.

You will note right away that the reprints have Reporter promotion material folded with them. We got them free on this basis. Therefor I hope you will suppress your anti-commercial instincts and circulate the commercial husk along with the real meat.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

May 3, 1956

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Room 206 Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I am to take some part in this Institute on June 6, 7, and 8. Mr. Lantz who got it up is anxious for maximum attendance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under separate cover:
20 copies of Ecumenical Institute program.

May 23, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

A reminder card keeps turning up on my desk indicating that the original manuscript by Earl Brewer I sent you last fall has not yet been returned.

If this is in error, please let me know. Otherwise, the little card will keep hopping up until the manuscript is back.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

FBR – to give some answer for this.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

RECEIVED MAY 28 1956

May 26, 1956

Dear Sir:

Dr. Mitchell
You are at Lake Guntersville June 6 & 7 eb

This is to confirm the dates of June 8 & 9 for the A.C.H.R. Bd. of Dir. & staff workshop. We have secured space at Tuskegee Institute for a maximum of 20 persons including the S.R.C. team.

Workshop is scheduled for 10:00 A.M. June 8 through 3:00 P.M. June 9. approximately two hours will be devoted on the aft. of June 9 for the semi-annual Bd. of Dir. meeting at which we hope the S.R.C. consultants can attend.

This information is also being sent to Dr. Hope at Fiske. Further specific information will be sent upon request.

Sincerely,

R E Hughes

May 31, 1956

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Room 206
Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I committed us, the other day, to get you word from John Hope as to who your consultants would be.

John Constable got John Hope zu house yesterday, and John yesterday said he would yesterday call you and tell you who the consultants would be.

Hope it works. If it doesn't, holler!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED JUN 5 1956

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

June 4, 1956

MEMORANDUM NO. 9

TO: MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
FROM: ROBERT E. HUGHES, EXEC. DIR.
RE: BOARD OF DIRECTORS WORKSHOP

The Board Workshop scheduled for this week-end, June 8, 9, has been cancelled due to the inability of a large number of Board members to attend. Of 18 replies received by this office as of this date only 7 indicated their availability. The decision to cancel was reluctantly reached jointly by Pres. Hunter, Vice-Pres. Goumillion and Dr. John Hope.

It is apparent that more notice is needed for such a conference as most of those replying indicated schedule conflicts. Therefore, we are establishing three alternative periods within which the two day workshop will be scheduled according to a consensus of availability of Board members. They are the weeks of August 20, September 17 and September 24.

On the enclosed card you are asked to: (1) Indicate that week or specific dates which you cannot attend, if any, and (2) that week or specific dates that you prefer to attend, if any.

If you will return the above information as soon as possible we will be able to notify you in the near future of the final dates.

This delay in our workshop is deeply regretted but in order to have the most meaningful workshop possible we feel that you will agree that this action is justified. Thank you for your interest.

June 8, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Court Street, Moore Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The Thrasher reprints were sent with the last New South. I am told that, unfortunately, we ran short by a few hundred, so that some of the envelopes went out without the reprint. Some of these envelopes may have been addressed to Alabama members. But certainly not all of them. We had two mailings returned for reasons of address from Alabama and both of them contained the reprint.

I am sorry it is not possible to determine how many of your people received the reprint and how many did not. Maybe you can care for this by note in your Newsletter. Having explained the unlucky circumstances, I will have to leave the next step to your judgment. Life is hard!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

P. S. Your news release on the bus ruling was very good.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

June 8, 1956

Dear Harold,

Enclosed is a literature order for material of which were sold out. Also want to catch up on some loose ends -

1) The Earl Brewer treatise is here in my desk and although I referred to it I've never quite had or taken the time to give it the study it deserves. If there's a need for it let me know & I'll send it right over. Otherwise I'll send it on as soon as I can get to it.

2) The ½ of the A.C.H.R. supply of "Answers for Action" which you requested would have netted you about 2 copies. We had just about exhausted our supply & were fixing to reorder. I certainly hope that there will be a reprint as none of the other material including the fine "What the Ct. said" can substitute.

The B'ham News, Ala. Journal & ~~nigg~~ Advertiser + a TV station carried portions of our press release Wednesday. This all I've seen & may be all. Not one instance of reaction pro or con. Strange!

— BH

P.S. - The Advertiser last week carried a picture & squib of Andy Turnipseed receiving a D.D. from Boston U. Among his merits was "member of the Sou. Reg. Council". Wish he'd live up to other's expectations!!

I heard this one was going around N.Y.C. —

"Couple parked & the boy began to get fresh. Said her — 'If you don't stop I'll mortgomery!'"

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

June 11, 1956

RECEIVED JUN 12 1956

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attention: Mr. Routh

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is a copy of the third bulletin of the Montgomery County Citizens Council. Strangely enough, it was mailed directly to me, Ala. Council on Human Relations, by the Citizens Council. If you have any use for the content you can photostat it, but I would like to have the copy back because I am not certain that I would be able to get another copy.

As for the content: "Prepared Pulpit Poison" - Arthur D. Gray is President of Talladega College and one of our board members; "Another Pulpit Piddler Preaching Poison refers to Dan Whitsett, former A.C.H.R. President and present board member, and the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council.

I hope this will be of some use.

Sincerely yours,

BH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/mp
Encl.

FILE COPY

June 12, 1956

Mr. Robert Hughes
Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Ruth Alexander showed me your letter about a bonus for Mrs. Marie Pate. We will honor the arrangement you made and here is a check for $100 for Mrs. Pate.

I suggest that this arrangement is not characteristic of you at your circumspect best in business matters. You and we both run the risk that Mrs. Pate will quit you along about now or soon.

From this distance, and knowing little about the circumstances, we think it would have been wiser to offer her the $100 at the end of twelve months.

It seems to me that the risk of somebody being short-changed on the matter should be born by you who made the arrangement, and not by us. Wherefore, if Mrs. Pate serves less than a total of twelve months, we would feel authorized to request of you a refund, month by month, of the bonus for the unworked months as paid now to Mrs. Pate.

Seems a little tight, but to me it looks fair. What do you say?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: RHA

Encl. - SRC check for $100

June 15, 1956

FILE COPY

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Moore Building
Room 206
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I went to a meeting at Junaluska, in early June, of an Ecumenical Institute for the Southeast, organized by the National Council of Churches. Among those present was:

Prof. Carl J. Landes
Southern Union College
Wadley, Alabama

If he doesn't belong to your show, maybe he will join.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 19, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Court Street, Moore Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

You should have received by now the literature which you asked for on consignment.

As to the Earl Brewer manuscript, I will write you if a need for it should arise and the card won't pop up again until September 15th.

We have been working toward a revised edition of Answers for Action and I hope it will be available before too long.

Paul Anthony, who is researching the resistance movements for us this summer, will be in your bailiwick within a week or two. He will be calling on you and any information or advice that you can give him will be much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

July 3, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Thank you for your prompt and very helpful letter of July 2nd. I too regret that we were unable to get together while I was in Montgomery.

As my schedule now stands, I hope to be in Montgomery on Thursday, July 12th and if you are in town I shall look forward to seeing you then. If I cannot see you on this day I will plan to remain in Montgomery until Saturday the 14th since I would like to chat with you for a couple of hours.

During my visit next week I will attempt to see Miss DeBardeleben at Shorter. If you think it is necessary to pave the way for my visit, I will appreciate your doing so.

Please express my sincere appreciation to Mrs. Pate whose cooperation was invaluable.

I shall look forward to seeing you on the 12th or 14th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

PA:mbo

August 15, 1956

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
1101 Magnolia Curve
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I fell into conversation, some days ago, with an old friend from Birmingham who is unusually well informed. He told me of a newspaper editor at Florence, in your State, whose name I wrote down as Louie Eckl. I have some notion that this gentleman is an Austrian. I believe he is a Catholic. My informant tells me that the man Eckl is well disposed on matters of race.

You will find over the years to come that nothing helps you more than the habit of dropping in on newspaper editors. If this habit is cultivated, you reach a situation in which the newspapers themselves become eyes and ears for you.

The old Interracial Commission and we, as the Council, were in the habit of dropping in on the editors. They knew that we were never trying to sell them a propagandist line, but were trying to discuss calmly the facts and philosophy of each individual situation. And scores of them became our firm friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 19, 1956

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Apartment E
2921 19th Street, South
Homewood, Alabama

Dear Bob,

We have heard neither "hide nor hair" of you in lo these many weeks. We would appreciate some information on what you are doing. We are particularly interested in the Alabama Council securing adaquate office facilities in Birmingham. If you may remember, I asked once about the possibility of the Alabama Council securing a part of the house in which Dr. John Paul Jones has his office. I understand he now leases the entire building, and since he is our local chairman, I would imagine he would be interested in seeing that we had decent quarters.

Best regards to Dottie and the "wee one".

As ever,

Frederick E. Routh
Assistant Director

FER/bms

October 9, 1956

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
2921 Nineteenth Street, South
Apartment E
Homewood, Alabama

Dear Bob:

You were a good egg to write, and I am grateful.

One of my purposes in going to this remote spot is to burrow out comfort and hospitality for people just like you and your family to stop at. You will be through the British Isles on your way out to Bufufolo, and you must stop with the Mitchells. Moorland walks seventeen miles through the heather to the next pub. But then preachers have no use for pubs.

Howsomeever the Mitchells will take the car around by road to the end of the road and pick up all of you and feed you tea from a thermos flask, and bring you home to a peat fire and warm beds. Speed the day!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA

~~PHONE 2-0450~~
TR1 - 7962

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

2921 19th St. S.
apt. E.
Homewood, Ala.
Oct. 1, 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

Just a note of regret in hearing that you are resigning the first of the year. This comes as a great shock to all of us and it's difficult to imagine an SRC without B.S.M. - at least for us younger ones.

I know your reasons were not hastily arrived at as such a step must be grievous to you considering the life blood you gave the organization such as borrowing on your life insurance ~~company~~ policy to keep us alive during the "lean" years.

Perhaps you'll find yourself in the role of elder statesman in this field before long and before you go to Scotland. Thanks for all you've done that's visible and all the rest which only you know of. May the Lord bless you and Mrs. Mitchell and the girls. Sincerely, Bob Hughes

Confidential

October 12, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
2921 19th Street South, Apt. E
Homewood, Alabama

Dear Bob:

There is a question around up East as to whether Rosa Parks needs and deserves some economic help. Not directly our affair, but I promised to pass on any information we could get.

Would you know or can you readily find out what her status is, and whether efforts to secure contributions for her would be well directed. I understand there is some complication about her relationship with the Montgomery Improvement Association.

This is not a high priority item, and if it is too much trouble or too difficult, just scribble me a note to that affect.

Commendation and thanks for the way you handled the Causey affair. It is not resolved yet, as you probably know, but when it is maybe I should write Hand a note expressing appreciation.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Gulch and Arlinding

October 16, 1956

Mr. Robert Hughes
Apartment E
2921 Nineteenth Street, S.
Homewood, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The business about the Mobile unit is rather frightening. Appreciate your letting me know.

I have sent around another circular on the strength of it.

The trouble is that people get in these jams because zeal challenges them to exceed what is possible. Also, I sometimes suspicion that other more knowledgeable people aware of the forbidden character of political activity push on to us, as novices, things that they, the sophisticates, well know can't be done!

What you will have to do is double and treble your precautions with all your people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED OCT 15 1956

Apt. E, 2921 19th St. S.
Homewood, Ala.

Oct. 13, 1956

Dr. G. S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I've received your memorandum on political activity and have carefully read it twice in full and understand its contents. At the same time it arrived there was a letter from our Mobile chrm., Father Albert S. Foley, telling of his appearance before the Mobile City Commission "as a representative of the A.C.H.R. Mobile Dist." asking for the passage of an anti-Klan ordinance to combat a surge of Klan activity there. I was horrified at the thought of his taking this step and further dismayed when a brief press article carried the jist of the above.

I've been to Mobile to check into this + found Father Foley had acted in behalf of the A.C.H.R. group which had made the decision a week previous at a meeting. I discussed all of this thoroughly with Father Foley and the group at a called meeting last week + they realize the mistake which was made + I feel

certain it was done through lack of thought & in the heat of zeal. all of our district & local officers have been told several times about the restrictions on political activity and all have copies of our ACHR constitution which specifically prohibits such.

I just hope this doesn't get far enough for the Internal Revenue folks to hear of it as it could complicate further the troubles over there in the central office.

Secondly, about the letter marked "for your information" regarding reports to be made at the Oct. 24,25 Fund conference at Tuskegee. As my wife related to me the content of the phone call I understood ~~[illegible]~~ it would be appropriate for me to attend as a representative of the SRC "host" affiliate, which I assumed would be for the purpose of "being seen but not heard". To be on the safe side I feel impelled to ask if the recommendations for brief reports, etc. will be for my general background or if I will be expected to make such a report. Anything you say.

Thirdly, thanks for the invite to Scotland on our way to "Bufufolo". We gladly accept!

Sincerely,

BJ

November 5, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
2921 19th Street
Homewood, Ala.

Dear Bob:

Joseph L. Epps informs us that he wrote to you last week so I suppose you know his decision by now.

Was good to see you last week.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Information Service

JC:mbo

RECEIVED NOV 13 1956

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Rm. 1218, Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Ala.
nov. 12, 1956

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

The address of the Ala. Council state office is hereby changed from that of the above letterhead and the subsequent 2921 19th St.S., Homewood address to: RM. 1218, COMER BLDG.; BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

office phone: ALpine 2-2722.

Please enter this change of address in your own files and ask Mr. Routh to include it in his next "newsletter" to state affiliate staffs. Also notify any important agencies, etc. which have been given our address or if you can send me their names I can do so.

As yet we do not have an office secretary so this office will be closed while I am out of the city from time to time during the next two weeks.

Bring the following to the attention of Mr. Fleming - tomorrow nov. 13 Judge James Carter, Montgomery Circuit Court will ~~hear a~~ hold a hearing for a request from the city of Montgomery for a permanent injunction against the Montgomery Improvement Assn., some 20 odd negro churches and

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a large number of individual leaders restraining them from operating an "illegal" car pool on the grounds that they are operating the car pool without a city license for commercial transportation and that it is a "public misisance" as the city has lost some $15,000 in revenue bids back from the legitimate bus co. through competition. The off-the-record & confidential plan of the M.I.A. is to decentralize the car pool operation to a neighborhood setup, without using the 20 station wagons, having persons with cars to carry neighbors along set routes. Hence in good financial shape & funds are deposited in "unattachable locations".

On Wed., Nov. 14 the Federal District Court will hold a hearing on a request from the M.I.A. for an injunction restraining the City of Montgomery from interfering with the car pool.

In the event that you can arrange for any publicity on this it would be helpful - local press has it but this effort could be effective and far reaching and the wire services should be apprised so as to bring down public opinion on their heads. Thanks a lot.

Sincerely, Robert E. Hughes

December 27, 1956

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

This is to confirm the request I made by telephone last night that you send us the compilation of Church statements on race relations prepared by the Greater Birmingham Council.

There is a lot of interest in these pronouncements. I would be better able to discuss possible publication if I had the manuscript in hand.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Rm. 1218, Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Ala.
Dec. 14, 1956

Dear Harold:

The Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations has just completed a tough six month project of gathering together in one brochure a comprehensive collection of the ver batim statements on race relations of 51 church denominations and denominational committees on social action, etc.

The net result is the most all-inclusive material on this subject that I have seen to date and in its 56 typewritten pages the pertinent statements of every denomination of which I am aware with the exception of several smaller ones who did not respond to three inquiries each and who probably would respond from another source (United Lutherans, Friends).

The advantage of this material over S.R.C. and nat. Council material is its

comprehensiveness on one hand and the fact that it includes the latest statements of each. For instance Oct. new South carried the statement of the Presby. Ch. U.S.A. of 1954 whereas included here is that made in May 1956.

I am wondering if the S.R.C. might be interested in printing this material or possibly splitting the cost of printing. The latter proposal is of course rather uncertain as neither we nor the local group have funds for such at this time. If you are sufficiently interested I'll mail it over to you for perusal.

Cordially,
Bob

P.S.- In a few more days you'll probably insist on our calling you "Mr. Flemming" with a few "sirs" thrown in. Want a bigger hat for Christmas!

January 8, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

My secretary was just before mailing you a letter concerning your questions to Fred about New South billing when we received the additional letter.

Harold, Fred, and I discussed the proposal. Unfortunately, we have no bookkeeping provisions which allow for prorating New South subscriptions, which is what would be involved.

We have had considerable difficulty in the past in keeping New South records straight, and we are in the process of instituting a much simpler and more uniform record system. We think that if we established such a billing system for Alabama that it might again tend to complicate our record system. For instance, we probably will continue to get some New South subscriptions from Alabama separate from the Alabama Council membership. This would necessitate two separate set of records for the state in our file.

Then, too, if someone joined the Alabama Council in November or January; this would necessitate prorating New South costs for one or two months and our policy is not to accept subscriptions for less than one year.

As far as we know, none of the other states has this system.

I can appreciate your desire to simplify your bookkeeping.

I am sure that once a year billing would be a blessing for you. Wish I could give you more encouragement.

Thanks for the comment on New South and best wishes for 1958.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Ala.
Jan. 2, 1958

John Constable
SRC

Dear John,

Due to the fact that probably over 2/3 of our memberships (+ N.S. sub.) expire in the late winter and Spring of 1958, our Exec. Com. has asked me to investigate the possibility of having all of them to come due at our annual meeting in early Feb. each year.

I see the major problem as involving the N.S. subscriptions. Could we work out some arrangement on this which might possibly save both you and us a good bit of paperwork for Ala.?

Have any of the other states tried to do the same, and if so what do they think of it after experience?

Thanks for your help on this and keep up the good work you are doing on New South. Best of the new year to you, fella.

Cordially, Bob

February 1, 1957

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I will be able to make it to Tuscaloosa for your annual meeting about noon Saturday, the 9th. I will fly into Birmingham, get a U-Drive-It, and come out to Tuscaloosa.

I had already committed myself to a meeting in New Orleans Friday evening and this is the best I can do in terms of schedule.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

February 4, 1957.

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Your order for literature is being mailed today with the exception of the two pamphlets, How to Stop Violence and Intimidation in Your Community and Souls Don't Have Color. ADL says that How to Stop Violence is out of print and they do not contemplate a new printing. They are sending you one copy with permission to mimeograph it if you wish. As to the Souls, Emory Via contacted UAW here and they do not have quantity of the pamphlet; but he is rushing an order to Detroit for you in hopes that it will get to Alabama by Saturday. Hope it does.

Best wishes for your annual meeting.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/eab

February 21, 1957

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter received from Grover Hall which is self-explanatory.

We wonder if you would search your clip file and send us any clips which would substantiate Paul's thesis.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:mm
Enclosure

March 6, 1957

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your aid in the Grover Hall matter. Don't worry too much about it. We have written Mr. Hall concerning what we propose to do and are waiting for his reply.

As to the voting figures on Alabama, I am enclosing a copy for your information. You will note that for the present this is not for publication. As soon as we get something in the print, you will of course be free to use the material also.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc
Encl.

State - Alabama

Ala

X

Paid Southern Regional Council 3/28/57

Alfred W. Hobart
Chairman
Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations
502 Edgeland Place
Birmingham, Alabama

Regret inability to attend your meeting. Previous engagement in Louisiana.

Frederick B. Routh

State - Alabama

2

April 9, 1957
(Dictated April 8, 1957)

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I have received a copy of the letter you wrote Duncan Hunter regarding the financial situation in Alabama. With you, I am dismayed at the critical condition, yet I would point out to you that the other states are in a similar position. I believe the letter is a good one, and I hope it will produce some action on Dunc's part and also on the part of members of the Finance Committee.

In response to your letter of April 3, I have: (1) sent the list of all state directors to Will Campbell in Nashville, suggesting that he send them at least one brochure on the Conference; (2) sent out a state staff memorandum encouraging participation in this Council.

I like your idea of emphasizing the bringing together of ministers across racial lines. There is a group in Orlando, Florida, that has been doing an outstanding job. Actually, it is under the auspices of a local chapter of the Florida Council. They have a sub-committee called the Ministers Inter-Faith Committee on Human Relations, and people from all the various religions come together once a month at a luncheon meeting to hear a speaker and to discuss the problems of human relations. They have had participation by most of the major Protestant denominations and from the Jewish groups. As yet, the Catholic groups have not participated, but there is an interest on the part of at least one local priest, and this too may develop. I was invited down to speak to them last month, and the meeting went very well. Previous speakers had been the Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of South Florida and the Bishop of the A.M.E. Church from North Florida.

I will call you later this morning to inform you that it will now be possible for me to come to Alabama May 3 and 4 as you requested. The

NAIRO Board Meeting has been moved to mid-April, unfortunately, to two dates for which I had previous committments, so I shall be unable to make the meeting of the NAIRO Board. However, it does clear the way for my coming to Alabama, and as I have often told the other Board members of NAIRO, saving the South has certain priority.

Best regards to Dottie and you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Dictated but not read by Mr. Routh.

States

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

[redacted]

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama
April 12, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

In response to your memorandum of April 11 with regards to the Staff Conference I would suggest the inclusion of the following topic for consideration: "How State Organizations can Activate the Latent Power of the Church ~~on~~ the State and ~~in the~~ Local Level," with particular emphasis on the clergy. From what I heard of North Carolina, Harry Jones should be able to lend much resourceful information. Also, "How to Support State Organizations" with consideration given to how State Execuvites can effectively divorce themselves from this.

Our State Finance Committee met yesterday with a fair cross section of our Executive Committee in attendance and they made a definite decision that I was to be involved in the Financial Campaign and according to the program as outlined I will be actually serving as chairman of the State Finance Committee. Appeals about pressing program matters fell on deaf ears and it is clear that they will receive my attention only after financial necessities have been taken care of. If this is the attitude of our Board of Directors i.e. that my responsibility shall be finances first during the period after the grant ends, I am certain that my time can better be spent on the Mission Field. The Board of Directors is to meet along with the Finance Committee on either Thursday May 28 or Saturday June 1 at which time I will give them the alternative of my resignation or taking the responsibility for financial support of the Council completely into their hands.

Thus, Alabama has become one of the states "with problems" along with Louisiana etc. and you might like to attend this Board meeting. I will let you know which date we decide upon as soon as the Board can be told.

I am sending the card enclosed with the memorandum to Jim Pierce asking him to return it to you if he can make the Conference and to me if he cannot.

Cordially,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:mk

ate-Alabama

April 16, 1957

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of April 12. Sorry I didn't get to answer it sooner but I have been out of town. I was sorry to see that the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council feels that you should spend considerable time raising funds. We think this unwise.

Don't make any drastic decisions about taking off into the Mission Fields. There are still souls and bodies to be saved here in the South and if they are not saved, no person in Africa is going to seriously accept the teaching of a white, Southern Protestant. Secondly, there is a good chance as we now see it that SRC will be able to help state organizations for another two or three year period, though not so extensively as in the past. The Fund for the Republic staff has taken a new interest in state organizations. At our state staff meeting May 21-22 we will know fully how far that interest goes.

I received a card from Jim Pierce. Am glad he will be at the conference. I regret that I am tied up every week end between now and May 3rd and 4th, when I'll see you in Alabama.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:nm

April 25, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Robbie:

It was good to see you at Nashville and I regret I did not get to see the SRC folks again before I left. Would you please send me the poop on the two meetings scheduled in Alabama May 3 and 4.

Best regards to you and Dottie.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	Paid		Southern Regional Council	11:15, 5/2/57

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Will meet you Exchange Hotel 10 - 10:30.

Fred Routh

State - Alabama

May 8, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I have marked Saturday, June 1, on my calendar in this fashion, "Montgomery, Alabama, for semi-annual Board Meeting." Please send me the details when you decide as to place and time.

We have discovered the unpleasant fact that the Alabama Council has not been sending in financial reports as required by SRC. I knew that your narrative reports did not come in regularly. I had no idea that the financial reports were not coming. We consider this a very serious lapse on the part of the Alabama Council. I suggest you remedy this situation at once.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

May 7, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

We sent in our New South subscription list on March 15, and have had several complaints from some of the people, Miss Roberta Ried, for one, that they have not received a copy of New South to date. We have explained to them that it was possible that March 15 was too late for the April issue to be sent them and they will begin to receive it with the May issue.

We have received the new instructions and April's list will be compiled accordingly.

Sincerely yours,

Margie Kizziah

Margie Kizziah, Secretary to
Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec. Dir.

/mk

May 8, 1957

Miss Margie Kizziah
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Rm. 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Miss Kizziah:

We are sorry that some of the people contained on your NEW SOUTH subscriptions list have not received copies as yet. However, you may remember that this list was extremely long and covered a great deal of time and so it has taken a little time to get all of our files up to date.

These subscribers will received an April Issue at the same time the May Issue is mailed.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC;ck

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

May 10, 1957

Mr. John Constable
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Here in Alabama there is rapidly mounting interest in Negro voting registration throughout the state which was particularly stirred up by a mass march on the registration offices in Montgomery, Macon and Elmore counties. This is one area of programs in which the Alabama Council can spur further interest especially among whites who have no idea as to the Negro registration numbers in many areas.

All of this is to say that I am anxiously awaiting the opportunity to put in our Newsletter the breakdown of voting registration county by county throughout Alabama which is the result of Jim Pierce's survey of last summer. These figures are in many areas already dated and will not be accepted as authoritative should their release be delayed much longer.

As you will recall I didn't want to publish these figures until SRC had made its publication and so I am most anxiously awaiting some action on your part before they lose their ~~apparent~~ current value.

Please let me hear from you as soon as convenient. I am looking forward to seeing you on the 21st.

Cordially,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:mk

May 13, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your prompt and most informative reply to my recent request for information.

Your interview with Carl Griffin sounded quite worthwhile to me. I would be much interested in a brief informal report on what he has to say to your Birmingham chapter on labor and race relations in Alabama. I will send Griffin an invitation to the special union training institute to be held in connection with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations. If a good opening presents itself, you might give this matter a push.

I did get to give the Alabama Council, and you, a push in a recent letter to Pippin. I was sending him a copy of our Summary of Segregation Legislation in which he was interested.

Quick, informal notes on other persons whom you think I should be in touch with and on any incidents related to labor would be of continuing help to me. Don't hesitate to ask me to prod or approach labor guys on your behalf. Occasionally, such a request might get in the way of some other activity, but we can always iron that out when it occurs.

I trust that it will not be too long before I am with you again. With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama
May 8, 1957

Bob Hughes rec.

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

In response to your request for names of some people in Gadsden who are somewhat liberal here is a few that I know:

Card

Jack Ryan, President United Steel Workers Local, 110-A North 27th Street, Alabama City, Alabama.

Card

Mr. E. K. Bowers, President U. R. Workers Local, 110 Hoke Street, East Gadsden, Alabama.

Card

Mr. Bud Knowles, U. R. Workers Local, same address as above.

Card 2nd

Mr. George Hawkins, State Legislator, Folsom's top floor leader and Attorney for most of Gadsden's labor groups who was an inactive member of our State Board of Directors until 1956 when the Governor requested him to resign for fear of repercussions. This should be regarded as strictly confidential.

I have met and talked with all of the above with the exception of Knowles. All were invited to participate in the formation of the nucleus for an Alabama Council chapter in Gadsden in 1956 and all agreed to serve but only Hawkins actually attended our two small group meetings. Should you conceive of your portfolio as including the encouragement of such persons to assist in the formation of a bi-racial discussion and action group I hope that you will point these persons in that direction.

we have a Card - make a 2nd if needed

I have just returned from an hour's conference with Carl Griffin, President of AFL-CIO State Council with offices in the Lyric Bldg. here in Birmingham. Carl is an inactive member of our State Board, is fairly easy to talk to and a likable chap. He is liberal but doesn't seem to have very strong convictions and appraises his position as one of fairness and neutrality because he thinks most of his Negro members are NAACP members and most of his white members are in the Citizen's Council. He states that although the labor "revolt" which focused here in Alabama last spring and summer was a flop and the leaders discredited, the potential is still

there and it will manifest itself the first time there is another racial incident which affects labor. He asserted that the state organization had no funds to assist us, yet he is willing to send out a letter to selected individuals and locals encouraging their contributions to this financial drive. He also agreed to serve as speaker for the meeting next Tuesday evening of our local chapter and the theme of "The Role of Labor in Ala. Race Relations."

Card

Leroy Lindsey, Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO State Council served as a labor discussion group leader at our Annual Meeting last Feb. According to Griffin he has strong convictions on race.

Card 2nd

Jim Battles, Title Real Estate and Insurance Company, Frank Nelson Bldg., Birmingham, is on our State Board and is former Secretary-Treasurer of the State CIO Council - until last October. He is very outspoken on race and could not make the necessary compromises essential to continuation in office and resigned. But some of this is just bragging on his part.

Mr. Ray Morgan, President of one of the two Packing House Locals has attended our Annual and local meetings and a Mr. Vincent who is some kind of regional man here. Both can be reached through 28½ South 20th Street, Birmingham,

Card

Card

Then of course there is Mr. William Mitch, "daddy" of Alabama labor and presently President of the Dist. 20 United Mine Workers, Comer Bldg., Birmingham. He is on our local Board and along with him is Dr. A. E. Koplan, Director of UMW Welfare and Retirement Fund, Area Medical Office, American Life Bldg., Birmingham. He has been active until recently.

I hope that these names fulfill your request and that you will be able to follow up before long. It was good to see you recently and I hope that you found Margaret making ~~full~~ further progress when you reached Warm Springs.

Cordially,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:mk

May 14, 1957

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director,
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob,

Sorry to dissappoint you again but we are not quite ready to release the voting figures. However, the manuscript is in good shape and we expect to publish it very soon. Perhaps, I can let you know something more definite next week.

Anyway, I am looking forward to seeing you at the State Meeting here.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:cj

May 17, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director,
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

The delay in replying to your letter of May 8, has been caused by Mrs. Tilly's absence from the office because of minor foot surgery.

Mrs. Tilly hopes to return to the office next week. At this time, your letter will be brought to her immediate attention.

Sincerely yours,

Carmenceita P. Jones,
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

c/

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. 2121 2ND AVE. NORTH, MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0456

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama
May 8, 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am attempting to bring together as much information on precedents of integration of inter-denominational work and on various connection levels both in Alabama and in neighboring states. I should like to have any information as to which Southern states have Councils of Church Women integrated on the state level. Also I need to get the names of a few cities which have integrated Councils of Church Women on the local level. Lastly do you have anything along this line in Mississippi?

Thank you very much for your help in this matter. It seems as though we also owe our gratitude to you for your work with the women in our state. Incidentally I wonder if you could give me a brief statement which would clarify my own thinking as to the essential difference between the Fellowship of the Concerned and the Council of Church Women on the Local Level.

Keep your fine work up and the wonderful spirit in which it is carried forward.

Cordially,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:mk

State organizations

May 23, 1957

Dear Bob:

During the State Staff Conference, Harold Fleming and I held individual meetings with each of you on Tuesday evening. At that time we discussed the financial situation of your state organization and gave you a resume of its status.

The dates on the paper read "As of April 1st, 1957." They should read "As of May 1st, 1957." Please make this correction.

This in no way changes the figures involved.

See attached corrected version.

Attached note forwarded to:

Alabama	Bob Hughes
Arkansas	Nat Griswold
Florida	Bill Williams
Kentucky	Verbenna Scott
Louisiana	Milton Vigo
North Carolina	Harry Jones
South Carolina	Alice Spearman
Texas	Ed Kloppe

May 27, 1957

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director,
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob Hughes,

I suppose someton has told you that I have been a victim of a hospital experience. I am all right now, however. In answer to your questions:

1. Here in the South, the Council of Church Women are integrated in the following states: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee Georgia, Florida, and Texas.

2. The Fellowship of the Concerned is out and beyond the Council of Church Women but always has their cooperation. When we have a meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, each denomination of the South, Jews Catholics and Protestants sends in the list of women to be invited. In our South-wide meeting last fall, a Catholic Priest was the leader of our workshop, a Jewish Rabbi wrote one of the worships services. Dr. A. C. Miller, a Baptist minister spoke to us three times giving biblical basis for Human Rights.

In some instances, the Christian Social Relations Chairman of the United Church women has chaired the meeting in the State, but this is not always true. It looks now as if a Jewish lawyer, a v ery fine woman from Tennessee will chair the meeting.

As you know, we always find funds to pay transportation and entertainment for those in attendance.

I hope I have clarified these matters for you. There is one other thing I might say, we have always invited the State Chairman of the Council on Human Relations and they usually attend.

With best wishes to you, Mrs. Hughes and the little one, I remain,

Sincerely yours

MET:aj

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

June 11, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Robbie:

Got your letter of June 10th and am glad to hear that the financial situation looks somewhat more hopeful in Alabama these days.

Thanks, too, for the clipping and information on the Klan meeting at Sylacauga. Old Dan Whitsett should be renamed Stonewall, for he is standing firm like one. I have always thought the Klan to be a cowardly organization. Any time grown men have to don bed sheets to give them a sense of security, it shows a personality defect of rather high degree. I like the idea of Dan meeting Alvin Horn on a television program. I believe he would do even better than Mike Wallace did with Eldon Edwards.

I have turned your request for pay for Miss Burns over to Mrs. Alexander for action. We approve of hiring Dottie, alias Mrs. Dorothy S. Hughes, on a temporary part-time basis. She will receive a check for three days work on the 15th.

Best personal regards.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

CO file

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - ~~217 S. COURT ST. MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA~~
~~PHONE 2-0450~~

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

RHA for action

Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama
June 10, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Freddie:

No progress yet on financial reports but as soon as I can get over several obstacles facing me, I hope to get on it. This should be in two or three weeks provided I can get a secretary.

The one I had lined up did not work out after a week's trial employment. She is due pay for June 4-June 7 inclusive at the regular $208 per month salary scale. Details: Miss Margaret M. Burns, 1028 4th Ave. W, Birmingham 4, Alabama, SS number 424-28-9810, no dependents. Of course I'm still looking for others through newspaper ads as well as agencies.

ok FBR

OK RHA 6/11/57

Finances are rocking along reasonably well, and we will have plenty to get us through this fiscal year and on into the next. Just how far remains to be seen.

Sylacauga had a Klan rally of 300 attendents with crosses being burned at Dan Whitsett's church and the First Baptist. Enclosed are headlines from this morning's paper which relate to a bomb threat. I'll be in Sylacauga tomorrow for the Ministerial Association meeting with clippings and other information on how Mobile dealt with its Klan activity, namely ministerial association resolutions, individual church resolutions, a 30 organization ad condemning the Klan and violence, and an anti-cross burning ordinance.

A related scheme we are working on - we have an understanding with the NBC-TV outlet here for a panel discussion on race relations at such time as we can get two whites to consent to appear. My thought is to get Dan and his now, according to the public, arch rival, Alvin Horn, Alabama Imperial Wizard U.S. Knights of the KKK, on this program next Sunday or the following. So far I've talked only with Dan, and he will take it up with his official board tonight. I'm sure he would make Horn look silly in any discussion. Will hope for the best.

Cordially,

BBR

over

- more -

P.S.

Until I can get a permanent secretary, the best solution seems to be to hire Dottie, alias Mrs. Dorothy S. Hughes of Route 16, Box 1045-H, Birmingham 9, Alabama, on a temporary part-time basis, (If this is acceptable) As we have worked it out, by the 15th when the next check is due, she will have worked 3 days. Her SS number is 238-42-5106, and she has no dependents, not even herself.

ok HBR

BEH

June 13, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I am uneasy about the matter of the compilation of church statements prepared by the Greater Birmingham Council. I wrote you as enclosed on February 20th and there the matter has rested.

Was nothing ever decided? What would you like us to do with the compilation?

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - Ltr. dated February 20, 1957

June 13, 1957

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

You have received notice of the T.V. showing last Sunday on ABC of the film "Segregation and the South" produced by George Martin for the Fund for the Republic.

I thought you would want to know that the news film footage which George shot in Alabama with your untiring help figures importantly in the film. Among other things, the film includes part of the interview with you, the meeting of the Tuscaloosa interracial group, and the interracial student group at Talladega - these ~~representative~~ positive things along with Ace Carter, the Klan, and so on. I hope the film will be shown in your vicinity, so that you will have a change to feel a justified glow of pride.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dear Harold, RECEIVED JUN 19 1957 ala June 18, 1957

Just a note to say that I've pressed the local committee to action on the "Church's Stand" work and we should have an answer by Fri. which I will send right on over to you. Like you I hope to get this disposed of as soon as posible. P.S. Sen. Douglas' quotation of your voting figures via the Lib. of Congress got a good display locally. Congrats on this public rel. job.

Cordially,
Bob

Hughes

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

John Constable
SRC

1218 Comer Bldg.
B'ham 3, Ala.
June 20, '57

Dear John:

Enclosed find a reprint of last Fridays B'ham News headline. The story received no publicity outside of the B'ham News that I've been able to pick up. I thought that this dissatisfaction with the Dr. Kleins here and the specific charge might be useful in some way if employed imaginatively. The split and rumblings are still going on and will be climaxed, I assume, in perhaps a week or so when the organizational rally is held. Perhaps it will feature more specific changes. At any rate the AP Bureau there might be interested in seeing that this is covered here and that they get the story in Dr., particularly criticism of Edwards' etc. handling of affairs.

Mrs. Morton Elder was just in to apply for Ff. sec. but our scale is too low. Said her husband was a labor consultant, had been employed by S.R.C. thru a Fund grant. I've never heard of him. Have you? Best regards to all.

— BJ

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

~~ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. 217 S. COURT ST. MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA~~
PHONE 2-0450

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama
June 21, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue Northeast
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Here is another clip that you will be interested in from the June 21st Montgomery Advertiser. I would appreciate its return when convenient. Now that these statistics are out in the press in Alabama, a portion of them were used in the Birmingham News recently, I wonder if I might receive permission to use them along with the 1954 statistics which we have here in trying to work up percentages of increase and percentages of those registered of the potential Negro voters, all of this together to constitute a general press release.

Cordially,

BER

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cdf

P.S.- as you may remember, I had permission only to use your set of statistics for my newsletter.

June 24, 1957

Reverend Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Another quick request is necessary since we cannot find copies of the Birmingham News here in Atlanta. I wonder if you would get us a copy of the article which mentioned the voting figures. We would like to use it in some of our promotional material.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

June 24, 1957

Reverend Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your recent letters and the two newspaper clippings.

Yes you are free to use the voting survey in any way you like. The clipping from the Montgomery Advertiser is very good and most interesting.

I will send you a thermo-fax copy of the clipping and hold on to the original for a little while since we may want to make some copies of it, as we could not do from a thermo-fax copy. I will send the original back to you very soon however.

Again thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

File

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama
June 25, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

After receiving your letter this afternoon requesting the Birmingham News article, I sent my secretary over to the News building to see if she could locate it but she was unsuccessful. It might possibly have been in the Post Herald or remotely the Advertiser. At any rate I drew a blank on this effort and due to the fact that I will be out of town until about next Tuesday, it looks like we will have to wait. I hope you didn't need it in the near future. If you don't hear from me within ten days, don't hesitate to remind me. Keep the Advertiser editorial as long as needed.

I think that I have spotted one of Dr. Mitchell's "specks on the horizon". Last Friday, the Alabama legislature enacted a local bill which removes all but ten Negroes from Tuskegee's city limits by the process of shrinking the boundaries, thanks to Sam Englehardt. In today's Advertiser a brief article stated that some white merchants were feeling a bit of pressure. The Tuskegee Civic Association, which is a highly organized pre-M.I.A. mass-type organization of Negroes ably led by our own state vice-president, is holding a mass meeting tonight. Mr. C. G. Gomillion told me by phone just now that no organized boycott is presently planned although there is some fear that if Klan elements from surrounding counties come in to protest the rally there might be some concrete reaction. At any rate, I foresee that the legislature will not reverse this action any time soon, nor will the white merchants be willing to lose face by asking for a reversal right away. In the face of such I can only see that the Negroes will adopt a policy of "If we can't vote in Tuskegee, we will not trade there either". Unless I am getting rusty, I definitely foresee an Orangeburg in the making with some Koinonea thrown in in due time as white wholesalers cut off the numerous local Negro businesses.

I should be there tonight but I cant make it until Friday, where I will be through Sunday. In the tradition of Montgomery, I'll give you a collect phone call for an on-the-spot report if things get hot.

Cordially,

Bob

Reverend Robert E. Hughes

REH/cdf

file

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabmama
June 26, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Found it!

Cordially,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

July 2, 1957

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Harold has asked me to write you regarding the churches statements. We will proceed to mimeograph this with the two additions. It may take some time to finish the job since we are a little pressed at the moment.

Harold also says to tell you that Fred will be available for your Board of Directors meeting on July 15. Our Executive Committee meeting has been scheduled for the 16th and 17th.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

JC - Pls read + return with advice. HCF

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

~~ROOM 206 MOORE BLDG. 217 S. COURT ST. MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA~~
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

RECEIVED JUN 25 1957

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama
June 24, 1957

RECEIVED [illegible] 5 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a copy of Bem Price's article on you appearing on page two of the Birmingham News yesterday. It seems to me that Price did not come up to his standard shown in his 1954 article on Dr. Mitchell, and is almost apologizing for writing about you.

The local committee which got up the church "stands" piece has decided to accept your third alternative as outlined in your February letter, i.e., to let the SRC mimeograph it with the request that it not be condensed. I think this is the wisest, from my own standpoint, as the limited appeal would probably not justify printing it, and all the money they can scrape together locally is being sent to the state office and condensation for inclusion in the New South would largely defeat its real value. As I see it, the chief value of this work is in its all-inclusiveness, and will best serve as a reference work.

Of course it will now need revision in that the Southern Presbyterians, among others, have issued new statements. So you now have the green light to go ahead, but they did want me to make certain that it was not condensed. At such time as you might see a possible publication date, of course we would be interested in hearing about it.

I know Fred is on vacation and that the SRC Executive Committee will be meeting sometime during the week of July 14th. July 15, Monday, has been set as our Board of Directors meeting and in the event that your Executive Committee meeting does not fall on the 15th, I hope that you will be in a position to spare him for us. We have been priveleged with his

16-17

RECEIVED JUN 25 1957

presence only for a couple of hours since last September, when he flew in to catch the last of our annual meeting in February. Because of the anticipated changes in our organization to reflect a lower income, we will desperately need his advice. I was all too much aware of this when we held our board meeting last month.

Best wishes for your work.

Cordially,

Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cdf

2. ea returned

July 9, 1957

CONFIDENTIAL

First Report on Tuskegee

Based upon personal experiences, observations and interviews by this writer during the period June 28-July 3 the following constitutes his appraisal of the situation prevailing there at the time of his visit.

GENERAL:

Macon County and Tuskegee are typical deep Southern Black Belt areas as far as the white population is concerned. Tuskegee Negroes are markedly different as will be shown. The old of the white culture and the new of the Negro has come into conflict in a classic struggle that due to the size of the community, character of the adversaries, availability of news coverage, etc., almost lends itself to a laboratory situation.

I INTERACTION OF THE WHITE AND NEGRO COMMUNITIES:

Voter Registration -- From 32 Negroes registered in the county 22 years ago, the Tuskegee Civic Assn. through constant pressure including an unsuccessful Federal Court suit now counts 1,100 Negroes and 2,900 whites in the county, 400 Negroes and 600 whites in the town. Four hundred additional educated Tuskegee Negroes are fully qualified for immediate registration if such were possible.

The liberal Bd. of Registrars chairman Bentley of Notasulga was responsible for a sharp rise in Negro registration during Folsom's first administration (1947-1951). Since 1954 only 16 Negroes have been registered. Bentley's death and a resignation forced the Board to close for lack of a quorum in January 1956. New registrars weren't appointed dispite Negro protests until April 1957.

On the two day registration days 60 Negroes appeared but were told that no applications would be accepted due to lack of office furniture. Forty Negroes appeared for the two June registration days. The registrars arrived late and left early each time. One got sick and upon leaving in early afternoon forced the closing due to lack of a quorum. Eight Negroes were able to actually make application on the two days, the line moving very slowly due to constant interruptions by registrars with questions during filling out of application forms. One Negro lady had to copy thirteen pages from the state constitution printed in extremely fine print hardly readable. Of approximately 100 Negroes attempting to register in these two months only eight were permitted to file applications and no certificates have been awarded to date.

One white man related to this writer that a registrar supplied many of the answers on his application some time back which he otherwise would not have been able to answer. This is illegal under Alabama law.

Earlier Boycotts -- Over the years Negro buyer resistance over injustices has arisen spontaneously with little or no coordination. They have been effective but

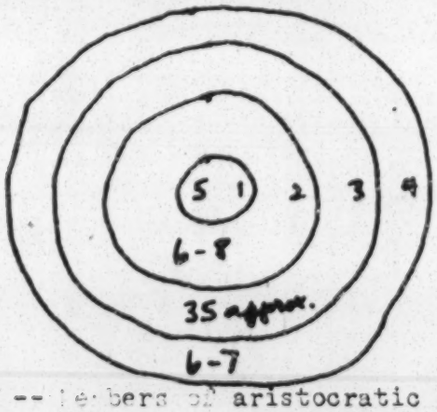
generally short-lived. The last one occurred in 1953 lasting 6-8 weeks. Various businessmen secretly solicited exemptions in return for efforts at concessions for Negroes.

Communication Between the Races -- Repeated requests by Negroes for face to face talks have been rejected by governmental officials. Letters would be answered and conferences were always individual to individual without witnesses. A mayor on one occasion physically barred the door to prevent a Negro delegation from attending a city council meeting.

At the mass meeting on July 2 the T.C.A. outlined a series of standing committees which stand ready "at any time" to confer with appropriate governmental and community bodies on matters of common concern -- enumerated were the city council, board of registrars, board of education, welfare board, merchants, ministers and womens organizations.

II WHITE COMMUNITY:

The crucial element in the white community of Tuskegee at this time is the town's businessmen. Their apparent relative positions can best be understood by four concentric circles arbitrarily entitled (1) "The Big Five", (2) "The Inner Circle", (3) "The Rank and File" and (4) "The Independents". Numerical strength of each can be considered fairly accurate.



"The Big Five" -- Members of aristocratic families dating back locally many generations, have controlled the economic and political situation of Macon County during this time and were responsible for getting planter Englehardt to run for the state senate in 1954 on a white supremacy ticket. This group includes millionaire cotton broker Bridges, City Council Pres. Edwards and his brother, Probate Judge Varner in office for over 20 years, and a Mr. Lasley, Pres. of the City Bank of Tuskegee. Leslie

The Macon County and Tuskegee gerrymander bills are thought to have originated with this secretive group. All are financially secure from the Negro boycott and are thought to be in a position to benefit as other businesses fail. One of the Edwards brothers sold his Cadillac-Pontiac agency in April. Their attitude is characterized by a remark by Bridges, "I don't care what happens to Tuskegee, the niggers aren't going to take over." Varner is considered the strongest leader of this oligarchy.

"The Inner Circle" -- Composed of 6-8 wealthy businessmen who derive their income from other businessmen rather than directly from the Negro. They regard themselves as boycott-secure and are probably thinking in terms of the popular idea that the boycott will be short-lived as in the past. Apparently they were consulted about the city-split bill before its being published in local press.

"The Rank and File" -- The bulk of the businessmen whose economic position is based more or less directly upon Negro patronage. These 35 or so knew nothing of the city-split bill until advertised in the press. Because of their tenuous economic position they probably would have opposed it in fear of a boycott. Knowing this the Varner group kept it secret and by the time of the announcement things were regarded as having gone too far to oppose it openly for fear of being labled pro-Negro. These businessmen are being hurt and are talking of alternative enterprizes and arrangements in Tuskegee or elsewhere, but all are beginning to realistically face the possibility of "selling out".

When one begins complaining about his situation it is thought that one of the "Big Five" sends one of the "Inner Circle" down to talk to him. The stock answer is "Everything is going to be alright. Just sit tight and we'll work things out. If a reporter asks how your business is doing say, "Just about normal'". It is known that when the manager of a local outlet balked in some fashion, Sen. Engelhardt phoned a Birmingham official of the chain complaining that the local manager was "not going along with the folks down here" or words to that effect. While Engelhardt was on the line the official called the Tuskegee manager on another phone and directed him to fall into line. It's thought that this was the V.J. Elmore 10¢ store chain which has outlets primarily in Alabama and owned by a Birmingham Elmore family. To date these tactics have pretty well kept the Rank and File in line. The other two groups have been notably successful in transferring grievances back toward the Negro.

"The Independents" -- A small group of 6-7 small businessmen who are relative newcomers to the city. Like the Rank and File they too were caught by surprise and did not register open dissent. However since the boycott they have registered a quiet dissent speaking in terms of "It's 3½ years until the next city election. Why have they gone ahead now with such arbitrary action and gotten the Negroes all stirred up?" They do not know one another and have no group feeling and feel helpless.

Three businesses have quietly closed to date -- the theater, an outlet for a chain dry cleaning concern and an unidentified third store.

The Clergy -- three full-time resident clergymen. Rev. Pat White, young intelligent liberal Presbyterian U.S. pastor. During his six years he's won high respect of white community, feels deeply about race and in last year or so has preached and counseled in very strong terms. Recently told congregation "I'm not a segregationist". Rev. John Lane, former Alabama Council on Human Relations district officer, was assigned a month ago to the small Methodist Church as pastor of the Varners, Bridges, etc. He is fearful of position as he's only returning to pastorate

from 6 years connectioval work and has been in town only one month. Liberal but extremely cautious. Probably can't be counted on for "open " work until "after 3 months" or perhaps in a state of crisis. Baptist pastor is ultra-conservative and has been in town only 6 months.

The rest of the white community, professional people, wives, etc., are thought to generally support the city-split bill. An "Ace Carter " could probably develop some following from the white rabble if such should appear.

The Citizens Council is weak and generally non-essential under the current circumstances. The Macon County W.C.C. was one of the earliest in the state, largely inactive and never had support of Tuskegee whites for fear of boycott. Leadership other than Englehardt's came from Notasulga, small community 10 miles north, and other places out in the county. Chairman of the Bd. of Registrars is or was the founding chairman of the Citizens Council. No activity in about a year.

No local Klan activity to date. Any Klan activity or violence that might occur will likely come from outside, perhaps Montgomery, Elmore County or Opelika where Klan activity is indegenous. It may be some time before a large scale Klan Rally is held in Tuskegee as the major Klan group in the state which has had activity in the above areas is in the process of reorganization.

III NEGRO COMMUNITY:

The protest sponsor is the Tuskegee Civic Assn., an organization 22 years old headed by Mr. C. A. Gomillion for 15 of these 22 years. Gomillion is Dean of Students and teaches sociology at the Institute. He actively serves as state vice-president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and as a district chairman. He is a life member of N.A.A.C.P.

The Ministerial Alliance, composed of ~~four~~ eight or ten Negro ministers, rejected the TCA idea of establishing a new mass organization and told the TCA to continue with the Alliance assuring its support. No open opposition to the TCA and community-wide support seems assured. Aloofness is presently characteristic of Dr. I. H. Foster, president of Tuskegee Institute and Dr. Tillen, Negro director of the predominantly Negro 2,100 bed V. A. Hospital. Non-Tuskegee (out in the county) Negroes are an undetermined factor, but presumably will follow the TCA leadership generally.

The Negro community is relatively secure in that primary employers are the Institute and the V.A. Tuskegee's Negroes probably have a higher per capita income, education and standard of living than any Negro community in the state or possibly the Deep South. On the whole their frustration over voting, grossly inequitable distribution of school funds, lack of recreation facilities constitute incentives for united action with the city-split bill serving as the "Rosa Parks" precipitating incident.

Application of Alabama's anti-boycott law through injunction is virtually impossible as the "car pool" is unorganized and decentralized -- a man will buy for his neighbors or take 3 or 4 along when he goes into Montgomery, Opelika or Auburn 20-40 miles distant. By swapping out an individual need travel out of town only

once a month or so. Immediate necessities such as groceries and gasoline can be purchased from Negro businesses some of which are supplied by a boycott exempted wholesale company.

The Negro community is well permeated with the "Montgomery spirit". Several reports of minor Negro intimidation are probably valid, but police accusations of "goon squads" are completely unfounded.

The TCA leadership is stable, determined and will settle for nothing less than (1) reinstatement in the city limits and (2) a functioning county board of registrars registering a reasonable number of Negroes each registration day. The leadership has a sociological interpretation of the situation lending stability with local pastors giving a spiritual emphasis.

IV ACTIVITIES OF THIS WRITER:

After consultation with many white and Negro individuals this writer brought together for a frank and free discussion with Mr. Gomillion and two other Negro leaders a local white pastor, a bank official and a small "independent" businessman all of whom hold liberal racial views.

The conference served to enlighten each group on the other's point of view, motivations and activity in the two communities. However, outside of establishing confidences and providing a larger perspective and a beginning point nothing concrete or conclusive resulted. It is hoped that this idea can be followed upon later occasions. Actually, the situation had already crystallized sufficiently to make more extended communication including other whites impossible. The scene will now probably have to deteriorate into more of a crisis situation before talks can be expanded significantly.

V CONCLUSIONS:

A. The Negro community is of a mind to endure almost anything to secure their two basic goals even should it take a year or more with persecution. The TCA has carefully evaluated every possibility so far and their moves are most deliberate.

B. The white community generally is equally uncompromising to date. The city and county officials will doubtless remain fast as they see this as their last ditch defense against Negroes "taking over". The one possible weak spot is the merchants. When in time they see that those who provoked the matter and who are providing the leadership are not suffering, the ranks of the "independents" will grow.

C. It is doubtful if the Negroes will grant any exemptions for anything short of a white businessman working openly and effectively for the two major Negro goals. Thus the businessman who is facing financial ruin or bankruptcy will be faced with the dilemma of the dollar versus social belonging.

D. It is inconceivable that the Alabama legislature would reverse its action regardless of any possible outcry of white merchants in Tuskegee. The only prospect of a real break in the situation is a federal court decision (1) invalidating the legislative action on the grounds of deprivation of property without due process (Negro citizens own a vested interest in public facilities including the city owned power system which supplies electricity to the entire county), and (2) enjoining the state (Bd. of Registrars) from abridging the right to vote on account of race.

E. Assuming a minimum of a year's wait pending appeal to the Supreme Court and barring improbable special elections, the voting power of the Negro community would not be felt until 1960 when the next municipal elections are held. (Legislative elections will be held next May.) During this period the actions and reactions of the Negro community will largely determine whether or not 1960 will become known as "The Great Tuskegee Dispersion".

F. Thus the great need in the meantime will be the task of securing the confronting of reality, reassurance, reconciliation and cooperative endeavors to the end that Macon County might provide in time a pilot project in the heart of the Deep South Black Belt of whites and Negroes existing together in mutual respect, however remote this may seem at the present time.

PLEASE READ THOROUGHLY

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

August 12, 1957

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director

RE: Report on Board of Directors meeting.

Meeting on Friday, Aug. 2 in Montgomery the Board of Directors transacted the following business with nine members present:

I. PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE ORGANIZATION FOR 1957-1958

The Executive Director presented a proposed comprehensive program outline which was discussed extensively and adopted.

A. Emphasis on North Alabama Area: Because of moderate prevailing attitudes and weakness of pro-segregation organizations this area offers the prospect of significant precedents in comparison with Central and South Alabama.

1. Workshop: To be held in Birmingham in Oct. for leadership of local chapters in Tenn. Valley Dst., Dst. 1, 2 and 3 with additional selected individuals. The S.R.C. Consultant Service Program will provide consultants for guidance.
2. Expansion of Work: The Exec. Dir. will work to stimulate affiliates in the area to more expanded and meaningful program development by existing affiliates and work with district officers to eatablish new local chapters.
3. Field Representative for the Tenn. Valley Dst.: One or two persons will be secured to work without pay with travel expenses provided. This area has had no resistance groups to date and the Tri-Cities, Decatur and Huntsville offer relatively large potentiality.

B. Provision for Central and South Alabama: The State Office and Exec. Dir. will continue to service existing affiliates in these areas. One or two Field Representatives will be secured for work of opportunity with the Exec. Dir. undertaking new work only in crisis situations such as Tuskegee.

C. Stimulation of the Clergy: Recognizing the great potentiality of the clergy as compared with labor, business forces, etc. the State Office will work indirectly in:

1. Assisting in the planning, promotion and execution of a two-day workshop in October where 100 white and Negro ministers are expected to set up a state-wide bi-racial interdenominational clergy organization.
2. Assisting in a follow-up program of regional meetings of this organization in the Fall and Winter.
3. Assisting local ministerial associations in opening their membership or in the formation of new bi-racial clergy groups as was recently done in Birmingham.

D. Stimulation of Voter Expansion: In recognition of the new emphasis on voting the State Office will encourage local affiliates throughout the state in developing effective programs in this social area along lines of fact-finding, negotiation, publicity and assisting Negro Voters Leagues.

II. FINAL REPORT ON FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN (March 15 - July 15)

	QUOTA	AMT. RAISED	BALANCE
Non-Membership Drive	$ 4,500.00	$ 1,571.58	$ 2,828.47
Membership Drive	1,596.00	1,[illegible]28.44	855.42
Totals	$ 6.096.00	$ 2,600.02	$ 3,683.89

Pledged But Not Received

Central Ala. Conf. (Meth. Ch., Central Juris.)	$ 250
S.R.C.	1,000
Birmingham individuals	1,000
Total	$ 2,250

Net

Required	$ 6,096.00
Paid and Pledged	4,850.02
Needed	$ 1,245.98

Note: The amount pledged and the amount needed will not come in of its own accord. The campaign is over. The only provision for the balance is your individual interest and concern. To you who worked and gave so sacrificially to make this campaign a success we are deeply grateful. The State Office will earnestly seek to fulfill the trust and hopes you have placed in it.

III. BUDGETARY REPORT (For the first half of the fiscal year - Feb. 1 - July 31)

RECEIPTS

Memberships (Profits)	$ 426.00
Contributions	2,750.92
Re-imbursements	79.51
Sale of Literature	29.05
Total	$ 3,285.48

DISBURSEMENTS

Item	Budget	Disbursed	Balance in Budget
* Salaries	$ 2,500.00	$ 00.00	$ 2,500.00
Exec. Dir - $1666.67			
Off. Sec. - 833.33			
Off. rent	750.00	375.00	375.00
Electricity	36.00	26.00	10.00
Telephone	540.00	256.41	283.59
Off. Sup.	870.00	313.08	556.92
Travel	1,325.00	741.64	583.56
Miscellaneous	100.00	6.12	93.88
Total	$ 6.121.00	$ 1,718.25	$ 4,402.75

No obligations outstanding.

Total Receipts	$ 3,285.48
Total Disbursements	1,718.25
Receipts ober Disbursements	$ 1,567.23
Balance in the Bank July 31	$ 1,842.64
Cash on hand July 31	00.00
Total	$ 1,842.64

* Through Sept. 30 salaries are paid by the Southern Regional Council. After that date through Jan. 31, 1956 the Ala. Council pays its own salaries ($2,500 for this period).

NOTE : Not included in receipts there is the amount received from memberships which automatically go to the S.R.C. for New South subscriptions. Likewise disbursements to the S.R.C. for these subscriptions are not included in the budget because they are varia

IV. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL GRANT-IN-AIDE

In June the S.R.C. received funds for the eleven active state affiliates which if divided equally amount to $ 3, 500 per year. These funds have now been apportioned on a basis of applications from each affiliate which discribed proposed program development.

On the basis of the Alabama application, Dr. C. H. Parrish of the S.R.C. reported, we have been apportioned $ 4, 000 for the S. R. C. fiscal year (Oct. 1, 1957 - Sept. 30, 1958) to be paid in quarterly allotments, each allotment subject to cancellation if program performance during the previous quarter is not satisfactory. Therefore it is definite that we will recive $ 1,000 for the first quarter which will fall into the Ala. Council's current fiscal year.

V. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR TO RESIGN

The Executive Director reported that on or soon after Jan. 1, 1958 he will not be available for further work with the Alabama Council. Two factors seem to indicate this period as logical for his departure -- the financial future of the Ala. Council and the desire of the Methodist Board of Missions to acquire the services of him and his wife at as early a date as possible. The prospect of the Council's ability to support a full-time staff after the first of the year is questionable and the Board of Missions has been put off repeatedly during the past two years. Apparently the period around January meets the needs of both bodies.

VI. MINIMUM OPERATIONS OUTLINED

Committee chairman A. C. Winn of Tuscaloosa submitted a report which outlined the minimum level of operations for the State Office which would justify its maintenance. Its features are a half-time Executive Director who would maintain his office in his own home and do his own secretarial work. Travel would be kept to a minimum and his primary role would be correspondence with all areas of the state and publishing a brief monthly newsletter, maintenance of membership records, organizing new chapters with as little travel as possible, serving as a source of information and counsel, and projecting the Aunual Meeting and Board meetings.

Such a program could be maintained on an income of $ 4,500 per year. During the 1958-1959 fiscal year the State Office operations will be somewhere between this $ 4,500 level and the current $ 11,100 level according to the income available.

No personnel have been considered as yet for a successor to the present Executive Director on a full or half-time basis, but President Hunter requests that members of the Board be alert for qualified persons.

VII. RESIGNATION OF VICE-PRESIDENT REFUSED

Dean C. G. Gomillion offered his resignation as Vice-President of the Council in view of what he termed the possibility of the Council being "embarassed" by his current activities in Tuskegee and possible indictment and conviction under the state's boycott law. President Hunter introduced the following resolution: "In view of Mr. Gomillion's tendered resignation the Board of Directors refuses to accept this resignation in light of his many years of faithful service to the organization and further affirm our confidence in his integrity, loyalty and Christian character." The resolution was adopted unanimously.

VIII. PUBLIC RELATIONS CLARIFIED

In view of an indefinite policy on public relations the Exec. Dir. requested clarification. It was determined that the State Office should endeavor to get appropriate material into the mass media organs but not for attribution to the Council. The importance of the Newsletter as a channel was recognized as was the need for public expression from local affiliates which is a reflection of the basic nature of the organization.

FILE COPY

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UNITED STATES SENATE
Committee on Finance

August 13, 1957

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Thank you very much for sending me your Alabama Council Newsletter for June, 1957, together with the confidential report on the Shades Valley Citizens Council meeting last February.

These documents give us a much clearer impression of the obstacles which you are trying to surmount in developing better human relations in your area. We honor those of you who carry on this effort with such courage and patience and wisdom, where it is very difficult.

The Southern Regional Council has assisted greatly in the education of a wider public by releasing the results of its studies. I believe I would hesitate to use the materials you have sent to me, however, particularly the one marked "confidential," in any public way. I do not want to provoke reprisals by anything I might do at a distance.

We are disappointed that the civil rights bill left the Senate in such a weakened form, but we shall continue to work for the objectives of the original bill, and I shall welcome all of the information which you and your associates wish to send me.

More power to you!

Faithfully,

/s/ PAUL H. DOUGLAS

Paul H. Douglas

PHD/fwm/es

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

~~ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. 217 S. COURT ST. MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA~~
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
August 15, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear John:

I sent you some clippings a couple of weeks back which I requested to be returned. Lest they get caught in the rush I thought it best to check on them.

We have quite a bit of publicity on a local incident down in Maplesville, 20 miles west of Clanton in Chilton County above Montgomery, on the beating of six Negroes by the Klan last Friday night forcing two Negroes to move from town and a white who rose to their defense is similarly being treated. With the prospect of TV coverage in the near future as events continue to pile up it looks as though the Klan has blundered again as in Sylacauga in early June. I have sent Jim Pierce in there to get a full story on what's going on and to see if he can bring something constructive out of it. Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:cf

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. 217 S. COURT ST. MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

JC
MM
return to FBR

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
August 20, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Thanks for lending your advice late last week on possible ways of handling the Maplesville situation. Since then I've done a little thinking and have come up with a proposed project along broader lines.

Whereas the Border South might possibly accept integration more or less graciously other areas of the South and certainly the Deep South will, as their legal defences are torn down, place less reliance upon segregation by legal means and increasingly turn to and tolerate segregation by intimidation. Any realistic Federal Government civil rights program will have to take into consideration the protection of individuals who would seek to exercise other civil rights. As we proceed toward general public school desegregation, by the same degree the Klan will rise and receive increasing sympathy and support. By way of reaction the North and West will become indignant and increase their pressure and responsible elements including some of our moderates will come forth to demand law and order and condemnation.

The earlier the trend toward intimidation is recognized for what it is and efforts to contain and discredit it are instituted, the more short-lived and less intense this trend will be. We will not be able to "nip it in the bud" but maybe we can stunt its growth.

This trend is already far more widespread and vicious than the general public or even you and I realize. To fully reveal that which has taken place during the past nine to twelve months since the new trend really became instituted would even at the present time have at least a sobering effect.

What would be the possibility of the S.R.C. applying to the Fund for the Republic for a special research grant for, or for the S.R.C. to coordinate state staffs and set the standards for a study of intimidation state-by-state of at least

the Deep South area. Such a study might document the place, date, and circumstances of incidents noting Klan participation or related activity where known along with the source of information such as a news account or otherwise if appropriate. Each incident could be classified according to lethal bombings, non-lethal bombings, shootings, kidnap-beatings, beatings and other illustrative examples such as disruption of church services and mob scenes or other appropriate classifications. The report could be released to the press generally and sent to appropriate public officials and selected individuals.

The mechanics of gathering the raw material would not be too involved in that subscription to a state-wide press clipping service in each state would provide in time most of the incidents occurring. I have seen here in Alabama how many incidents are reported in county weeklies or small dailies but never get on to the AP and UP wires. This could be augmented by several persons, preferably Negroes, scattered around the state in a position to hear of these events.

The information provided by this report should have the following practical effects: (1) bring to the attention of state law enforcement agencies that violent intimidation is both state-wide and increasing in scope, neither of which are adequately realized here in Alabama; (2) provide facts for editorial comment which if utilized would aligne editorial policies clearly against such before pressures upon them from the opposite side become too great; (3) the same for other organizations and groups; (4) provide documented information for consideration of the proposed civil rights commission should this agency survive Congress within the next few weeks, where the intimidation trend would receive expanded public attention and possible proposals for appropriate Congressional action.

In lieu of the report as outlined above some attempt might be made toward suggestion of possible solutions by pointing up legislation and action by public officials, etc. For instance, here in Alabama the city of Mobile has enacted an anti-cross burning ordinance. On the other hand it might weaken the report to include such and could easily lead to the false conclusion that the problem is adequately recognized and reasonable attempts are being made to cope with it.

The report could be brought up to date periodically. The need for this current and cumulative information will doubtless persist for a number of years. In time it would constitute a serious indictment against the South which many Southerners themselves could not long tolerate and perhaps this in itself might hasten the day of a general and permanent reaction within the South against extremism.

All of this evolves from my own plan to carry out such a study here in Alabama, a good deal of which information I already have in hand, and Jim Pierce and Emory Jackson are immediate sources of new information. However I was thinking of making my report available to the editors of the ~~state's~~ State's dailies, the Governer's Office, the Attorney General, and other selected individuals. If we don't get a rise from this perhaps such would be welcomed by persons like Paul Douglas or syndicated columnists without attribution to us. However I will not pursue the matter very much further until I get your thinking or Harold's on the South-wide proposal and until I hear from Duncan.

For what it is worth I thought I would just throw this into the hopper.

Cordially,

Robert E. Hughes - cf

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:cf
cc Duncan Hunter
Enclosures 2

Dictated by Robert E. Hughes, signed in his absence.

States: Alabama

22 August '57

Rev.Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We feel that the proposal of a study of acts of intimidation and racial violence is well taken. We have been keeping track of such items as have reached AP, UP, INS, and other news gathering agencies. We have a compilation of such incidents up through the end of last year. It needs updating, of course. At the time this list was compiled we circulated it to our state directors for additions, corrections, etc.

Our information Department is swamped just now preparing background material on those communities which are preparing to move ahead this fall. As soon as this job is completed we will get in touch with the various state directors with a proposed study of intimidation and violence. You may proceed with your own study now as you proposed in your letter.

Even though we keep close track of such developments, we were not aware of the rapidly increasing incidence of violence which you report. As you said, much of it never reaches the dailies and we don't get many weeklies over here. What, by the way, was Duncan's response to our proposal about getting editorials written by the responsible press ?

I am returning Sen. Douglas' letter. If you note the Congressional Record in which he quoted SRC's material you will see that he carefully said that he had obtained the material from the Library of Congress. We are most careful to maintain our non-political status.

Hope to get to see you and Dotty beofre too long. Til then, atke care of yourselves. Best regards.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/self

23 Aug 57

Fred -

Enclosed are some bits you might be interested in - the Ra'gg, B'ham & Tuscaloosa Chapter. send out ltrs. every month before their mtgs. Lin trying to push others in same direction.

C.H. mentioned that the SRC was "feeling" inf. to Sen. Douglas & suggested I might do the same diplomatically. Hence I sent Douglas, Humphrey & Hennings (Lin a Demo) the ltr. "for general background information. Wrong?

Baby due next week & hope to get in a week of my vacation. - Bob

The Bulletin

GREATER BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

AUGUST 1957 P.O. BOX 9054, BIRMINGHAM 9, ALA.

NEXT MEETING

At the last meeting, our brief discussion of the civil rights bill and particularly the jury trial amendment occasioned a lot of interest. Therefore, it was decided to devote the next meeting to a fuller treatment, attempting to show both sides of the argument. Present to discuss the matter and to answer your questions will be well-known Attorney Peter A. Hall and another local attorney.

We have been fortunate in securing the chapel of the Smith and Gaston Funeral Home in which to meet this month. It is AIR CONDITIONED, so we can deliberate in cool comfort. The address is 1530 Fifth Ave. N.

Time of meeting: 8:00 P.M. on Tuesday, August 13.

JULY

In spite of the heat, we had one of the most active meetings in some time, with discussions of petitions to Congress, the jury trial amendment to the civil rights bill and the limitations of our group in regard to political activity.

The Rev. Robert Hughes, Executive Director of the State Council, gave a masterly survey of the situation in Tuskegee since the initiation of the so-called boycott of white businesses there. He analyzed the various groups in both the white and Negro communities, stating his opinion that the Negroes are solidly backing the leadership in the Tuskegee Civic Association. It is hoped that the non-violent spirit and approach which developed during the Montgomery bus protest has spread to the Tuskegee movement.

xxxx

It was decided to postpone the election of officers to the September meeting, since so many people are out of town durin the summer months. Dr. R. H. Howard is chairman of the nominating committee.

YOUR CHANCE TO HELP

The local chapter is still short of its goal in the fund raising campaign for the state group. Whether you are in a position to give one, two or ten dollars does not matter. The important thing is that each one take some small part in this effort. Send your contributions to the Greater Birmingham Council on Human Relations, P. O. Box 9054, Birmingham 9, or bring them to the meeting.

COME TO THE MEETING AND BRING A FRIEND!

M C H R N E W S L E T T E R

Montgomery Council on Human Relations
Montgomery, Alabama

An Organization to Attain through Research and Action, Equal Opportunities for All the People of Montgomery

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OUR NEXT MEETING - JULY 25

A DIRECT REPORT FROM TUSKEGEE

The newspapers tell us little more than what the white resistance leaders are saying. They miss the story behind the scenes.

Come out Thursday at 7:30 and hear the full story from one who has been on the scene. Don't rely on rumors. Get the facts for yourself.

OUR PURPOSE

"Why was I born?" asked a popular song of a few years ago. More recently that same question has been asked about our Montgomery Council.

The June meeting of the MCHR wrestled with the problem of finding our purpose in life. And with finding what methods we should use to achieve it.

Our goal is clear: "Equal opportunities for all the people of Montgomery." But what should be included in the words "research and action" is not so clear. At least not to us.

The group at the June meeting came up with a four-fold program. First, fellowship--getting people acquainted with each other, across racial lines.

Second, study and research--in order to inform ourselves about current happenings and about conditions in our community.

Third, personal "evangelism"--each member using his influence to disseminate the truth in as large a circle as he is able to reach.

Fourth, publicity--to propagandize in the best sense of the word. To keep the facts before the public.

Sounds like a mighty energetic program. All we need is plenty of good energetic people to put it over.

EACH ONE BRING ONE

The Membership Committee is drafting all of us to assist in its campaign to gain more members.

Their plan is simple. Each member has the responsibility of bringing only one other person into our organization.

Why not begin now. Bring one person with you to the meeting on Thursday. They could not ask for a more timely program. None of the local theatres, nor the television has anything more exciting to offer.

A lady told me the other day, "You would be surprised to know how many people there are who feel the same way that I do." (She is a silent "liberal")

I'm not surprised. I know those people are around--somewhere. But they ought to be with us. We have the kind of fellowship that could fill them with strength and courage.

No one will come to a meeting without an invitation. And you are the only ones who can give them that invitation. We're counting on you.

MONTGOMERY NOW A DISTRICT

In case you have not heard the news, Montgomery has been elevated to a district of the Alabama Council. Now we'll have to prove ourselves worthy.

A TRIBUTE TO A MARTYR

We have all been saddened by the sudden death of our dear friend, Miss Juliette Morgan. We can only thank God that, in His infinite wisdom, He has spared her from any further suffering. Miss Morgan paid the supreme price for the principles which she lived by. We can honor her by remaining faithful to those same principles.

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON AN ALTERNATE PROGRAM

In view of the termination of S.R.C. grants and the possible resignation of our full-time executive secreatry at the end of this fiscal year (February, 1958), this committee was appointed to draw up a proposed minimum program, to be conducted by a part-time secretary.

Program. Our discussion of a minimum program resulted in a job-description for a part-time executive and a proposal for consultants.

Job-Description

The executive secretary will be employed on a part-time basis, and will be expected to provide his own office space and to do the major part of his own secretarial work. Regular duties will include:

1-Publishing and mailing a newsletter, preferably a brief, monthly sheet, to all members and others on the list. This will involve reading key publications and obtaining information by telephone or correspondence from ACHR members who are on the spot.

2-Keeping an up-to-date card file on members, noting changes of address, and notifying district treasurers when memberships expire.

3-Receiving and answering the organization's correspondence.

4-Seeking to organize new chapters and secure new members by correspondence and telephone, with a minimum of travel.

5-Serving as a source of information and counsel to all those who seek the good offices of our organization.

6-Projecting the annual meeting and necessary Board meetings.

Consultants

In addition to the part-time executive, the Board would appoint consultants in various parts of the state, who would serve on a basis of expenses only. These persons would be available to attend chapter meetings, help organize new group s, visit trouble-spots,etc.

Personnel. It was not our duty to suggest a definite person as executive. We feel, however, that such a person must have other income which is reasonably secure against WCC pressures. He must have a place at home, or elsewhere, to work. He must have initiative, organizational ability, and dedication to the purposes of ACHR. Possible groups from which such a person might come are: mature theological students at Howard or Birmingham-Southern; women with independent income; retired teachers or ministers, etc.

Proposed Budget. We believe that such a program might be feasible on a budget of $4,500, with $2400 for salary and $2100 for program. A possible break-down would be:

Salary	$2,400.00
Telephone @ $50 per month	600.00
Travel for Secy. & consultants	600.00
Newsletter @ $30 per month	360.00
Postage @ $30 per month	360.00
Stationery and supplies	100.00
Subscriptions to publications	55.00
Miscellaneous	25.00
Total	$4,500.00

Raising the Budget. We have tried to suggest a way of raising this entire minimum budget in Alabama. We have not taken into account the possibility of continued grants from S. R. C. We have between 400 and 500 members. If our program is worthwhile, we should look to these members to support it. We propose that dedicated members be invited to become Sustaining Members by pledging $5 per month. Others would become Supporting Members by pledging $10 per year. Regular memberships would continue at $5 for a couple and $3 for a single membership. Subscriptions to New South would not come out of these memberships, but individuals would be encouraged to subscribe on their own, or through their districts. Thus all membership money would be available for state operations. A possible break-down might be:

25 Sustaining Members @ $60 per year	$1,500.00
100 Supporting Members @ $10 per year	1,000.00
200 Joint Memberships @ $5 per year	1,000.00
100 Single Memberships @ $3 per year	300.00
Non-membership sources	700.00
	$4,500.00

a la

THERE'S SOMEONE NEW AT OUR ADDRESS
WHO JUST ARRIVED BY STORK EXPRESS.

DATE August 28, 1957
WEIGHT 7 lb., 15 oz.
NAME Cynthia Lee
PARENTS Bob + Dottie Hughes

HEAVEN

DATE

VIA BARE MAIL

To *Fred Routh, et. al.*

GIBSON

CINCINNATI, OHIO, U.S.A.

35DZ 2363-9

August 30, 1957

Reverend Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I am mailing you, under separate cover, twelve copies of our mimeographed report on statements by religious bodies and persons. These copies are just a down payment to you and the Birmingham Council.

The reason I have not sent these statements earlier is that I am negotiating with someone who might possibly publish the entire report in a booklet. This person is away on vacation now and I am leaving for vacation today and so it will be a couple of weeks before I can give you anything more definite.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf

September 4, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Received your letter of August 30 requesting a check made out to Jim Pierce for $180.00 for six days services to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. You mentioned that the rate is $20.00 per diem - 6 x $20.00 is $120.00, not $180.00. Was the balance of $60.00 incurred as expenses?

You also stated that you were submitting a voucher with the letter. No such voucher was enclosed. Please send us the voucher with a breakdown of funds requested.

I will ask Ruth, when she gets back to the office this week, to figure out what the balance of the Alabama allocation is. September 30th is the absolute deadline for access to these funds.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. 217 S. COURT ST. MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
August 30, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Herewith is submitted a voucher on behalf of James E. Pierce in the amount of $180 for six days services to the Alabama Council on Human Relations at the rate of $20 per diem. This is to be payed from the funds earmarked to the Alabama Council for "additional staff assistance". I would appreciate the SRC remitting the appropriate amount to Jim as soon as convenient.

Can you tell me how much is left in this fund and whether or not September 30th is the absolute deadline on our access to these funds. I am trying to get another person into the field on a similar basis but have been unsuccessful so far.

Cordially,

Robert E. Hughes - cf

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:cf
cc: Mr. Jim Pierce

Dictated by Robert E. Hughes, signed in his absence

October 2, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter about the "Law and Order" committee. I will appreciate your passing on anything else that you might learn about this kind of activity.

Thanks too for the letters and the clipping. I am returning herewith the letters from Senators Douglas and Humphrey, and John will return the clipping if he has not already.

Sorry to hear about your family-wide bout with the flu. With all the other troubles we have, you would think the viruses would have mercy.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Ltrs. from Senators Douglas and Humphrey

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

~~ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. 217 S. COURT ST. MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA~~
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
September 24, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

With regards to your inquiry of September 20th about a group of businessmen organizing a "law and order " committee here in Birmingham I can not report anything that is very definite. Some time back in the early part of the Summer I talked to two of our local members who have excellent contacts in the local business world about the need of mobilizing business elements to build respect for law and order by interpreting the problem to them in terms of their own interests. I did not know that the seed as planted had sprouted anything until just recently when these two individuals related that they had brought together some very big names for an evening and let the chips fall where they may. They reported the response at the time as most gratifying with responsibilities being meted out for contact with other individuals and from that beginning the whole thing passed out of our two members' hands. I only catch snatches here and there that such a "law and order" committee is being formed and apparently gaining some significant support from agencies such as the Birmingham News-Post Herald.

That's all I can definitely report on now. More later if you desire it.

Enclosed is a letter from Senator Douglas that Fred stated he wanted for purposes of copying. I also enclose one from Hubert Humphrey if he would have any use for it. For John I am enclosing a copy of a press release which I drafted for the local group should he want to see it.q I would like to have all three returned as convenient.

Thanks for the good wishes to the family. Outside of flu hitting all of us we're doing pretty well. Get your vaccine if you can because this stuff is rough.

Cordially,

Robert E. Hughes - cf

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:cf
Enclosures 3

Dictated by Robert E. Hughes, signed in his absence.

States: Alabama

October 17, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Specifically: what do you know about the new moves of Southern Crafts Inc.? The Wall Street Journal (October 16, 1957) is saying "Although Mr. Griffin dismisses Southern Crafts as a 'phony', another Birmingham source close to the race relations situation says the AFL-CIO is more worried than Mr. Griffin lets on."

I will write Carl; who is the "source close to the race relations situation?" Such information as you have on this or similar matters would be of real use to me within the next ten days.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

State
Ala - Hughes

October 17, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Robbie:

Thank you for your letter of October 15 with the good news of the substantial anonymous gift to the Alabama Council. It would seem to me that this is a real vote of confidence in the good work you are doing.

I have been in touch with the ACLU as Dotty no doubt told you. I trust that by this time you have gotten in touch with them yourself. Both the ACHR and the BBC should have adequate legal advice from friendly lawyers before moving ahead. If we intend to test laws that seem obviously unconstitutional then a proper test is necessary and competent legal advice can help you plan a proper test.

We are sending out the memo on intimidation and violence in the immediate future. Keep on building your own files.

Bill Stewart must have a sour "grape vine" because his information is far from accurate. Actually he has gotten hold of two separate bits of information and combined them incorrectly. We had applied to the Fund for a considerably larger grant than we finally received. Had the original request been fully met obviously the States would have had more money. So, too, it should be obvious, would have SRC. As it is we have stretched a point in the grant from the Fund to allocate as much money as we have to State organizations. Mr. Stewart is not a reliable source of information in this particular case.

Best regards to you and Dotty.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

25 Nov 57

To: HCF

I called Bob Hughes and obtained the following information:

The B'ham Council Exec Committee has met and decided not to hold any membership meetings until they determine 1) what is the legal position? 2) what effect would such a fight have on the state organization?

Membership will be kept informed of developments by a newsletter.

Bob is to write me a memo summarizing the situation.

FBR

November 27, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for sending me a copy of your letter to the President of Emory. It is good to know that you are sufficiently recovered to let off so noble a blast and that the blast itself has therapeutic value.

As it happens, the guy responsible for the series at Emory is none other than John A. Griffin, an old and faithful servant of SRC. John consulted me when he was planning the series, and I made various suggestions of editors who might appropriately participate. The whole idea was to get a range of views expressed, since this was an adult education class on the situation in the South. As the roster originally stood it was heavily loaded on the side of liberals and moderates. However, turn-downs and drop-outs were such that it shook down about fifty-fifty. John very much wanted to include a Negro editor but was finally prevented by circumstances beyond his control.

I can well understand your reaction on seeing the exaggerated play given the remarks of segregationist editors by your paper. The piece in general, however, gave equally good play to the liberals. On the whole, I think it was a pretty good series, for which Emory has earned some credit as providing a forum in which opposing views on segregation could be discussed. I am not sure how many places in the Deep South where this could be duplicated.

We think of you often and hope sometime soon to get you over to Atlanta for a day or two of discussion. Our climate is nothing to brag about, but perhaps the change would do you good.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED NOV 21 1957

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
November 20, 1957

President
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

My dear sir:

I have always been proud to state that I am an alumnus of Emory University and hold such high hopes for the leadership that it displays in the cultivation and molding of some of the best minds in the South in many fields.

I have been deeply hurt in recent weeks to see this institution which I hold so dear provide a platform for the expression of ideas that truly belong in a past generation and outside the context of Wesleyan Christianity. Specifically I am referring to the lecture series entitled "Editors View the South" which has provided a vastly increased audience through the wire services for personalities such as Mr. Thomas Waring of Charleston, S. C. and Mr. Grover Hall of Montgomery most recently. Yesterday's edition of the Birmingham News carried a major article on the upper part of the front page entitled "Editor Says Whites Fighting War On Two Fronts". There is no doubt in my own mind that you accept the validity of the Christian ethic concerning integration as I do and can only conclude that an error of judgement has been made in extending to such personalities the opportunity to give expression to racial prejudice and their current applications.

If the choice of speakers for the lectureship has been made with the intention of providing expression for various points of view in order to give a complete picture then may I sincerely suggest that a Negro editor or publisher somewhere in the Southern region be secured in order that a measure of objectivity be displayed.

Please accept these statements as constructive criticism in that they are submitted in a benevolent spirit. If the school involved was my undergraduate Alma Mater, the University of Alabama, I would not bother to even write but I do have such high hopes for the leadership potentiality of Emory University.

Yours sincerely,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Theology, Class of 1952

REH:cds

bcc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council

Harold - I blow off steam occasionally by writing letters like this. Does my ulcer good!

Robert Hughes
ACHR

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
December 2, 1957

Dr. S. W. Martin
Office of the President
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Dr. Martin:

Thank you very much for your answer to my recent letter concerning the "EDITORS VIEW THE SOUTH" lecture series. I deeply appreciate the fact that an attempt was made to secure the participation of a Negro editor even though it was ill-fated.

I can also see the beneficial effect of providing a forum in which varying ideas on the volatile subject of race relations could be exchanged in an atmosphere of understanding. The discouraging factor is the selectivity shown by Alabama newspapers which gave relative prominence to the expressions of the conservative point of view.

Thank you again for your informative answer and your efforts toward extending understanding among our people.

Yours sincerely,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

cc: Dr. John A. Griffin

bcc: Harold Flemming

Harold,
Thanks for your letter. Maybe this will patch things up a bit. My criticism was too quick.
—Bob

EMORY UNIVERSITY
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 26, 1957

The Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

I have your letter of November 20 concerning the lecture series on the Emory campus entitled "Editors View the South". We appreciate the spirit in which your letter was written, and we are most grateful because you have shared your point of view with us.

Dr. John Griffin, who is in charge of the lecture series, tried very hard to arrange for a Negro editor to be on the program. At one time we thought that Dr. Griffin was going to be successful in his attempt to invite a Negro editor, but the entire matter fell through.

We hope you will visit us on the Emory campus whenever you can. I look forward to meeting you sometime.

Cordially yours,

S. Walter Martin

S. Walter Martin

SWM/js
cc: Dr. John Griffin

December 9, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Sorry to inform you that the proposed publication of the Birmingham Compilation has fallen through. We have the stencils and a few copies already mimeographed. Let me know how many copies you will need for the Birmingham Council and I will get them to you right away.

Sorry about the publication, but I will try to see what I can do in other quarters.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

December 9, 1957

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Robert:

When I was over in Birmingham you asked three things: 1) an extra copy of the answer to the charges in Firing Line. It is enclosed herewith. 2) the name of the previous Board member from Alabama whom we discussed - his name is Louis E. Birnham. He is now in New York and therefore need not be worried about. 3) the status of the Birmingham compilation of church statement. Unfortunately the inter-faith group which planned to publish it has decided not to, at least at this time. We have mimeographed it and I am sending you, separately, a copy. I have given Ruth Alexander the 'package' and you will be hearing from us on this matter shortly.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.

FBR:fcl

Pla file

12 + 8 Comer Bldg.
B'ham
Dec. 9, 1957

Dear Freddy,

Sure was good to have you with us last week-end, but as things turned out I'm afraid you were pretty bored with so much "sitting in". Sorry the weather was so bad for your visit.

We searched for your pipe and either you had it in your sports coat pocket as you mentioned or Forrest sucks it in her toy box where it would be lost indefinitely!

Remember that you're always welcome and anytime you want to get away to relax or just plain get away, the welcome mat is always out on Honeysuckle Lane. We enjoyed the dinner Sat.

— BJV

December 12, 1957

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We do not have sufficient quantity of the Religious Statement to send you one hundred, but we mailed you seventy-five today to the address you mentioned in your letter. Since the Birmingham Council did so much work on the statement we are not charging you for these copies, but we feel that you might spare us the postage which is $2.14.

We do not have additional copies for distribution to the Birmingham group just now but as soon as we can get some additional copies mimeographed, we will make them available. Due to the large number of pages in this report, we feel we must charge ten cents per copy in order to recoup some of the cost. However, I am sure we can work out something satisfactory to both of us.

Thank you for sending the statement for the resolution, but I don't think it feasible to include this in our report just now.

Things turned out well for us in regard to our occupancy of the building here, more of which you will hear later. Suffice it to say that if nothing else happens we shall continue at our present address.

Glad to hear that you are feeling better after your bout in the hospital.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Ala.
Dec. 11, 1957

John Constable
SRC

Dear John,

Thanks for your note of the 9th. Sorry to hear that your efforts to get the Clinch's statements published has been stymied, but trust that someone more interested will come forth soon. Thanks for your efforts.

Next Monday and Tuesday, Dec. 16 + 17, we will have our statewide clergy conference for which copies of the statements publication would be most useful. We are expecting a maximum of 100. Is there any chance you could get that many run off for me to arrive there by Tues. morning at the latest?

Any excess I can use elsewhere

in the state should our attendance be lower than the hundred as could easily happen. Should there be a charge for them that's O.K. as well.

Enclosed is the latest from the Christian Church in this area which may or may not be feasible to incorporate at this time. A delegate passed it on to me.

Thanks for all of your good work. Am anxious to hear how the hearings came out on SRC's retention in the Wesley Mem. Bldg. Ask Fred to drop me a note on how the outcome resulted should he have a moment.

Cordially,

Bob

P.S.- Should you be able to get the 100 run off send them to me c/o Dr. John Bross, Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.

(over)

with regards to your question as to how many of the "statements" I could use in B'ham - If they are free and we could simply mail them out to the local membership the number would be 100. If there is a charge and they would have to be sold, in our present local state it would be 40. all of this in addition to the 100 for the clergy conference whether for sale or not.

January 3, 1958

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We have received the first quarterly report from the Alabama Council on Human Relations and have read it with interest. I should point out to you that Alabama was the slowest state in getting this report in of those which applied for further financial assistance. In the future please read the memos we send you with some care, and as you know it is important to meet deadlines. We do not want to give the impression that we are not a business-like organization.

In the near future we will send you a critique on your report and also a synopsis of the reports of other states.

We recognize that your illness, caused in the line of duty, prevented you from carrying out all the activities you had planned. Because of our faith in you and the Alabama Council we are enclosing the second quarterly instalment of $1,000 of the allocation to the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.

FBR:fcl

January 17, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter of January 13, and your comments on New South.

Didn't know you did the Birmingham statement but thought it most excellent.

I have had our receptionist check the list you sent me of persons who had not been receiving New South. As an extra precaution she checked the entire list for September and found a couple of other people who had not been included in our files. We are sending them October, November and December New South, and will see that they continue to receive it.

Again thanks and with best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

(Signed in the absence of John Constable)

Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama
January 13, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of January 8 explaining the difficulties which would be involved in the Membership-New South subscription arrangements about which I inquired. I can well understand after reading your letter that the adoption of such a system would entail great difficulties for you folks so we can now drop the whole matter.

We are grateful for your including the statement of the Birmingham Council in the current issue of New South. As the author it naturally boosts my ego to see it in print.

We have had an inquiry from some of our members in the Tri-Cities area concerning New South Subscriptions. We placed the following names on our New South subscription list dated September 30, 1957 but they state that they have not as yet received it:

Mr. Hollis Graham
Route 3
Russellville, Ala.

Mr. Robert James, Jr.
662 Robinson Street
Russellville, Ala.

Mr. J. S. Pride
Route #5
Russellville, Ala.

Mr. James informed us of his situation January 10. I would appreciate your checking on these subscriptions.

Cordially,

The Sept. Ass't worked over.
1/15/58.

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:cds

Dear Fred: Re. Fin. & Program Report June 27, '58

Our financial reports for our own purposes are pegged to specific entries in our ~~cash~~ income book & check stubs. Any report to S.R.C. on our finances for the quarter would probably not be accurate and necessitate preparation of two separate reports virtually if we sent it in before the close of the month. Hence, if there is no great concern there, our fin. report will be sent over Air Mail on Tues. July 1 along with the program report.

We're still having trouble locating an acceptable secretary. Hope you're faring better! See ya at Fisher.

Cordially, Bob

January 30, 1958

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is the biography of Mr. Dabbs as requested from Harold earlier today. I would like to have this back if you have no permanent need for it.

Look forward to seeing you at Talladega on the 15th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1.

1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Ala.
Feb. 6, 1958

Dear Harold,

It looks like the press from the annual meeting is on which is going to prevent my getting over even for tomorrow as I had hoped.

Conceivably I might make it over Monday but that's very indefinite. Hope you didn't alter any plans after I expressed hopes of getting over this week.

If Paul could give us about a thirty minute presentation on the developments over the non-Ala. South during the past year or a ~~statement~~ of the current situation we'd be most pleased. Cordially,

Bob

February 28, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

A follow-up of the wire to emphasize my regret at having to miss the Alabama meeting. Seems that SRC representatives are jinxed whenever they head toward your state!

We are anxious to know of the meeting and its outcome, especially in light of the weather conditions which must have affected Alabama in much the same way that it did Georgia.

I, and the rest of the staff, remain anxious to be of any possible help. Personally, I feel that I owe you and the Alabama Council one strong debt and I hope the occasion will arise when you will enable me to pay it.

Best regards from all of us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

AlabamaCouncil on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Ala.
March 18, 1958

American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Attn: Mr. Malin or Mr. Watts

Gentlemen:

On February 14th I wrote your office inquiring if the American Civil Liberties Union was interested at this time in the legal problem confronting the Birmingham Council on Human Relations. I asked for a reply at an early date in order that I could attempt to solicit the interest of some other organization in this lingering problem, in the event that the ACLU is unable to work on the case. This is the fourth letter that I have written since late November attempting to determine first, the progress on and secondly the interest in our case, and the only reply that we have ever received was one from either Mr. Watts' or Mr. Malin's secretary in late December stating that the person that we had written to at that time was out of the office and that our letter would be brought to his attention upon his return. Upon your departure from our office in November we understood that David Vann of the law firm of White, Bradley, Arant, All & Rose was informally committed to researching our case as soon as he could be released by his firm to do this work. This release or permission was to have been secured by your office, presumably in December. As of Friday, March 14th, Mr. Vann had heard nothing on this matter.

For momentarily I feared interference with our mail, but it seems incredible that the powers that be in this state could be so efficient as to intercept all of my letters to you, as well as any letters you may have sent to us. The only conclusion I can come to at this late date, as I stated in my letter of February 14th, is that the American Civil Liberties Union has deemed it unwise to take an active interest in this case. In the event that we do not hear from you by Monday, March 24th, to the contrary, we will of necessity have to put out feelers to other organizations in the hopes of eventually obtaining relief. Frankly I do not know of any other course to take at this juncture, and I am sure that you can understand our position.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E Hughes
eer

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director.

REH:eer
cc: Mr. Harold Flemming
Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
Mrs. Arthur Tomisek
Mr. Ernest Angell

March 20, 1958

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

At the request of John Constable I am passing on to you the attached list of religious publications which are currently on our mailing list to receive New South.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary

MF
Enclosure - 1 (List)

file

Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
March 24, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for your recent letter inquiring about the success of our Annual Meeting. Actually, I had hoped long before now to have sent you a report on it, but the past two weeks have been hectic with one trip after another out of town.

We were expecting approximately one hundred persons to attend under normal conditions, due to the fact that this year we were inviting only our members. Much to our surprise, people kept piling in on that Saturday morning, and we had 110 people with the best geographic representation that we have ever had at an Annual Meeting. They ranged from Mobile to Gadsden, and the Tri-Cities to Dothan, although of course South Alabama heavily outweighed North Alabama, due to the fact that the highways in that section were relatively free of ice and snow. The program itself was one of the most meaningful that we have ever had. As you know, we had reports from various local affiliates and bi-racial groups that we had helped establish, along with Mr. Dabbs speech, all of which together was a source of definite encouragement in this time when so many people are thinking in terms of "everything end up like Little Rock", with little or no room for an approach such as ours. Personally, I was quite encouraged to get a comprehensive view of what we had done during the past eighteen months or so throughout the state, which was more than even I had given us credit for, But don't start comparing us with Georgia and some of the other councils, as I guess we would look pretty slim in any objective appraisal.

On the previous evening our Board of Directors met in semi-annual session with twenty persons present. The business undertaken there and confirmed at the membership meeting the next day consisted of the adoption of an $11,300.00 budget, which is basically the same as the previous year, revised the constitution, and elected a strong set of new officers and board members.

President, The Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher, 315 Clanton Ave., Montgy., Ala.
1st V. Pres., & Chr. of the Executive Com., Mr. J. T. Brooks, Ala. St. College, Montgomery, Ala.
2nd V. Pres., Dr. Arthur D. Gray, Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.
3rd V. Pres., Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala.
Secretary, Mr. Bill Irby, Avondale Mills, Sylacauga, Ala.
Treasurer, Rev. J. C. Wilson, St. Paul's Meth. Church, 1500-6th Ave. N. Birmingham, Alabama.

As of the date of the Annual Meeting our membership stood at 571 persons. On March 12th our State Finance Committee met and was organized and is presently working on the first phase of a financial campaign which involves doubling our membership by June 1st.

I guess that's about all I can report on our Annual Meeting, as sketchy as this might be, but perhaps it brings you abreast to our general organizational situation. We certainly appreciate your efforts to reach us on the occasion of the Annual Meeting and of course there was a gap in our program from your absence which Duncan Hunter and Mr. Dabbs attempted to fill in. Let us know if there is anything we can do for you.

Most Cordially,

BOR

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director.

REH:ecr
Dictated March 21
cc: Mr. Fred Routh

P.S. - As this letter ended up it's more of a program report for Fred's records + purposes - will just send him a carbon - RGH

March 25, 1958

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for sending me a copy of the letter to Paul. I was immensely pleased to learn that Tom Thrasher has become President of the Alabama Council. I believe he is a mighty fine guy who knows his way around the field, yet maintains a good deal of support in the general community. I believe your Board has been strenthened by the addition of Father Foley as a Vice-President too. I certainly hope that Duncan Hunter has remained on the Board and the Executive Committee for he too is an excellent guy.

I am sure you recall that your second quarterly report was due in this office last Friday but has not yet been received. I had hoped that after the tardiness of the last report that this one would come in on time. It's kind of lonely being the only one who makes excuses for our state Directors when they are derelict.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

p.s. Please send us for our files the new list of Board members of the Alabama Council elected at this recent meeting.

FBR:fcl

Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
March 24, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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Secretary, Mr. Bill Irby, Avondale Mills, Sylacauga, Ala.
Treasurer, Rev. J. C. Wilson, St. Paul's Meth. Church, 1500-6th Ave. N. Birmingham, Alabama.

As of the date of the Annual Meeting our membership stood at 571 persons. On March 12th our State Finance Committee met and was organized and is presently working on the first phase of a financial campaign which involves doubling our membership by June 1st.

I guess that's about all I can report on our Annual Meeting, as sketchy as this might be, but perhaps it brings you abreast to our general organizational situation. We certainly appreciate your efforts to reach us on the occasion of the Annual Meeting and of course there was a gap in our program from your absence which Duncan Hunter and Mr. Dabbs attempted to fill in. Let us know if there is anything we can do for you.

Most Cordially,

BH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director.

REH:ecr
Dictated March 21
cc: Mr. Fred Routh

Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
April 2, 1958

Mr. William G. Shannon
Executive Director
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York 23, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Shannon:

Thank you very much for your memorandum and literature which arrived at our office today concerning the forthcoming Encampment for Citizenship. I am grateful that you have again given the various State Councils on Human Relations the opportunity of nominating persons for scholarships.

In response to your request for an estimate of possible response here, I believe that I can say with some assurance that we will be able to get at least two, if not four, persons who might qualify for, and be able to attend the encampment.

Please send at least six sets of descriptive material to Miss Nina Reeves, Conference Director of Youth, 1801 Sixth Avenue North, Birmingham, Alabama, and Mrs. O. D. Thomas, 2011 - 11th Street, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, who are adult workers with student and older youth for the Methodist Church in Alabama. Miss Reeves will need the material before April 12th, in order to use it most advantageously. Single sets of material should be sent to Miss Ann Wisham, Box 424, Andalusia, Alabama, and Miss Roberta Reid, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama.

Thank you for the fine opportunity which you are establishing for our youth.

Cordially,

BEH

Reverend Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director.

REH:ccr
cc: Miss Nina Reeves
Mrs. O. D. Thomas
Fred Routh, SRC

P.S.- Haven't forgotten our list of current Bd. members. Will be over soon. BEH

April 14, 1958

Dear Reverend Hughes:

We were very happy to hear that you will help us locate two or possibly four persons who might qualify for participation at our coming Encampment session. As you will notice in the new literature, which was sent to your office, applicants will have a choice of attending our units in Berkeley, California, or in New York City. We would like very much to have representatives from your groups at each Encampment, if at all possible.

Literature and information has been sent to the individuals you suggested. Thank you very much for sending us their names.

We shall look forward to receiving applications from your nominees in the very near future. Applications should be sent directly to our office here in New York City. As soon as our Admissions Committee processes the applications I will inform you and the applicants of their decisions as quickly as possible.

Thank you very much for your interest, your support and your fine cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

WGS

William G. Shannon

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

cc: Fred Routh

April 15, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming

From: Fred Routh

Re: White (if you'll excuse the expression) Paper on charges made in Bob Hughes' letter, April 11, 1958

This is obviously a letter of grievance -- grievances justified, and grievances unwarranted. Let us deal with both.

Grievances justified:

1. SRC is charged with forfeiting "invaluable opportunities, especially during the past twelve months in providing program ideas, etc." Mr. Hughes continues, "It is inconceivable that some of our state affiliates have not come up with meaningful program development . . . "

Though the latter statement is an indictment of state organizations, and improperly characterizes SRC's relationship with them, the former is a valid criticism. We have been remiss in our program assistance to some state organizations. Part of this difficulty is due to the paucity of material sent in to the central office by state organizations, upon which could be based specific program suggestions -- which have been tried and found useful.

2. SRC is charged with not having "a regular newsletter giving meaningful program ideas, budgets, money raising gimmicks, memberships, membership drive gimmicks, etc. of the various affiliates from which all of us can benefit."

This statement again improperly characterizes the relationship between SRC and the state organizations but otherwise has some merit. We were remiss in not regularly getting out a newsletter last year, particularly in the summer and fall. We have since changed the format and are getting out the newsletter every other month. The new format should give some program suggestions to any state organization staff member who is sensitive to program development. The first issue dealt with "The New Look" at SRC and spelled out our concept of program activities with a regional framework. The second issue dealt with "The New Look" among state organizations and was based upon program proposals of the state organizations. Though general in nature, there were literally dozens of program suggestions in this newsletter. More program suggestions should be forthcoming, however.

3. The suggestion is made that a meeting of state organization staff members be held -- either on a fifty-fifty cost basis or SRC bearing all the cost.

This has been my suggestion from the beginning of my work with state organizations. In fact, it was I who labelled the meeting at Camp New Hope

Continued . . .

the "Annual State Staff Meeting." I still suggest careful consideration be given this request and that SRC weigh its priority along with other activities in considering budgetary expenditures.

Unwarranted grievances;

Rather than itemize unwarranted grievances, suffice it to say that they ignore the relationship between SRC and state organizations clearly spelled out in the Williamsburg memo. The expectations of attending two Board of Directors meetings in each state are unreal in light of SRC's staffing and regional concept of strategy. It is not our intent to ignore the legitimate needs of state organizations, but after three years of experience we expect them to be able to stand on their own feet and even take a few meaningful steps. We don't expect them to run, yet.

This calls for further discussion, and while C.H. Parrisn and John Hope are here I propose we dig into it.

FBR:fcl

Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
April 11, 1958

FBR ✓
HYF ✓

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Emory:

Thanks so much for taking off and giving us a little program assistance over this way. I appreciate your efforts to determine the extent of preparation for preventing any possible school desegregation next Fall and in the event that you are able to turn up anything that would confirm or tend to question the report that Harold received, I would appreciate your letting me know right away. Through our limited contacts and channels here I am attempting to do the same thing, although as yet nothing has been productive. In fact the Federal Government here apparently was rather surprised when I mentioned it to them.

I would also be interested in the three point suggestion that I asked you to discuss with Fred. As a reminder they are (1) Attendance at at least two Board of Directors meetings of affiliates each year, if at all possible, (2) a regular newsletter giving meaningful program ideas, budgets, money raising gimmicks, memberships, membership drive gimmicks, etc. of the various affiliates from which all of us can benefit, (3) a state staff meeting emphasizing the opportunity of exchanging ideas between state staff people, financed if necessary on a 50 - 50 basis between the SRC AND affiliates. If the SRC is so shy of funds as to make it impossible for it to bring the state staffs together financed completely or in part by the SRC, alternative plans of a "hard core" staff meeting might be considered. Perhaps some of us attach such importance to such a meeting that conceivably we could scrounge around and pay all of our expenses.

If there is any doubt as to whether or not a state staff meeting would be deemed helpful to state staff members, may I strongly suggest that inquires be sent out to state staff members and let the answers speak for themselves.

I firmly feel that the SRC's Central Office has forfeited invaluable opportunities, especially during the past twelve months in providing adequate program ideas etc. It is inconceivable that some of our state affiliates have not come up with meaningful program development, but if they have information about it has been almost completely non-existent, except for exchange of newsletters and haphazard communications between the state offices themselves. The consultant program definitely, as I understand it, cannot by its nature fulfill this need in that these consultants simply do not have the opportunity of practical program development themselves, except in their own localities and thereby are limited to secondhand information at best, of

practical program developments in other areas, even if they do have secondhand information.

Let me know what the reaction of the Central Office is on these matters which of course we discussed more fully here.

Thanks again for your visit and we'll be happy to see you any time you are over this way. Let me know if there is anything I can do in your particular program area.

Most cordially,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ecr

P. S. When I went down to register to vote yesterday morning one question on the form was "Are you willing to take up arms in defense of your country, and if not state why"? I answered this question "No, I cannot in conscience do violence to any child of God". The registrar after examining my answer stated "You answered this one wrong, I can't register you. Nobody should have a voice in shaping the constitution, who is not willing to defend it." He said this was based upon some Federal Court decision. Have you ever heard of any such thing as this before? It goes without saying my application was turned down.

cc: Fred Routh

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Birmingham Council's appeal to ACLU for legal counsel.

REGARDING

Corresp. from Rowland Watts to Douglas Arant of the White, Bradley, Arant, All & Rose Law Firm. (Birmingham)

(See)
NAME OR SUBJECT

HCF ltr. to Rowland Watts, ACLU; C. H. Yarrow, AFSC, Rights of Conscience Program; Edwin J. Lukas, AJC. (ALL DATED April 16, 1958)

April 16, 1958

Mr. Robert M. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I have written Rowland Watts Air Mail Special Delivery as enclosed. I have also sent a blind copy to Ed Lukas of the American Jewish Committee, who has taken a considerable amount of interest in ACLU's involvement in cases of this kind. You may well be skeptical of the chances of any reply. However, a written request of this kind was something I felt important for my purposes.

See ACLU file dtd 4/16/58

I did not mean to imply at any time that you should feel estopped from any other lines of communication that you might feel worthwhile. I merely felt that the ACLU matter should be pushed further from another vantage point, and this I am doing. But please do not consider that I am pressing you to put reliance in Watts and Malin or to defer any other action that you think might be fruitful.

You and the Birmingham group are showing a fine spirit in the face of great odds, and we here at the Council want to be of every possible assistance.

I am interested to learn of the new pamphlet attack upon the Alabama Council and SRC and will look forward to receiving a copy. If you find it impossible to secure an extra copy, perhaps you could send us the original which we would reproduce and return to you.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
bc - Ltr. to Rowland Watts - dtd. 4/16/58

P. S. I have also sent a copy of my letter to Watts to Mike Yarrow of the AFSC's Rights of Conscience Program. If litigation develops, they may very well give some help on legal fees.

H.C.F.

Blind copies of this ltr. sent to:

Bob Hughes - Alabama Council on H. R.
Ed Lukas - AJC
Tartt Bell - AFSC
C. H. Yarrow - AFSC (Rights of Conscience Program)

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL April 16, 1958

Mr. Rowland Watts
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Watts:

This is to follow-up our telephone conversation of a couple of weeks ago. You will recall our understanding that either Mr. Angell or you would write to Douglas Arant of Birmingham urging that Mr. Vann of that firm be released to provide legal counsel for the Birmingham Council on Human Relations. Neither Bob Hughes or I have received a carbon of such a letter, so I am assuming that it has not been sent.

Since this is a matter of some urgency, I do hope you can let me know at once where the matter stands and what we may expect. The Birmingham Council has been re-organized and has decided to meet monthly from now on, let the chips fall where they may. Of course, the group is not looking for trouble; on the contrary, it is carrying on normal program in the hope that no further molestation by the police authorities will occur. But, knowing Birmingham, anyone would understand that the possibility of police interference is very real. Therefore, it is of great importance to have a local lawyer whose

availability to the group is assured if the occasion arises.

I understand that Vann is favorably disposed and has discussed the matter informally with Arant, who also seems favorably disposed and is awaiting word from ACLU before making any decision on the matter.

It is a tribute to ACLU that its influence carries this weight, and I strongly hope that you will bring it to bear at once so that the matter of prospective legal counsel may be decided before an emergency situation is upon us.

There may be reasons why you feel this inadvisable. Or perhaps a letter has already gone forward to Arant that we know not of. If so, please let me know promptly and candidly. I shall be looking forward expectedly to a reply at your earliest convenience.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

R. 7/15/58

Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
April 14, 1958

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

To date we have received no carbon of any letter from Watts of the American Civil Liberties Union to Douglas Arant of the White, Bradley, Arant, All & Rose law firm here. Neither has Mr. Vann received any word from anyone. I assume by the same token that you have heard nothing as well in view of the fact that I have not heard from you. In the event that you do, please let me know right away, and I will do the same.

At your recommendation we held the door open to the ACLU which again has proved fruitless as I expected. How long do you suggest that we wait for them to move before trying to approach the White, Bradley law firm from another direction on the official release of Vann? Actually as far as the local group is concerned here last Tuesday night we reorganized and will be meeting monthly from now on come hell or high water, Watts, Malin or Asa Carter. Some members of the local chapter are from the New York area and at least one has a sister who is an official in a local ACLU Chapter. They are extremely bitter at the ACLU at their lack of assistance and it was only at my insistence last Tuesday night that this local ACLU official in New York was not contacted for the purpose of lighting a fire under Watts and Malin and demanding a complete explanation of their action and lack of action since this case was initially reported to them. Frankly I am not of a mind to insist on their holding back another time should the subject ever arise again. In fact I should like very much to see such an explanation, but feel that it should be done with as constructive an approach as possible.

When Vann spoke to Arant the other day Arant reacted favorably to the idea of a unilateral "withdrawal" due to the A.C.L.U. "attitude".

We are coming under a new pamphlet attack here by the Alabama State Rights Association ~~which~~ as yet we have been unable to determine just how big a circulation the material is getting. It consists of reprints from the "Firing Line" plus a good deal of the material which was carried in an earlier leaflet after the Birmingham Council was broken up. As soon as I get a copy I can spare I will send one over to you folks. This particular pamphlet goes to great length to attack me personally, and demands that I be unfrocked, etc.

Cordially,

BER

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:ecr

Same letter sent to:
Mr. Nat Griswold
Mr. William K. Williams
Dr. Guy H. Wells
Mr. Hugh Brimm
Mr. Harry S. Jones
Mrs. E. H. Spearman
Mr. Edwin G. Kloppe
Mr. John H. Marion
Mrs. R. S. Lyells

April 17, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Here is a copy of a letter from James R. Robinson, Executive Secretary of CORE. I assume you will be hearing from Mr. Robinson soon concerning distribution of the pamphlet he mentions, since I have given your name as someone who might be interested in the pamphlet.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
April 18, 1958

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of April 16th and the copy of your communication to Rowland Watts. I want you to know that we are grateful for your continuing interest in this problem, and of course your advice is always welcome.

I imagine I will be contacting Mr. Yarrow before long for the specific purpose which you mentioned in your postscript. The only other organization which I assume would be interested would be the American Jewish Committee. The director of the community relations program of the AJC was in the office a couple of weeks back, and I inquired of him as to whether or not he thought that their legal assistance program might be interested in a case such as ours. His reply was that the Jews have been carrying this burden for so long that it is time for some of the Gentiles to step out." Don't write to (whoever their legal man is) and embarrass him by making him say 'no.'" Of course this man whose name I do not ~~have~~ recall was not speaking officially for either the AJC or their legal man, but I gather that they are not interested in becoming involved in such. Of course this is only an assumption, but I thought you might be interested in this bit ~~in~~ view of the fact that you had sent a blind carbon of your Watts letter to Ed Lukas of the AJC.

As for the latest smear sheet, which I mentioned in my last letter, the local ADL man has it now for purposes of reproduction, and conceivably they may be able to get some information on its origin, etc. As soon as I get it back, I will send it over for you to copy and return, which should be next Monday.

Best wishes to you and the other fellows over there.

Cordially,

REH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ecr

Alex
Bob Hughes

April 21, 1958

Mrs. Beatrice V. Marion
1409 Chowan Road
Richmond 26, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Marion:

Here is a rough memorandum for Jack when he returns to the office. As you will see it is based on my informal conversation with two men who were travelling through Atlanta.

The other members of the staff join me in sending our best wishes to all of you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

(Dictated by Mr. Via, but signed in his absence)

Enclosure.
EFV:fcl

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Murray 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 23, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Can you lend us a clipping on the Auburn professor who was fired for writing the letter to the Plainsman regarding integration in New York? We need it for Margaret Price's research.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

John

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

John - tomorrow we're getting SR a large batch of clippings to Mrs. Price at her Va. address, but according to your request am sending this on to you. These clippings have just about taken our entire week! — Bob

Our annual meeting is scheduled for Tuesday, April 29 and we are "knee deep" right now. We shall get to your request just as soon after the 29th as possible.

It is good to know that Margaret Price is there. Give her my best regards.

Best to you and the others.

ANS

4-24-58

Alice Spearman

Harold - Pur. C. N. R. Apl. 24, '58

Arant left town thurs. of this week for a two week trip. I am knows of nothing new. If your N.Y. boy wrote you right after hearing from Watts + if Watts told him right after the letter was written - then the letter might be at Arant's office awaiting his return?

- Bob

Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
May 8, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Thanks for sending the "Truth" material on back, but you did not include the envelope it was originally mailed in, which we did include when we mailed the material to you. Please search for this diligently because it is most important, since we do not have a record of the Post Office Box No. etc. The envelop was addressed to Dr. M. P. Hughes of Gadsden, Alabama. Please make every effort to find it and send it on by return mail. We need it immediately.

I am enclosing a card that Faith Lawson left at our house, which she may need. Would you see that it is forwarded to her?

Hoping to hear from you immediately about the envelope,

Cordially,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director.

REH:ecr
Encl. 1

May 14, 1958

N. S. B. R. O.
401 Third Street, N. W., Rm. 403
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

A recent letter from Bob Hughes, director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, reveals that he has been refused the right to register to vote. One of the questions on the form was: "Are you willing to take up arms in defense of your country, and if not state why?" Bob answered, "No, I cannot in conscience do violence to any child of God." To this the registrar responded, "You answered this one wrong, I can't register you. Nobody should have a voice in shaping the Constitution, who is not willing to defend it." He indicated that this was based on some Federal Court decision.

Although I understand that there is no court decision which allows this limitation on voting, such advice or materials as you have would be appreciated. Please send the materials to Rev. Robert Hughes, Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations, 1218 Comer Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama
May 28, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I mentioned my trouble with the Board of Registrars here only in passing, and I did not expect you to take up the cause in my behalf. However I have been gratified by a communication from Mr. Lyle Tatum and appreciate the carbon of the letter from Mr. Tartt Bell to you.

Actually at this time my own feeling on the matter is that, before I should seriously consider any type of legal coercion, I should sit down with Mr. Frink, the registrar, and endeavor to come to a meeting of minds believing that our differences can be amicably resolved. I do not know just when I will get to see him because the Board of Registrars is closed down pending the completion of our Alabama primary. Then it will be a matter of my getting loose to see him when he himself would be serving in the Jefferson County main court house.

I will let you know as soon as anything develops. Thank you so much for your own interest and concern and for that of your friends in these two agencies.

Most cordially,

Bob

REH:dsh

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Exect. Director

CC: Lyle Tatum
B. Tartt Bell

ROBERT B. MYERS
Attorney at Law
Rockville, Maryland

May 27, 1958

Rev. Robert Hughes, Exec. Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Reverend Hughes:

The National Service Board for Religious Objectors recently received a letter from Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant to Southern Regional Council, Inc. concerning your difficulties in being registered to vote. As attorney advisor to NSBRO, I have been asked to reply directly to you.

I am not familiar with any case that would deny you the right to vote merely because you are religiously opposed to killing or participating in war, although I can readily believe there are various Court cases which hold that "Nobody should have a voice in shaping the Constitution, who is not willing to defend it."

Religious scruples against war and killing and bearing arms have been recognized by Congress in the various draft laws [Selective Service Act of 1948, Section 6(j), 62 Stat. 604, Ch. 265, 50 U.S.C. App. 456(j) -- Selective Training and Service Act of 1950, Section 5, 54 Stat. 885, Ch. 720].

And in GIROUARD v. U. S., 328 U. S. 61, the Supreme Court of the United States stated:

> "One may serve his country faithfully and devotedly, though his religious scruples make it impossible for him to shoulder a rifle. Devotion to one's country can be as real and as enduring among non-combatants as among combatants....those whose religious scruples prevent them from killing are no less patriots than those whose special traits or handicaps result in their assignment to duties far behind the fighting front....The fact that his role may be limited by religious convictions rather than by physical characteristics has no necessary bearing on his attachment to his country or on his willingness to support and defend it to his utmost..."

Girouard was a Seventh Day Adventist from Canada who, in taking the oath of allegiance, said he could not bear arms because of his religious beliefs. He was admitted as a citizen.

While I believe it is true that the various States can exercise reasonable standards in enrolling its citizens to vote, I cannot believe that they can invoke regulations that would be a burden on federal policy.

I am enclosing for your information and use, a sizable excerpt of the Supreme Court's opinion in the GIRCUARD case.

I hope the foregoing may be of some help to you.

Very truly yours,

Robert B. Myers

Copies to:

National Service Board
401 Third Street N. W.
Washington 1, D. C.

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors

2006 Walnut Street Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

RIttenhouse 6-1480

A. J. MUSTE
LYLE TATUM
Co-Chairmen

Lyle Tatum is supervising CCCO during absence of George Willoughby

GEORGE WILLOUGHBY
Executive Secretary

CALEB FOOTE
KATHARINE ARNETT
Treasurers

May 26, 1958

Rev. Robert Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, 3, Alabama

Dear Friend:

Emory F. Via has requested that we send you advice on matters relating to your problem of voting in Alabama. Your situation is unique as far as I know. We cannot, therefore, send you any material which speaks directly to your problem.

I urge you to take legal action to force the registrar to accept your registration. This would raise a public issue which you might wish to avoid in the present circumstances and if so, I presume the matter will have to be dropped. I would like to see the issue litigated, however, and I think we could get some funds for it if that is the problem.

I will be glad to hear from you about this.

Sincerely,

Lyle Tatum

LT/ak
CC Emory F. Via

Lyle Tatum

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

May 9, 1958

Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I think Bob's registrar has a fertile imagination. I don't know anything about a Federal Court decision denying the privileges of registration to conscientious objectors. Obviously the rights of conscientious objection have been officially recognized and written into law by the United States Congress; witness the provisions for CO's in the Selective Service Act.

It seems to me that Bob should reapproach the registrar to point out that he would elect to take a conscientious objector to military service position and state that CO's are granted a 1-O classification under the Selective Service Act.

I shall pass this on to Fred Fuges and ask Fred to check this and advise Bob further on the legal implications.

Warm regards.

Cordially yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:cs

cc: Robert Hughes

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 30, 1958

Mr. Robert Pickus
4522 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

~~Dear Bob:~~ Dear Sir:

A recent letter from Bob Hughes, director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, reveals that he has been refused the right to register to vote. One of the questions on the form was: "Are you willing to take up arms in defense of your country, and if not state why?" Bob answered, "No, I cannot in conscience do violence to any child of God." To this the registrar responded, "You answered this one wrong, I can't register you. Nobody should have a voice in shaping the Constitution, who is not willing to defend it." He indicated that this was based on some Federal Court decision.

If this is a matter which the top of your head can handle either by answering or directing me to the most likely sources, I would appreciate it. I hate to admit how rusty I am and I can't find time to do the digging for myself.

Love to you and Sarah.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

Although I understand there is no court decision which allows this limitation on voting, such advice or materials as you have would be appreciated.

Please send them to Rev. Robert Hughes. Ala Council on H. R.

Sincerely
EFV.

EFV/mf

OVER

Dear Em

FIRST re your trip here. We're so hoping it works out. Woods have room & would be delighted. We're checking Rosenthal's to see if its a better setup. Bomberger's here & we're checking Smiths tonight.

Now Hughes problem: There is no such Federal Supreme Ct decision. Hughes would certainly win a case. The only relevant cases I know of involve citizenship for immigrant C.O.'s. The ~~Sabo~~ Rosika Schwimmer & McIntosh cases some years did refuse citizenship to C.O.'s but both were explicitly overturned by the Girouard decision (& also Horten Cohnstaedt's case) This from top of my head.

If he wants expert advice or help have him write

C.C.L.O.
2006 Walnut ST
Philly 3

or

N.S.B.R.O.
401 Third ST., N.W. Room 403
Washington 1, D.C.

Love — come soon

Pick

April 30, 1958

Mr. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

About two weeks ago Bob Hughes, director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, went to register to vote. One question on the form was: "Are you willing to take up arms in defense of your country, and if not state why?" Bob answered, "No, I cannot in conscience do violence to any child of God." Bob said in a note to me, "The registrar after examining my answers stated, 'You answered this one wrong, I can't register you. Nobody should have a voice in shaping the Constitution, who is not willing to defend it.' He said this was based upon some Federal Court decision. Have you ever heard of any such thing as this before? It goes without saying my application was turned down."

Since this is a Southeast C. O. matter, I thought you would be interested. Your suggestions would be welcome; I'm afraid that I am sufficiently out of touch with the cases and rulings that I would have to do a good bit of digging to come up with a sensible answer.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

April 30, 1958

Mr. Robert Pickus
4522 South Greenwood Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bob:

A recent letter from Bob Hughes, director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, reveals that he has been refused the right to register to vote. One of the questions on the form was: "Are you willing to take up arms in defense of your country, and if not state why?" Bob answered, "No, I cannot in conscience do violence to any child of God." To this the registrar responded, "You answered this one wrong, I can't register you. Nobody should have a voice in shaping the Constitution, who is not willing to defend it." He indicated that this was based on some Federal Court decision.

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Love to you and Sarah.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

April 30, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Your letter of April 11 has had a good bit of attention and some action. I am sorry to be so late in responding to it personally, however.

I have made a move or two to get information regarding your voting situation. I am sorry to be so out of touch as not to have a reasonably authoritative answer on the top of my head. I will pass such information as I may get on to you immediately.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

May 30, 1958

Mr. Robert Myers
Attorney-at-Law
Rockville, Maryland

Dear Mr. Myers:

Thanks so much for your prompt reply to my request for information regarding Bob Hughes' voting situation in Birmingham.

It is my understanding that Bob will make another approach to the Registrar at a proper time when a full discussion can be had. Again, my appreciation.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
June 24, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I am looking forward to the staff conference at Fiske with anticipation, I am glad to hear that all of the staff will attend. I am sure that this opportunity will justify the expense which the Southern Regional Council has so generously gone to. Actually, I have staked out a vacation during that period and the conference will just about cut it in half, but then, that's the way the ball bounces.

Off hand, I do not think that I will need any travel advance, but if I do, I will let you know at the earliest date possible.

It might be helpful if you could send me some word as to how long we should expect to be there. If the best part of the staff conference portion of the institute is over by Thursday evening I hope that I will be able to leave Friday morning to drive to Albemarle, North Carolina and thence to the Outer Banks along the coast for a few days vacation.

See you in Nashville.

Most cordially,

RBH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes,
Executive Director

REH/ac

June 25, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Fred is away from the office and will not return until after the Fisk Institute. Therefore, I am taking the liberty of answering your letter of the 24th.

I am not too familiar with the schedule at Fisk; however, it seems safe to say that the great majority of the business at hand will be completed by Thursday evening. I should think you will miss little if anything by leaving Friday morning.

Emory, who is rushing about preparing for his Labor Seminar for the first week of the Fisk Institute, asks that I express his deep appreciation for your work on the employment situation in Birmingham. You will hear from him on this matter.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls

1218 Comer Bldg.
B'ham 3, Ala.
5:00 P.M. July 2, '58

Dear Freddy,

Financial + program reports! I've got a new secretary + I have to do all this particular work myself and each of the last two days I've reserved the afternoons to work on them. And each afternoon as I've come in from lunch there would be persons to pop in who "urgently" needed to see me + who stayed 'til closing time. Yesterday two UBC TV newsmen + today the F.B.I.

Tomorrow I'll come in early and see if I can't get it out before the rush begins. Sorry.

See you at Fisk. Bring your check books with you to Fisk or

if you can't write 'em yourself, maybe you can bring me a $24.00 travel advance on the basis of 400 mi. auto roundtrip at 6¢/mi. or $24.00. O.K.? Thanks,

Bob

P.S.– Bill will fly into here either Sun. or Mon. morning early & we're driving up that leg together. Looking forward to the conference!

August 6, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Harold told me sometime ago that you were to write me concerning Alabama distribution of "South Carolinians Speak." Would appreciate your ideas on Alabama distribution and the number of copies you might effectively use.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Aug. 7, 1958

John -

actually I did send the requested information to Harold right after we talked but here 'tis again.

We could put 1,000 of these through our membership and prospect mailing list. This would best be done through our Office as the addresses are all here. If this is too many we could concentrate on selected clergy - about 400. If this is too many then our leadership (state, dist., local) personnel mailing list constituting just under 80 persons.

Do what you can and we'll be appreciative.

- Bob

August 11, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We are mailing you five hundred copies of "South Carolinians Speak" as an initial mailing. We may possibly be able to send you five hundred more, but we thought it best to wait until we heard something definitely from Mississippi concerning distribution there.

At any rate, I will keep in touch with you about the pamphlet.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

August 12, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated August 11, 1958.

Rev. Hughes is away from the office this week, and should return by August 20th. When he returns, he will give your letter his personal attention.

Most cordially,

Carol Stromberg

Mrs. Carol Stromberg
Secretary to
Rev. Robert E. Hughes

cas/s

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

August 12, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated August 6, 1958.

Rev. Hughes is away from the office this week, and should return by August 20th. When he returns, he will give your letter his personal attention.

Most cordially,

Mrs. Stromberg

Mrs. Carol Stromberg
Secretary to
Rev. Robert E. Hughes

cas/s

26 August '58

Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Exec.Dir.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Rm. 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Ala.

Dear Bob,

CONGRATULATIONS !

This tribute to the Alabama Council by M.L.King, Jr. should gladden your ole heart and fatten your organizational pocketbook. Obviously the tribute is largely due you and your good work.

I suggest a copy of it be sent to all your Board members. Obviously a letter of thanks to Martin is in order.

Once more, CONGRATULATIONS !

All my best,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/s
encl.
excerpt from STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building

Birmingham 3, Alabama

August 29, 1958

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the Board of Directors
FROM: Rev. Robert S. Hughes, Exec. Dir.
RE: Meeting of the Board of Directors

The new President of the Alabama Council, the Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher of Montgomery, has called the semi-annual meeting of the Board of Directors in Montgomery for either Wednesday, October 1st, or Wednesday, October 8th. Important matters concerning the program work of the organization and our financial situation will be discussed.

The session will run from 10:30 A.M. to approximately 2:30 P.M. with a break for lunch together. The Council will bear all travel and maintenance expenses involved, (assuming we have more than the $52.00 currently in our bank account!!)

Please give the organization and its new leadership the assurance of your full support by attending this meeting if at all possible.

You are asked to indicate on the enclosed addressed postal if either October 1st or October 8th presents a conflict, and which date might be preferred, if either. After a significant number of replies are in the State Office will notify you as which date is most convenient for the majority.

September 10, 1958

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

To supplement our telephone conversation today:

As you know, we ran into particular difficulties in compiling registration figures in Alabama during our previous voting survey. Consequently, we are particularly anxious about the Alabama figures we will use in the current effort to bring the voting picture up to date.

The latest figures available to us from Alabama are contained in the April 20, 1958, story by Hugh Sparrow in the Birmingham News. In that article he used totals as of April 15. However, since the registration books did not close until April 30, and since there often is a last minute rush to register, we wondered if he might have had a later story which we missed. If you have such in your files we would appreciate it if you could send it to us for copying and prompt return.

But, in any event it would seem worthwhile to make an effort to get official figures from each county. In the counties from which we could get no response, we could use the Sparrow figures. Incidentally, I noticed that the News still did not list the number of Negro voters registered in several counties from which you had received replies to your inquiries after our previous survey.

(continued)

Since you had such a good response I thought we might send a letter to the probate judge in each Alabama county this time asking how many white and Negro voters were registered. Harold Fleming suggested that we might have better luck if you sent the requests. If you agree, and are willing I'm sure we could draw up a form letter here, run off the copies, type and stamp the envelopes and then just bundle them off to you for signature and mailing. (Since we do not have your letterheads, of course, we would just use plain paper and envelopes and type in your return address.) I assume the letters should go to the probate judge in the county seat in each case.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Please let us know, too, if you have any suggestions on the collection of voting figures or any other phase of the voting picture.

Again, I apologize for bothering you at this particular time. I hope the situation brightens for you soon.

Sincerely,

MP/lcc

(Mrs.) Margaret Price

September 17, 1958

Rev. Robert Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We here at SRC are concerned about the action of the Methodist Church in relation to your assignment to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. I remember your telling me that it would be all but impossible to be re-assigned, that probably you would go on an "inactive" list of the Methodist Church.

What was the outcome of the annual conference? Have you given any further consideration to the Disciples ministry? You will recall, I am sure, my mentioning Lewis Deer who heads their social action committee.

Please let us hear from you; know that we are concerned.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Eddy, David B.

REGARDING

Gift of 10 shares of Grumman Aircraft Eng. Corp. stock to Alabama Council on Human Relations

Date

September 20, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

***** Folder marked: "Eddy, David B."

September 25, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

This is a catch-all letter to answer several from your end during the past few weeks. Enclosed are a couple of carbons of this letter for distribution to any appropriate individuals - time prohibits separate letters.

Also enclosed are carbons which are self-explanatory and perhaps suggestive of S.R.C. steps. If we're too late this year let's press for a clear-cut policy for the future.

Thanks for the Stride Toward Freedom extracts which will definitely be used to lure Yankee dollars. If reprints of the Richmond Times-Dispatch and Norfolk Journal and Guide are available I could use 85 of each to put through my Council leadership mailing list.

The "key person" list would take a lot of time which I simply don't have for the foreseeable future and don't know of anyone who could do a reputable job.

On Mrs. Price's suggestion - I've done a lot of thinking and feel that if I inquired about Negro voting statistics of Alabamas 67 Probate Judges we'd have the Attorney General on our backs within days. Right now we are in no position to weather an investigation and public attacks. The trap has already been set by editorial reactions and threats by officials in the wake of publicity surrounding the Civil Rights Commissions' investigations in this state. As for the April Birmingham News article, I don't remember ever seeing it and would appreciate a photostat if available.

We're in bad shape almost any way you cut the cake - leadership, membership, finances or program development. At the first of the summer I called together the only three completely dedicated, level-headed white leaders in the Council, Dan Whitsett, Bob Graetz and Al Winn, to consider some particular matters. In August Bob Graetz moved to Columbus, Ohio and at Conference Dan Whitsett suddenly moved to Boston. Now at the end of the summer only Al is left.

Last Spring we had a "drive" to double our February membership of 575. The net result was a loss of 180 members. Fifty of our former hundred Birmingham

members haven't renewed dispite personal letters to each and only five attended the local meeting last week.

Finances - I emphatically told my Board, the membership and the state Finance Committee on separate occasions last February that we could see our way clear until August or September when organizational inactivity would create a drop in revenue needed to augment the July 1st S.R.C. $1,000. A financial drive within the state was mapped out and I confined my efforts to long range non-Southern cultivation. On Monday of annual conference week (week before last) we had $600.00 in due and overdue bills staring us in the face with $1.59 in our bank account. I hadn't been paid since August 15th and my personal account was down to $1.57 with the family on short rations. I finally borrowed $230 from the bank for the Council, which, with an emergency fund from our Board combined to permit us to sate our more aggressive creditors and give me a partial salary payment.

As for state-wide program development in the past few months there's little to point at. If I don't initiate, it just doesn't get done and travel takes money, money takes newsletters, newsletters take time and time I ain't got because I'm doing emergency program development such as "saving" a Jimmy Wilson or trying to build up pressure for law enforcement against Klan mobs at Birmingham High Schools.

I only hope that the S.R.C. can break into this vicious circle at the point of money - our application for next year will definitely be for more than our current $4,000 assuming I can find the required ingredients for an acceptable application.

The cabinet of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church to the surprise of everyone sarcastically granted me this appointment by a one vote margin for one last year after giving me the rare privilege of a last minute personal appeal.

Hope all is reasonably well with you folks over there. Best wishes to you personally, Fred. See you on the 8th.

Most Cordially,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas

October 3, 1958

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Since we have not had any additional requests for "South Carolinians Speak," we have decided to send you the additional five hundred you requested. They will reach you in the mail within the next few days.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

October 13, 1958

Rev. Robert Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Under separate cover we are sending you an additional 50 copies of the Mike Wallace interview. Happy to know you can use them. The extra copies are for good luck!

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 6, 1958

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the transcript of the Mike Wallace interview of Mr. Dabbs and the 50 copies sent under seperate cover. If I could have 30 more copies making a total of 80 I can run this through our leadership mailing list.

Thank you for your help.

Most cordially,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas

Good to talk to you this aft. The program + financial reports will be mailed out tomorrow. Thought I'll keep a carbon to give to Fred or Harold in M'gy for perusal before the Board meeting.
— BEH

Bob Hughes 10/14/58
Ala Council on Human Rel.

Bob:

Your note at bottom of letter to Anderson indicated you might not have received the theology of violence in Birmingham, which was a typed draft. Also included in same letter was a long hand note from me on the theology and our meeting together. If you did not receive these items please let me know immediately.

Talked with Will T. today and Neil Tuppler (Eperiept) — Will call go ahead on notification of denominational men. Have you proceeded with Whitsett or Dudley Ward?

Sometime next week, you should be hearing from some of these folk. AFSC (National) has written Mayor Morgan, Atty Gen Rogers, and Don Jones re. action against Negro leadership and asking info on excommunicado charges, etc.

Keep us informed of any further police or other activity. We rely on you for leads as to whether or not the situation is warming up. Meanwhile, I've been urging that interested parties get on into B'ham for preliminary constructive action.

Best wishes,

Roy

October 17, 1958

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Here's the check representing David Eddy's contribution of 10 shares of Grumman Aircraft stock.

Congratulations and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check #4746 - $199.50)

P. S. I will reply to the questions raised in your last letter at the earliest possible opportunity. Enjoyed being with you and your board last week.

HCF

Ala Council

September 25, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

This is a catch-all letter to answer several from your end during the past few weeks. Enclosed are a couple of carbons of this letter for distribution to any appropriate individuals - time prohibits separate letters.

Also enclosed are carbons which are self-explanatory and perhaps suggestive of S.R.C. steps. If we're too late this year let's press for a clear-cut policy for the future.

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I only hope that the S.R.C. can break into this vicious circle at the point of money - our application for next year will definitely be for more than our current $4,000 assuming I can find the required ingredients for an acceptable application.

The cabinet of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church to the surprise of everyone sarcastically granted me this appointment by a one vote margin for one last year after giving me the rare privilege of a last minute personal appeal.

Hope all is reasonably well with you folks over there. Best wishes to you personally, Fred. See you on the 8th.

Most Cordially,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas

October 20, 1958

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I enjoyed meeting with your board week before last and I am only sorry that I had to leave before the meeting was over.

I do hope that all of the soul-searching and agonizing over the financial problem will lead to some tangible results. I am afraid I have no words of wisdom to add to Fred's memorandum, except to emphasize what I said in the meeting - that the best hope may well be in getting the Alabama Council written into the annual budgets of churches and organizations within the State. There must be a number of Negro groups that would be willing to support your work, as well as a smaller number of white ones.

In the climate of Alabama today, I doubt seriously that you will be able to raise your budget solely through individual memberships. As I also said at the meeting, you can be sure that I will do my best if I find a potential angel for the work in Alabama.

As to the other matter you mentioned, I am inclined to advise you to drop the matter of a speech by the special FBI agent-in-charge or the U. S. Attorney. In the light of realities, I doubt that protests up the line are going to produce much. As an alternative I would suggest writing directly to the Department of Justice and/or to the Commission on Civil Rights - preferably the former - requesting that a speaker be supplied from Washington. Such a letter could set forth your reasons for wanting such a speaker and might further point out that you have found it impossible to get an appropriate presentation from local officials because of their view of the community climate. I don't know if this would be successful either, but I think it would be a more likely success than your approach to the local Feds.

I should also tell you that Tom Thrasher will undoubtedly be nominated for membership on SRC's board at our forthcoming annual meeting. I spoke to him informally about this and he agreed to serve if elected. He will make a fine board member and should serve the welcome purpose of tying our organization even more strongly together.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 15, 1958

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks so much for taking off from your heavy responsibilities there in the Central Office and coming up for our Board Meeting last week.

Although you had to leave a bit early I hope that the memorandum will fill in for the rest after you left. In essence those present agreed that it would be up to them if there was to be any assurance that we would meet financial obligations for the balance of this fiscal year. In short they divided the balance up among themselves, each to report to the Financial chairman rather than to me. Also, the next Board Meeting on Thursday, November 20th will primarily be a discussion and allotting of responsibility for securing long term support inside and outside of Alabama.

We have Fred's excellent memorandum on fund raising of 20 May, 1957. If you have any additional ideas, insights, etc. than those mentioned we would appreciate your sending them off to us, It goes without saying that I'm sure other staff people would welcome same.

Because of the Central Office's generosity with personnel for our regular semi-annual Board Meeting we will not expect a representative for the November called meeting, although if anybody's floating free the welcome mat is out.

You may not appreciate the significance of your presence, Harold, but I could see that it made a definite difference, reminding us of the larger context within which we work along with a note of prestige, Don't underestimate the value of such with hard-pressed groups.

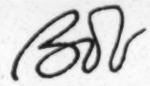
I have just returned from a conference with the Special Agent in Charge of the Birmingham F.B.I. office who refused to speak to our local group on even the same subjects that he brings to service clubs etc. His excuses were, "We don't interpret the law', "Involve the Bureau in controversy", "Statements would be misinterpreted", and "Bull Conner would hear about it and our cooperation with the Birmingham police would be gone", negating the effectiveness of the most useful instrument to my cause, He ended with politely asserting that I would be doing "Your own cause definite harm" in persisting in trying to get him to speak to the group and he hoped that I would let the matter end there.

The U.S. District Attorney about a month ago gave a much more flimsy excuse for refusal - "Don't know the laws involved", "Don't have a copy of the Civil Rights Law of 1957 in my office", and "I'm not speaking to any group on Civil Rights now".

Do these responses suggest any further action to you? If so do not pursue them until we can discuss it more up here.

Thanks again for your helpfulness to us.

Mostcordially,



Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas

cc: Fred Routh

C O N F I D E N T I A L

November 6, 1958

Memorandum

TO : Leadership personnel
FROM: Bob Hughes
RE : Birmingham situation; literature available.

I Birmingham: The arrest of three Montgomery Negro ministers at the home of the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth on October 27 without search or arrest warrants together with a long series of intimidation incidents has produced a situation akin to that in Montgomery and Tuskegee before mass movements were launched in those cities. Apparently Birmingham police desired to keep this highly irregular incident quiet, but newsmen tipped off by the State Office descended on the City Hall while the men were in custody. Within hours the incident was carried in the Birmingham News headlines. Responsible elements in the white community immediately protested this arbitrary act and such practices have at least temporarily ceased. Perhaps it was too late for the Negro community has approached but not quite readed the point of a mass protest against the city busses. A limited boycott is now in effect although its results and prospects are yet conclusive.

The press has completely ignored these developments and the white community is hardly aware of this move.

II Literature: Enclosed are copies of three pieces of literature available free in quantity from the State Office. Let us know if you need such for any local or group mailing.

Enclosures: Journal and Guide: An Adventure That Restored Good Race Relations In A Former Time of Crisis

A Mike Wallace interview with James McBride Dabbs

Richmond Times-Dispatch: A Race Agency and the Facts

November 14, 1958

Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is a memo outlining what the Council did regarding allocations to state organizations for 1959. I wish it could have been possible to grant the full amount you requested, but due to budgetary limitations and needs of other state organizations this is the best we could do. You will note that the Alabama Council received the highest grant of any state organization.

Best of luck in the year to come.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Dec. 1, '58

Dear Emory,

Hate to think this is your last month with us but can well understand the necessity. After you're gone can I assume that Fred is the logical contact person for B'ham affairs, bus boycotts, staffers, etc.?

By way of a report - from what I gather & according to the conclusions of others (white & negro) the bus protest has fizzled out. The move never got any real backing from the "ware group" for particular reasons you know about & the press completely stifled ~~[illegible]~~ all references except one quote from Connor threatening to jail anyone "assisting in the bus boycott".

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

The scene turns to Montgomery with the Civil Rts. Com. hearings there next week + a possible tug of war ~~with~~ between federal + state powers involving court action, etc. The lines are drawn rather clearly and once the battle is joined on Monday it will doubtless take considerably longer than the two days mentioned as the length of the hearings to clear the situation up. We are presently not directly involved in any way. Enclosed is a clip I'll need to have returned. Cordially, Bob

December 4, 1958

Mr. Bob Hughes, Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your note of December 1. I'm glad to have the information on the evident outcome of the bus protest. We were aware of the newsclip which you sent from the Montgomery Home News. Harold has already written a letter to Cleghorn indicating factual errors in the story and taking him to task for casting aspersions on thoroughly reputable people.

By all means continue to be in touch with Fred or Harold regarding Birmingham and our effort to launch some denominational action there. My advice would be to continue to be in touch with Will Campbell and the various denominational representatives so that some activity will continue to take place over the ensuing months. This seems to me a good channel through which you can work to substantially loosen the Birmingham situation without having to bear the brunt of all the work nor feel as if you are cut off from some contacts because of your Alabama Council label.

We should keep you supplied with the materials which are developing out of the Atlanta situation so that you can make selected distribution of them in Birmingham. In each case, if you would attempt to spot other persons or organizations who would take on the task of further distribution without any direct tie either to the Alabama Council or to SRC, it would be a most worthy piece of program and we would be happy to supply all the materials which could be so used.

I fear that I will not get over your way again. Officially, my stint at the Council ends early next week. It has been good to have been associated with you during the past two years, and you have my warmest personal wishes in all your efforts to aid Alabama to come to a just and democratic settlement

of the crucial problems before it. May you continue to find new energies, ideas, and channels through which to work in this important undertaking.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Enclosure (newsclip)

December 9, 1958

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have just written Frank Baldam. I cast it in this form hoping that praise would be more effective than chastisement in moving him to action.

Let me know if anything happens.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

BLIND COPY TO BOB HUGHES

December 9, 1958

Mr. Frank W. Baldau
Executive Director
Community Relations Board
Cleveland City Hall
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Frank:

I was certainly pleased to hear from Bob Hughes of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that you had agreed to find someone in the Cleveland area who would take the responsibility for raising some funds for the Alabama Council. As you know, SRC has assisted the various state Councils for some four years but not in sufficient amount to meet their budgetary requirements.

It is difficult to raise funds on a local level for state organizations. If there is anything that the white Southerner finds more annoying than an outside agitator it is an inside agitator. It would be easier to raise funds in Ohio to help save the South than it is within the South itself.

Bob Hughes and the Alabama Council are doing some extremely significant work. They are the only state-wide interracial organization working in the field of human relations. They were instrumental in setting up a state-wide interracial ministers group which meets twice a year. They have worked with the press and other mass media covering the bombings in Birmingham. Their locals have played a significant role in every crisis situation in the last few years. As Martin Luther King said of their Montgomery group: "Although the Montgomery Council never had a large membership, it played an important role. As the only truly interracial group in Montgomery it served to keep the desperately needed channels of communication

open between the races....in providing an avenue of communication, the Council was fulfilling a necessary condition for better race relations in the South."

Thanks once more for your interest, and I wish you every success in this important undertaking.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Ala File

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President
DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

December 3, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

When I was in Ohio in the latter part of August I talked with over thirty community leaders in Columbus, Canton and Cleveland concerning financial support. Only in Cleveland did anyone make any commitment to me for followup. This was Frank Baldau who agreed to secure an individual who would take the responsibility for heading up a local effort. He went so far as to outline his conception as to what form the effort should take which is mentioned in attached correspondence.

Enclosed are carbons of all correspondence I have sent him, which I would like returned after your perusal. To date I have not heard anything from him, not even an acknowledgement of having received my letters.

I realize that "beggars can't be choosy", that I should try to be more understanding of the situations some of these fellows are facing themselves, but it seems rather unreasonable to make a commitment to render assistance to someone who is hanging on by the skin of his teeth and not fulfill it or even acknowledge correspondence. It reminds me of a somewhat similar experience of last winter.

Fred, this fellow is the only concrete hope we have outside the South and I see no continuation of this program without such help. Through your personal or professional relationship to him I wonder if you could feel him out as to what we might expect from him and when. Anything in this direction would be appreciated. Thanks for your assistance.

Cordially,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas
Enclosures: Correspondence of September 15, 23 and October 21.

October 21, 1958

Mr. Frank W. Baldau
Executive Director, Community Relations Board
Cleveland City Hall
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Baldau:

In the absence of your advice on the Newsletter draft which I sent you on September 15, I have proceeded and have completed a shortened version now ready for distribution. I trust that this material as enclosed will present the Council's program as a cause worthy of support in that area. A second edition will carry accounts of some of the reactions against this program which were contained in the first draft sent you.

As for a "mailing list" I have only ten names there primarily of church organizational executives, which I secured while I was in Cleveland. Without having word from you or anyone you may have involved in the financial campain which we discussed, I am at something of a loss in knowing just how to proceed or what to expect. At any rate, I am sending this Newsletter to these ten trusting that this action will not disturb any effort that might be pending.

I would deeply appreciate knowing if you have secured someone who has agreed to assume responsibility in our behalf or if any plans are underway. My board of directors is putting forth strenucus effort at this time in Alabama to maintain our financial situation on an even keel. All of our reserve is now depleted and we are desperately attempting to secure new sources of income without appearing to be "going down for the second time".

I am sure that you can realize that knowledge of definite efforts to support the Council, either in the near or distant future, would be a source of encouragement. If I could relate such information to our leadership I am certain that it would be helpful.

We will be looking foreward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Thank you again for your interest and concern.

Yours sincerely,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas
Enclosure

C.C. - Baldau

September 23, 1958

Dr. Ersten Butterfield
Executive Secretary
Cleaveland Union of Congregational
Christian Churches
3056 Prospect Avenue North East
Cleaveland 15, Ohio

Dear Dr. Butterfield:

Last month I visited your office in Cleaveland but it seems that everyone was away on vacation with the exception of Rev. Stienhelfer with whom I had a brief conference.

I don't believe I have ever had the pleasure of meeting you, but during your service with the Southeast Convention I often heard references to you. Conceivably you may have heard of me through Clyde Flannery after I worked in Wadley following the mob scene there.

The occasion of my visit to Cleaveland and subsequently to your office concerned the difficulties we are experiencing in attempting to finance our program. The Southern Regional Council through the Fund for the Republic gives us a $4,000 a year grant-in-aide with the balance of some $7,000 in our minimum budget theoretically secured through our own efforts. We have yet to secure this $7,000 in any year and our repeated efforts to raise such here in Alabama are producing less and less as people become increasingly cautious. Regretably, fear and the need for this work arise from the same conditions.

In order to continue we are forced to seek sources of income outside of the South on a continueing basis. To this end I confered with a number of persons in Columbus, Canton, Akron and Cleaveland but the only definite interest that I found was there in Cleaveland. Mr. Frank Baldau of the City Community Relations Board agreed to secure an individual who will take responsibility in that area for securing some degree of financial support for our program. Any encouragement or assistance that you can render Mr. Baldau or the person he might involve would be most appreciated by us. Perhaps your own experiences and knowledge of the Southern Regional Council, etc. would enable you to be of resource value in interpreting the need for this program.

I trust that I am not asking too much of you because I realize that you are confronted with simular problems and appeals in Cleaveland itself, but we can

turn to no others than persons like yourself. If any questions arise in your mind at this stage please do not hesitate to communicate them to me.

Best wishes to you and your new work. Please convey to Mr. Stienhelfer my gratitude for his helpfulness.

Yours sincerely,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas

c.c.: Mr. Frank W. Baldau

September 15, 1958

Mr. Frank W. Baldan
Executive Director
Community Relations Board
Cleaveland City Hall
Cleaveland 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. Baldan:

Normally the late summer is the quietest time of the year, but since my return from Ohio it seems as though everything has happened at once.

As soon as I arrived in Alabama the Jimmy Wilson case, in which a Negro was condemed to die for a $1.95 robbery, was assuming international proportions. This took me into the Black Belt for nearly a week trying to help arrainge for his legal defense which only last week resulted in a brief stay of execution.

This was followed by the discovery of a Klan plot to foment mass demonstrations including violence against any Negroes in the vicinity of two Birmingham high schools when they opened. A carefully coordinated plan to pressure key people ended in the first real effort by police to control mobs in this city. Several of us went directly into a mob at one point, attempting persuation when it appeared that the police were not going to protect Negro pedestrians who happened by.

This week my Methodist annual conference session was held at which I was offered the alternatives of a pastorate or leaving the active Methodist ministry. Early in the week I informed the bishop and his cabinet of my choice of the latter and much to my astonishment yesterday by a one-vote margin I was returned to this work for another year!

All of this has been against the back-drop of a serious financial situation which reached its crisis early this week. I haven't received a salary check since before I met you and my bank account on Monday was $1.57 and that of the Alabama Council, $1.59. This predicament has improved slightly but the crisis is far from over. I mention this only to illustrate our terminus position and our need for significant continueing support from outside of Alabama if this work is to long continue. However, this is <u>not</u> an appeal for any "crisis" money as we will somehow manage to meet our immediate obligations.

Please do not think my delay in writing you has any change in the situation as I outlined it to you - only that for awhile we have simply had more than one person could readily cope with.

According to our conversation I believe you felt that the best move would be to involve Rev. O'Hear as the key person in a financial effort there in Cleaveland. Your idea was that a small committee should call together some 100 key persons to whom someone from the Alabama Council, perhaps myself, could present our cause.

Just before Rev. Bob Graetz left Montgomery he agreed to meet with such a committee within his limitations of time. He expected to be in Cleaveland in late September so possibly this could suffice if it fits with your thinking on that of Rev. O'Hear. Rev. Graetz's address in Columbus is:

Enclosed is a copy of a draft for a newsletter I am preparing for the purpose of introducing non-southerners to the Alabama Council. I would appreciate your criticism before we memeograph it. Also, assuming such would be appropriate for mailing to the "100 key persons" before they are brought together, approximately how many copies should I allow for Cleaveland beyond one hundred?

It goes without saying that I was most encouraged by your interest in our problems and I deeply appreciate your counsel and efforts in our behalf even though your official position is somewhat restrictive.

Yours sincerely,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas

cc: Dr. Angus C. Hull Jr.
Rev. Robert Genner

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

December 11, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

This is a catch all on several small items.

Art Levin will be interested to know that "Bill Johnson", the Alabama representative of the National States Rights Party who lives here in Birmingham is actually "L. C. Johnson", about 35 years of age and described as "not a bum". There are two L. C. Johnsons in the city directory - Lewis C. is a laboror with Superock Block, Inc., Sayreton, the "bum" lead might eliminate this laboror, the other party is Leonard C. Johnson of Johnson Plumbing and Heating Company, 311 Fayette Avenue, Ensley, his residence is at the same address and his wifes name is Bearnice Q. Johnson.

Eugene S. Hall, who generally signs his name as"E.S. Hall" has been a strong admirer of the former national head of the Klan who was released from prison about a year ago. He has lived in Montgomery for a mumber of years until fairly recently, having served as Chairman of the "Educational Committee" of the Montgomery Citizens Council during the bus protest. In this capacity he has appeared on the radio and has written material supposedly linking integration with Communism and quoting from McCarthy hearings and the files of the House Unamerican Activities Committee. He was publically identified with, and to the best of my memory, was one of those indited in the Montgomery bombings which charges were subsequently dropped. In Montgomery he was an active member of the Typographical Union and working as a linotype operator, I believe, at the Montgomery Advertiser. He has since moved to Atlanta where he now works in "one of the trade composition or printing shops", it might possible be at a place called Ruralist Press. There is little doubt that wherever he is he is a trouble maker and you, Art, Dr. Cowin, and the Atlanta Council folks ought to know about him. I understand that Art does not want confidential information for an indefinite period during which time his records are under subpoena by the Fulton County Grand Jury. You might want to see when he might want such.

Thanks so much for your note to Frank Baldeau, the "n" on the carbon you have was corrected and the letter typed over - to set your mind at ease.

In talking with Harry Johnston on the phone this afternoon I asked him to give y'al a call requesting $450.00. This is an advance to meet maximum expences which we presently can not cover for December 15th.

Actually this s taking up Paul's offer of last week as an advance on our January 1st allotment.

The Birmingham Fellowship of Concern met today with 14 women and 5 male program participents present. They will meet again on the third Thursday of March. There is a bi-racial group within this larger group which have and will meet monthly. Mrs. Candler Tatum continues to be the key person in both groups. The ladies in the Montgomery group are continuing to suffer from quite a bit of pressure from phone calls, strained relationship with friends or close associates,etc. While in Montgomery at the hearings I was able to talk to only one of them, but have written those getting the worst end of it, letters of encouragement, thats about all I know to do, any suggestions? My program report will carry a bit about the Civil Rights Commission hearings.

I'm not quite certain just what the understanding as to the "short form" discussed at Fisck. For some reason my notes on this are of little help, and I can find no memo explaining it. How about dropping a brief explaination in the mail for my use on Monday, and with your permission my report will be in a day late, that is the 16th.

Thats all for now, best wishes to everyone.

Sent

Most cordially,

Robert E. Hughes
cas

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH/cas

Please accept my apology for this messy letter - its late + so am I for an appointment -
Mrs. Shiesberg

December 12, 1958

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your "catch-all" letter with all the interesting information in it. I will pass on at an appropriate time a copy to Art Levin.

You asked about the "short form" discussed at Fisk. I believe you are referring to the "short term" quarter agreed to at Fisk and mentioned in my last memo regarding quarterly reports.

Actually, we specified that for one-time-only we would use two months as a quarter (July and August), so that quarterly reports from state organizations might be in this office a month before the check for the next quarter was due. For example, the currently due quarterly report will cover September, October, and November; it is due in this office December 15. The check for the next quarter goes out January 1st. This means that the next quarter will include December, January, and February.

If this is confusing it is only because of my inadequacy in explaining it. If it is too incomprehensible, drop me a note and I'll try again.

In terms of a "short form," you might be referring on the other hand to the quarterly financial reporting form I drew up and sent out - ten copies - to the state organizations. Enclosed herewith, is an extra copy. Hope this helps, and we

won't be angry if your report is a day late.

Best of Christmas wishes to you and the family.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

December 12, 1958

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I can't remember whether we have discussed Howard Strebel who is with the Steelworkers in Birmingham. I don't think I've met him, but Paul Christopher recommended him highly. It seems as if he was sent into Birmingham partly because of his good racial attitudes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

COPY OF SAME LTR. SENT TO:

Rev. Walter Cowart
Dr. A. W. Dent
Mrs. Alice Spearman

December 15, 1958

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Here is a copy of a memo being sent to all state Councils. In the case of Alabama, we are not sure how this might best be done or even if it should be done. But you will note we are under mandate to do it.

Please let us have your candid opinion on this.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

December 15, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: All State Organizations

From: Fred Routh

Subj: Distribution of Mr. Dabbs' Book

:

At SRC's Annual Meeting, the central staff was instructed to arrange for the distribution of Mr. Dabbs' book, Southern Heritage, to the following officials in each Southern state:

The Governor
The Attorney General
The two U. S. Senators
The State Superintendent of Education

It has been suggested that the state organizations are in the best position to dope out the strategy of how best to do this. Perhaps you could have a Board member who knows an official take it to him personally - or perhaps send it with a personal note. On the other hand, you might be willing to send it to the officials from your office - or perhaps a combination of both. And there are other possibilities.

Please let us have your thinking on this matter, and we will send five copies of the book for this key distribution effort.

:

December 16, 1958

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Robby,

You may recall that SRC agreed to invite state staff - on a rotating basis - to the Southern Interagency conferences. This letter is an invitation to you to come to the Southern Interagency Conference to be held here in Atlanta Tuesday and Wednesday, January 13-14. SRC will take care of your expenses and travel.

We would like for you to be prepared to outline the situation Birmingham and Montgomery and to be prepared to suggest any type of Interagency effort that would be helpful in either or both of those situations.

We are also asking Paul Rilling to this meeting to talk about crisis situations in Virginia and their relation to the Interagency effort.

Best of Christmas wishes to you, Dottie, and the wee ones.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Bob Hughes

REGARDING

Ltr. from HCF re new source of financial aid to State Councils on Human Relations (Same ltr. sent to Ark., Fla., Ga., Ky., N.C., S.C., Tenn., and Va.)

(DATE)

December 31, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Grants-in-Aid, State Organizations

See also: Special Correspondence with Currier and Yarmolinsky

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

12-31-58

Dear Fred,

Here's the list of ministers with basis for their nominations. Hope it fills the bill.

Thanks to you & Paul for the hotel reservations, arrangements, etc. We're already looking forward to the trip.

The St. ministers Conf. committee will meet in m'gy on Fri., Jan. 9 & will draft a definite set of program proposals. Ch's already worked up a set.

Cordially, Bob

January 5, 1959

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your note. I think you are well advised to look on the supplementary $3,500 as funds to be preserved and stretched over as long a period as possible, since it is a one-time gift. I do hope, however, that receipt of it will enable you to give more time to program and less to financial worries; that was one of the main objects.

As for the Ministers Conference, I don't know what procedure would suit the donor best -- assuming Landes' gift can be re-routed. But I would suggest that, if there are no obstacles, the group go ahead and incorporate just to be on the safe side. My own feeling is that it would be best if the group were in position to receive contributions directly.

If this doesn't turn out to be as simple as you thought, I don't see why the contribution couldn't be made through some sympathetic organization or church.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Harold –

Thanks for the nerve of the $3,500. No pre-mature announcements to leadership here. I'm going to insist on regarding it with discretion and something to be stretched out so present efforts won't crumble.

The ministers group meets Fri. & I leave here Wed. nite. What are the needs for establishing an agency & what have you to receive the $500 as you see it. Let me know in time.

– Bob

Jan. 7, 59

Harold—

Here's the clip I mentioned on the phone yesterday. It's the most open threat of violence to come out of the state yet. Don't expect to advertise's demand to be followed by Patterson — there're political enemies behind the scenes.

The check is for us for Miss Alexander's processing. Thank you for handling it. Cordially,

BJ

$21.00 ck
pho
1/8/59

Confidential

Air Mail [redacted]

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 206, MOORE BLDG. - 217 S. COURT ST. - MONTGOMERY 4, ALABAMA
PHONE 2-0450

REV. DUNCAN HUNTER, President
DR. C. G. GOUMILLION, Vice-President
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director
REV. THOMAS THRASHER, Secretary
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Treasurer

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Mr. Fred Routh
SRC

Wed., Oct. 29, 1958

Dear Fred:

Sans secretary and ability to type here's a report of the situation here in Birmingham as of today.

Since 1948 there have been some 25 unsolved bombings in Jefferson County plus some mob scenes & an emasculation. In December of 1956 22 negroes were arrested for riding buses in desegregated fashion. Federal Court suit filed. To be finally heard in A.M.

Two weeks ago in anticipation of suit, city commission repeals bus segregation laws + permits bus company to assign seats. One week ago thirteen negroes board buses + sit in front refusing to go to back according to driver's directions. Police called and arrest the 13 on disorderly conduct and breach of the peace charges followed by Rev. Shuttlesworth's arrest for conspiracy to commit above. Last Thursday night 1,000 negroes knelt in silent prayer outside of the City Hall from 9:00 P.M. til 1:00 A.M. during trial in Recorders Court. All were convicted by judge who delayed ~~sentencing~~ sentencing until Monday. While he "thought it over" all 14 were to be held in jail. Friday a writ of habeous corpus filed + after negro attorneys given "run around", a hearing

was finally set for Saturday morning. Sat. morning the case was continued until Tuesday morning as two witnesses, one, the police chief, couldn't be found to serve the subpoena on on Fri.

Monday night an overflow crowd of several thousand negroes held their regular mass meeting (meetings have been held each week for 2½ years with only initial press coverage) while another large group met at the City Hall for the judge to pass sentence on the 14. Judge passed sentences + instead of releasing on bond pending outcome of appeal remanded them to jail until next morning (Tues.) at 10:00 A.M. when warden had orders to produce them in court for the habeous corpus proceedings. He wanted to be "certain" that they would be there! That same Monday afternoon Shuttlesworth's organization (the Ala. Christian movement for Human Rights) had their Executive Board meeting at S.'s home. Three Montgomery Improvement Assn. leaders joined the 20+ assembled. Four B'ham detectives, plain clothes, plain car - came in without arrest or search warrants and after identification of everyone took the Montgomery ministers to headquarters on vagrancy charges. Weren't booked, but questioned + held for five hours, then released. (I broke story to press + TV)

Tuesday morning, yesterday, Judge

Bailes at the habeas corpus hearing said the writ ~~was~~ question was "moot" and released the 14 negroes. Courtroom packed with negroes.

Yesterday morning after this hearing I attended ~~a~~ an off-the-record special meeting of some 110-120 negro ministers from all over Jefferson County called by the Jeff County Betterment assn., an organization of ministers without by representation ~~sponsored~~ led by pastors of the larger negro churches who disdain S's. methods, publicity seeking, etc. They've done little + had few actives during past two years. Rev. J. S. Ware has the commitment + manner of King but ~~wont~~ hasn't moved - says he's worn out. Key figure of the J.C.B.A.

These 110 ministers were joined by Shuttlesworth briefly. Everyone was fed up. Tonite the A.C.M.H.R. at a special mass meeting ~~will~~ is scheduled to deliver an indirect bus boycott threat to the assembled press.

Tomorrow morning the bus company president + owner will receive a letter mailed tonite ~~asking for~~ from the J.C.B.A. asking for a conference. Not ~~stated~~ but to be ~~[illegible]~~ asserted at the conference is

the ultimatum of change of seating policies or a bus boycott.

Fonte Shuttlesworth, though verging on pneumonia from a cold which all 14 caught in jail, may or may not decide to keep the boycott threat indirect as passed by his executive board. He gets caught up with the enthusiasm of the crowd.

Both A.C.M.H.R. & J.C.B.A. feel that the boycott must be launched soon or never - in all likelihood Monday night's mass meeting will result in walking orders if it hasn't come before then. Monday night is regarded as the latest date that sentiment can be held in check.

~~The bus company~~

Tomorrow morning Federal Court hearing will be of little real significance.

The bus company hasn't made a profit in 2 years & has just bought $1,000,000 in new busses. Negro patronage is about 75% roughly.

The question basically is - can the bus company be persuaded to keep

its 75 % negro patronage and lose some 25 % from a possible white boycott and suffer legal or punitive pressure from the city Commission or Ala. Public Service Commission.

As I see my task now, it is to try to get pressure built up on the company's local president (and holder of the majority stock) to follow the dollar and risk governmental sanctions. Although the city and particularly downtown merchants would suffer heavily, the city might easily drop public transportation regulation + let anybody run their own buggies as Little Rock has done with its schools. This would be typical of Birmingham sentiment.

All the rest of the picture I don't need to relate — "goon squads" charges by police, white + negro + Klan violence + lot we can't foresee.

Say a prayer for us as we'll need all possible resources and the spiritual is about all I've got.

Cordially,

BR

January 20, 1959

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter and the copy of your communications concerning the State Ministers Conference. I think the proposals are excellent and carefully thought out and will look forward to further word from you on the outcome.

For future purposes, however, you should know that the man's name is Stephen R. Currier.

Incidentally, I talked to Tom Thrasher today about another matter and gathered from what he said that he still expects to be able to channel that gift to the Alabama Council.

It was good having you and Dottie here last week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 19, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are copies of the letter which I wrote Mr. Courier and the final proposals concerning the State Ministers Conference.

Both Dottie and I thoroughly enjoyed our brief respite in Atlanta, and it was such a pleasure to experience the nice clean air that Atlanta affords in contrast to its Alabama sister city. Thanks for making it possible for me to participate in the inter-agency conference.

Our state Board of Directors meets in semi-annual session on Friday evening, February 6th, at Talledega College, followed the next day by the annual membership meeting, 10:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. If you could arrange for someone from the Southern Regional Council to be with us, I am certain that it would be most helpful.

Thanks for all of your assistance and good work.

Most cordially,

REH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:dsh

BL 5-1073

COPY

Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
January 17, 1959

Mr. Stephen R. Courier
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Courier:

Enclosed you will find a descriptive statement of our State Ministers' Conference and a breakdown of suggested financial proposals for the coming year. Although I expected to submit a some-what similar set of proposals for our Ecumenical Student Conference, I feel that it will be necessary for me to confer at length with some of the group's adult advisors first. Therefore you may be hearing from me concerning this matter within the next few weeks. In response to your request, rest assured that I will bring to your attention any other worthy causes related to this area with which I may become acquainted.

I am gratified that you have asked me to send you ro recommend to you reading material that will assist you in becoming better informed on this important subject. I imagine that Harold Fleming is in a much better position to do this and that he will endeavor to supply you with materials. However, I will be glad to send you any literature which I think he might overlook, along with Citizens Council or Klan leaflets which he would not have, in the event that you are interested in such.

Permit me to express my personal appreciation to you for the depth of your concern and interest in this curcial area of our social life. Rarely does such a single restricted field exert so strong an influence on international relations, foreign missions, concepts of government, the observance of constituted law, and the spiritual life of countless Christians across the Southland. Indeed, the recognition of these needs and opportunities places a heavy burden of responsibility upon each of us.

It was a pleasure for us to meet you and Mrs. Courier in Atlanta this week. Please convey to her greetings from Dottie and me.

Yours sincerely,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations

COPY

APPLICATION FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE ALABAMA STATE MINISTERS CONFERENCE

From Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Rm. 1218, Comer Building, Birmingham, Alabama

January 17, 1959

The State Ministers Conference is a loosely organized movement of some seventy white and Negro clergymen of twelve denominations from every part of the state of Alabama who meet together twice a year seeking guidance, fellowhsip, and ideas for implementing the principle of brotherhood in the area of race relations. This is unique in that in no other Deep South state have ministers organized specifically for the purpose of effectively confronting racial issues on so broad a basis.

This movement has slowly evolved over the past two years with the participation of such personalities as Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy of the Montgomery Improvement Association, A. C. Winn, currently Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of Alabama, and several Methodist district superintendents among others.

Beyond the service that it has provided its own membership through its two-day state meetings, last spring it sponsored a series of six biracial clergy conferences over the state and recently embarked on a long-term project to establish a state council of churches. However, the value of the State Ministers Conference is seen not so much in terms of any accomplishments during this formative period, but in its potentiality as a stimulus for the local pastor working in his parish, state denominational body, and the prospective state council of churches. If the Christian church in Alabama is mobilized for the task that has been placed in its hands, it will be through the influence initially of a group of committed clergymen work-

ing in each denomination receiving direction and strength from a more or less common source within the state. A definite beginning has been made. Without ignoring the intermediate issues the thinking of the Conference's participants has largely been in terms of mobilizing strength for the challenge that public school desegregation will present in Alabama.

The expenses of the Ministers Conference have been met by free-will offerings (averaging $35.00 per state meeting) and personally by the individual ministers themselves. At the moment the group has no funds, everything having been expended for the November state meeting. Should assistance become available, participation will doubtless increase - the $5.00 subsistence plus $5.00 or $10.00 round trip transportation for each semi-annual meeting has definitely prohibited participation on the part of a number of smaller salaried pastors. In addition, the quality of the organization's contribution will be strengthened if needed resources enable it to expand into new program areas.

In an effort to arrive at a balance between meeting needs and preserving the self respect and reliance of the Conference, some of the requests represent subsidies. For more specialized functions involving only committees, etc., requests represent total anticipated expenses.

Due to the fact that the State Ministers Conference is only loosely organized and therefore not tax exempt, Talledega College, a Congregational Christian Church related college, located at Talledega, Alabama, has agreed to receive any funds designated for the conference and to turn them over to Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in Birmingham, Dr. Arthur D. Gray, president of Talledega College, and Dr. A. C. Winn, Professor of Bible, Stillman College, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, who together will serve as trustees of these funds. Rev. Hughes was

named by the Conference Planning Committee as trustee of any funds received for the Ministerial Support project. In view of the fact that additional funds for other purposes are being requested, Rev. Hughes has asked Dr. Gray and Dr. Winn to serve with him in this capacity, all subject to final approval by the State Ministers Conference in session April 22-23, 1959.

FINANCIAL PROPOSALS FOR PERIOD FEBRUARY 1, 1959 - JANUARY 31, 1960

GENERAL ACTIVITIES

Promotion of Semi-Annual State Meetings

A. Postage and stationery expenses for two mailings to 250 persons for each meeting plus long distance telephone expense. Both meetings: $90.00
Two-thirds subsidy requested- $60.00

B. Travel expenses for four to six persons who will travel over different areas of the state visiting ministers prior to each state meeting. Both mmetings: $200.00
Total cost requested-$200.00

$260.00

Planning of State Meetings

Travel expenses for present Planning Committee (from Dothan, Mobile, Birmingham, and Decatur) meeting in Montgomery prior to each state membership meeting, 2400 miles @ 8¢ permile for both meetings: $192.00

Total cost requested - $192.00

State Meeting Room and Board

Expenses of meals and lodging for prospective attendence of 100 persons at $5.00 per person at each meeting. Both meetings: $1,000.00

Half subsidy request- $500.00

State Meeting Speakers

Travel and modest honorarium of $25.00 for each of two outside speakers at each meeting. Both meetings: $100.00

Half subsidy requested -$50.00

Literature

Cost of leaflets and pamphlets distributed at both state meetings: $40.00

Half subsidy requested - $20.00

PROJECTS

Formation of State Council of Churches

A state council of churches would exert a constructive influence on race relations in Alabama in that its membership would include both white and Negro denominations. As such it would establish a bi-racial precedent with considerable prestige, meetings would be integrated, and it would likely be able to speak more forthrightly on race than an exclusively white denominational body would be willing to do.

The State Ministers Conference appointed a committee in November to initiate the first steps toward the establishment of a state council. Committee members will need funds for travel to committee meetings, conferences with ecclesiastical officials, promotional literature, and mailings to clergymen generally.

Total cost requested- $150.00

Ministerial Support Program

As a result of taking constructive stands on race, many ministers in Alabama have been subjected to severe pressures from their congregations and/or communities. Most of these ministers have refused to abdicate their positions, but some few have compromised or suffered unnecessarily through lack of discretion, expecially younger clergymen. There is probably no instance where a minister under such pressure would not have been strengthened by encouragement and counsel from an experienced pastor in whom he has confidence.

In a positive sense, there have been many instances when ministers could have made valuable contributions had they recognized opportunities inherent in situations in their communities.

The State Ministers Conference has discussed these problems but has

never sought to provide organized support primarily because of lack of funds. The following proposal was outlined by the Planning Committee this month and will be submitted to the Conference at its April meeting:

A. Maintain a small committee in a centrally located city to which information concerning community or church problem situations can be reported.

B. From a roster of some eight to twelve committed experienced ministers the committee could ask one or more to go to the community and counsel with the local pastor(s) and otherwise assist him (them) to effectively confront existent problems or opportunities as advisable.

C. This committee would receive reports from the visiting minister(s) to consider what additional assistance if any might be advisable for it to arrange. This assistance might be in the form of encouraging letters and phone calls from fellow ministers over the state, conferences with denominational officials, ministers or prayer groups covenanting together in intercessory prayer in behalf of the situation as long as it might persist, etc.

This project would require funds for travel By the visiting ministers and long distance telephone expenses for reporting information, dispatching ministers, and arranging any follow-up assistance.

Total cost requested- $150.00

D. Should a minister suffer financially as a direct result of his position on race, the committee will advise him of funds available from national denomination and interdenominational sources, assist him in securing such, and, if needed, provide limited funds to him on a gift or loan basis as advisable until national funds become available. It is hoped that as much of the committee's resources for this purpose as possible would constitute a continuous revolving fund.

Total cost requested- $200.00

Total requested for Projects- $350.00

Total funds requested for all programs- $1,522.00

January 20, 1959

Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your good letter of January 19. It was really good to see you and Dottie during the Southern Interagency meeting here in Atlanta. As you say, it is difficult to imagine that Birmingham is so much worse than Atlanta, but the facts speak for themselves.

Enclosed is our check for $56.07 which covers your expenses including 8¢ per mile for travel. Don't worry about Dottie's meals at A.U. She was SRC's guest.

Best regards to you both.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Jan. 19, '59

Dear Fred,

I don't know whether I added anything to the inter-agency conference, but it was most helpful to me in many ways.

It was really difficult for us to believe that Atlanta is so far ahead of Birmingham — to say that it was refreshing to experience this difference is a gross understatement. Thanks for making it possible for us.

Attached is a voucher for my expenses. I have subtracted the extra cost of Dottie's company such as in the hotel bill, tips, traveling by way of Dadeville to deposit the

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

girls, etc. Even then it looks like I overate and I halved my bill at Aunt Fanny's Cabin Wed. evening. You'll need to deduct for Dottie's two meals at Atlanta Jr. also.

Good luck and thanks again.

Cordially,

Bob

January 23, 1959

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for sending me the latest absurdity from the Montgomery Home News. Cleghorn is giving us a lot of ~~undeserved~~ undeserved credit isn't he?

We have made copies and are returning the original herewith. I will appreciate your sharing anything more of this nature that come your way.

Have you heard of the confidential effort to establish a National Committee for Unity being pushed by George Prentiss and some associates on the staff of the Montgomery Advertiser? I have received a copy of the prospectus, in deepest confidence, from a newspaper friend of mine. If you don't know all about it I will be glad to share it with you on the same basis.

All the best.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Jan. 21, 1959

Dear Harold,

The spelling of Mr. Currier's name was a source of no little trouble here before we finally settled on the form we used. We called several ministers who had received checks along with Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith but no one could put their hands on it!

Enclosed is another installment of Cleghorn's smear series in Montgomery. Doubtless there's more to come. Would appreciate return of the clipping if you don't need it particularly.

Cordially,

BH

P.S. - Shuttlesworth's group apparently is only a week or two away from filing a bank suit here.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 26, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This movement to establish a National Committee for Unity sounds most interesting, and I have never heard of it in any way. By all means, I would be most interested in seeing what it is all about, and of course I will regard it with strict confidence.

You refer to a newspaper friend who sent you the material, and I am always on the lookout for persons in this particular line because of the obvious assistance that they can be to our work. Assuming that he is a person in Alabama, if you would not be violating confidence, could you share his name with me, or for that matter, any others of liberal persuasion. Should I follow up the contact, naturally there would be no need for my mentioning the Committee or your name.

The Chairman of the Georgia Civil Rights Advisory Committee is the editor of a daily in Gainsville. Paul Rilling introduced me to him week before last, and if you can supply his name for me, I think I can parlay it into cultivation of the Associate Editor of the Birmingham News, which contact I badly need.

Thanks for thinking of me with regards to the prospectus. By all means I'll send you any additional clips from the Montgomery Home News regarding any further "undeserved" credits bestowed upon the S.R.C.

Cordially,

Bob

REH:dsh

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

January 24, 1959

Fund for the Republic
60 E. 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Sirs:

Recently several officers of our organization had the opportunity of viewing for the first time the powerful film, "Segregation and the South", produced by the Fund for the Republic and distributed by Contemporary Films, Inc.

Considerable footage is devoted to Alabama personalities and scenes, including a number of identified and unidentified activities of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

After surveying the entire range of racial positions, etc., the film ends with statements from myself describing the general position of the Alabama Council. The implication of the entire film is that under the circumstances the pressing present need and the ultimate answer is the bi-racial educational method of constructively committing the uncommitted "moderate" elements of the South.

Although certain portions of "Segregation and the South" are somewhat dated, we feel that this film has a unique potentiality in provoking creative ideas and thought in Alabama if it could be made available, particularly in view of its emphasis upon this state. Regretably, the financial resources of the Alabama Council on Human Relations are such that repeated rental of this film is out of the question, as would be the purchasing of a copy should such be available. In recognition of the potentiality of the film in Alabama and our own limitations, our Board of Directors has asked me to inquire into the possibilities of the Fund for the Republic securing a copy of "Segregation and the South" for us on a free one year loan basis.

Through the framework of our organization, it would be a simple matter to channel it directly into the twenty bi-racial state and local groups of various types with which we closely work. In addition, we would have rather immediate access to several score churches, civic groups, and colleges of both races in all parts of Alabama. The presentation of this film would be a special project of a five or six man committee which would arrange for showings and send one of its members to accompany the film on each occasion to explain its general purpose and to lead subsequent discussion.

We realize that the plan which we suggest is probably without precedent as far as the Fund is concerned and could require special arrangements. However, we are confident that if we are enabled to make this particular film available to the groups to which we have access in this particular state, a significant contribution to human relations will have been made.

Sincerely yours,

BH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:dsh

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

February 2, 1959

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

We have only one copy in this office of the film "Segregation and the South." However, your letter is so persuasive and the outline of your plans for distribution of the print sounds so useful that we feel we should lend it to you for the one-year period that you say you would need it.

It goes out to you separately and we hope that it will prove to be helpful in your program.

Cordially yours,

ER:sw

Edward Reed

bcc: Harold Fleming

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Feb. 5, 1959

Dear Harold,

Thanks for the bit by my friend Jim Atkins - it enabled me to pat him on the back and further cement our relationship.

No word from Currier

Did get word today Edward Reed of The Fund for the Rep., whoever he is, stating that in response to my letter they sending me their one copy of the film "Segregation and the South" for our use for a year on a free loan basis. Hope we can make full use of this opportunity & will begin scheduling it at the annual mtg. on Sat. Sorry Fred won't be at the Bd. mtg. Best

Bob

* Final result of "Operation Bootstrap" – the effort to extricate ourselves from the financial crisis of last fall. Persons attending the Oct. Exec. Com. mtg. underwrote the rest of the year's budget, $3000, and for the first time the A.C.H.R. made a financial goal!

February 7, 1959

Board Member	Amount Committed	Amount Received	Balance
Winn, Harris (Dist. 1) (Inscalosa + West Piedmont)	$ 217.00	$ 269.00	+ $ 52.00
Irby (Dist 2) (E. Piedmont	480.00	530.00	+ 50.00
Fuller (B'ham)	100.00	54.00	46.00
Robinson (Decatur)	100.00	47.00	53.00
Wilson (B'ham)	100.00	124.00	+24.00
Vann (B'ham, N.Y., Mich.)	250.00	298.00	+ 48.00
Foster (Tuskegee)	200.00	86.00	114.00
Brooks, West, Thrasher, Andrews (Mont. Dist.) (Mi'gy)	486.00	640.50	+ 154.50
Foley, Lowery (Dist. 7) (Mobile)	500.00	526.50	+ 26.50
Hughes (all over)	500.00	519.00	+ 19.00
	$ 2,933.00	$ 3,094.00	+ $ 161.00

Note: This breakdown report submitted only to above named persons.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

February 26, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Rev. Robert E. Hughes

RE: Report on meetings of Board and membership

The following regular and alternate members attended the sessions of the Board on February 6th and 7th: S.C. Watkins, Newton Maloney, Paul Robinson, J.C. Wilson, David Vann, R.E. Hughes, A.C. Winn, Arthaniel Harris, A.D. Gray, R.E. Strickland, Mrs. Helen Bross, Duncan Hunter, Nat Welch, Mrs. A.W. West, J.E. Pierce, T.R. Thrasher, J.T. Brooks, Father A.S. Foley.

The following constitutes a digest of reports made and decisions reached:

I. Financial Report (fiscal year 1958-1959)

Total income	$10,788.71
Funds carried over	1,562.53
Total funds available	12,351.24
Total disbursments	11,674.50
Balance on hand	$ 676.74

(See Supplement "A" for detailed breakdown of income and expenditures.)

II. Financial Proposals (fiscal year 1959-1960)

A. Income:

Two "windfall" "one-time-only" gifts of $3,500.00 and $2,500.00 were announced which significantly improves our financial outlook. However, it was unanimously agreed that such funds, if regarded improperly, could weaken the spirit of self-reliance that has finally become evident in recent months, and should not be allowed to divert us from establishing deep permanent financial roots in Alabama essential to permanent work in this state.

Therefore the $2,500.00 gift was consigned to an interest-bearing reserve fund for next year and a program to underwrite $4,655.00 not otherwise covered was launched under the direction of Dr. A.C. Winn filling the new post of Financial Secretary. This program recognizes that we must primarily count upon our own membership and while such persons are rarely in a position to give any large amount to our work at a given time, most can give a small amount regularly. Mr. Winn is seeking commitments from persons to contribute $5.00 per month for a year and as of this date, $1,660 per year has been underwritten by 22 persons. He will welcome receiving prospects from you.

(See Supplement "B" for breakdown of prospective income.)

B. Expenditures:

A budget totaling $13,855.00 was adopted representing an increase of $1,706.28 over the previous year. Most of the increase is reflected in three items - a new rental allowance for the Executive Director, a salary increase for the office secretary to better match Birmingham salary scales, and a reserve to be carried over to next year. (See Supplement "B" for budgetary items.)

III. Membership

The following constitutes a breakdown of our membership over the state:

District	Feb.1, 1958	Feb.1,1959	Loss or Gain
Tennessee Valley	40	23	-17
1 (West Piedmont)	104	79	-15
2 (East Piedmont)	48	74	+26
3 (Birmingham)	106	67	-39
4 (West Black Belt)	15	12	- 3
5 (East Black Belt)	43	21	-22
Montgomery	94	84	-10
6 (Wiregrass)	15	5	-10
7 (Mobile-Baldwin)	62	58	- 4
Out-of-state	29	26	- 3
Total	556	449	-107

This net loss of some 100 members is probably due primarily to the deteriorating climate in the state produced by the Little Rock stalemate. As legal force is tempered with voluntarism in other areas, this influence will likely be weakened. Significantly, where persons can regularly share and be stimulated in local groups, membership losses have been at a minimum.

IV. Election of Officers and Board Members

The following persons were nominated by the Nominating Committee and unanimously elected by the membership.

President.....The Rev. Welton Gregory, Montgomery
1st Vice Pres.....Dr. J.T. Brooks, Montgomery
2nd Vice Pres.....Dr. Arthur J. Gray, Talladega
3rd Vice Pres.....The Rev. Father A.S. Foley, Mobile
Secretary.....Mr. William Irby, Sylacauga
Financial Secretary....Dr. A.C. Winn, Tuscaloosa
Treasurer.....The Rev. J.C. Wilson, Birmingham
Exec. Director.....The Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Birmingham

Board Members (terms 1959-1962)
Mrs. A.W. West, Sr., Montgomery
Mrs. O.D. Thomas, Tuscaloosa
The Rev. Thomas Thrasher, Montgomery
Mr. Earl Pippin, Montgomery (tentative upon final acceptance)

Several districts have recently or are in the process of naming new district representatives to the Board. When these are compiled a new Board roster will be mailed to members.

All officers are virtually the same except the President. Briefly, Rev. Gregory is the Executive Secretary of the Board of Education of the Alabama-West Florida Conference of the Methodist Church, and as "convener" of the State Ministers Conference, he has performed an outstanding service in launching this crucial movement.

V. Program Development

Reports on conditions and activities were made from representatives of each district with the exception of the Wiregrass where our program is dormant. The work of the Fellowship of the Concerned, the State Ministers Conference, and the Ecumenical Student Conference were also related. The Executive Director described the role of the State Office as 1) organizing, stimulating, and administrative servicing of affiliates and related movements, 2) "troubleshooting" incidents and counseling persons under pressure, and 3) securing authoritative information and disseminating it through various means where it is most needed.

VI. Annual Meeting Program

Excellent presentations were made to the 160 persons attending the membership meeting by the keynoter, Dr. Andrew Turnipseed, and panelists, John Bross, Charles Gillican, Mrs. Moreland Smith, and Sam Shirah.

Speaking broadly, an excellent spirit prevailed throughout all of the sessions and both Board and membership meetings constitute a source of genuine encouragement for the coming year.

SUPPLEMENT A

Financial Report, Fiscal Year February 1, 1958 - January 31, 1959

Income

Grant-in-aide from Southern Regional Council	$4,050.00
Contributions	4,968.27
Memberships	1,422.00
Sale of Literature	25.30
Refunds	68.28
Miscellaneous	254.86*
Total	$ 10,788.71

Expenditures

Item	Budgeted	Expended	Balance
Salaries			
Executive Director	$5,000.00	$4,999.92	$ .08
Office Secretary	2,500.00	2,158.03	341.97
Social Security	168.72	209.24	-40.52
Office Rent	750.00	750.00	0
Electricity	45.00	34.80	10.20
Telephone	540.00	489.00	51.00
Travel	1,325.00	765.51	559.49
Office Supplies and Equipment	870.00	991.81***	-121.81
New South subscriptions	850.00	609.00	241.00
Miscellaneous and contingency	100.00	259.11**	-159.11
Totals	$12,148.72	$11,266.42	$882.70

* Includes loan of $225.00 from R.E. Hughes

** Includes repayment of $225.00 loan

***includes unexpected purchase of needed mimeograph machine

Supplement B

Adopted by Board of Directors
and Presented to Membership
February 7, 1959

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS BUDGET
Feb. 1, 1959--Jan. 31, 1960

SALARIES	
Executive Director	$ 5000.00
Office Secretary	2820.00
Social Security	190.00
	8010.00
Supplementary allowance to Exec. Director	1000.00
Office Rent	750.00
Electricity	45.00
Telephone	530.00
Travel	1200.00
Office Supplies, Equipment, Mailings	870.00
New South Subscriptions	850.00
Miscellaneous	100.00
Reserve for Future Operations	500.00
TOTAL BUDGET	$13,855.00

ANTICIPATED SOURCES OF INCOME

Annual Grant from Southern Regional Council	$4,500.00
"Windfall Gift"	3,500.00
Memberships (est.)	1,200.00
	9,200.00
To be underwritten	4,655.00
	$13,[illegible]

A WORD FROM OUR NEW PRESIDENT

202 Hilltop Terrace
Montgomery, Alabama

To Members
Board of Directors
Alabama Council on Human Relations

Dear Coworkers and Friends:

Many of you I already know personally and I look forward to meeting and knowing in like manner all who are members of the Board. I anticipate the joy of working with you as together we seek constructive approaches to the tasks before us in the area of Human Relations.

I expect to give myself to study and work to the limit of time and resources at my command, and to the extent the prior claim of my position will permit. With each of us applying ourselves in this fashion and with the leadership of our experienced and dedicated Executive Director, Bob Hughes, we shall be able to accomplish any task we undertake.

My best wishes to you in all your work.

Sincerely,

Welton Gregory

Welton Gregory by Rett

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Mar. 4, 59

Dear Harold,

Much going in B'ham area with emphasis on suburb of Bessemer but haven't had time to write it up. Centers around beating of prominent negro leader in Bessemer City Hall by 50-60 whites as police looked out. Resulting atmosphere need an exposé. Maybe can write tomorrow. BH

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Mar. 11, 1959

Harold,

as if the Asbury Howard Sr. episode wasn't enough for Bessemer city officials they have added an Asbury Howard Jr. chapter. Last Sat., as you'll note from the clip, he was sentenced to a yr. in jail for, I believe it was, assault and battery. No daily papers mentioned it. Please return.

4/30/59 M.F.

Cordially,

Bob

P.S. - I finally got Peters on an answer.

Mtg Adver. Mar. 20, 59

It's Not What You Say About

SEGREGATION

IT'S WHAT YOU

DO ABOUT IT

THAT COUNTS!!

Let's Read The Record Of The Past Four Years:

Fighting All Our Battles From A Defensive Position

No Aggressive Program

THE REISSUING OF A BUS FRANCHISE TO A CORPORTTION CONTROLLED BY STOCKHOLDERS OUTSIDE MONTGOMERY AT A CRITICAL TIME AND FOR 10 YEARS

LACK OF ORGANIZATION IN HANDLING THE BUS BOYCOTT

LACK OF ACTION AGAINST THE CAR POOL

EARL JAMES HAS THE PERSONAL COURAGE TO

Fight For Segregation!

Elect

EARL JAMES *Your* Mayor

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Earl James)

M'gy Advtr. Mar. 20, 59

WHO

IS THE NEGRO CHOICE FOR MAYOR?

ELECTION RETURNS FROM 3 BEATS WITH HEAVY NEGRO REGISTRATIONS

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓

BEAT	LOCATION	FOR MAYOR			
		Dave Birmingham	John Crommelin	W. A. Gayle	Earl James
2-N	HAMNER HALL COMMUNITY CENTER	34	92	365	582
2-S	CLEVELAND AVE. FIRE STATION	40	98	525	859
7-W	McDONOUGH ST. FIRE STATION	19	59	385	402

WHITE CITIZENS! GO TO THE POLLS MONDAY AND ELECT A TRUE SEGREGATIONIST

Re-Elect

W. A. (Tackey) GAYLE as MAYOR

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by L. V. Hamilton)

Ala Council

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President
DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

March 23, '59

Dear Fed:

Enclosed are two clippings from recent issues of the "Birmingham News" which will be of some interest to the S.R.C. I attended the meeting and if I can get it transcribed I will have my notes typed up in the form of some type of report.

The young minister referred to was "discharged" by his official board Sat. aft. although only the bishop can take such action and he hasn't. In fact he hasn't done anything - preaching in South Carolina this week. Did just talk to the minister on the phone and we'll have lunch together tomorrow.

This mess. Laymens union has a lot of power behind it and could do a lot of damage. Am uncertain as to what to try to do in the way of national publicity - the Christian Century for instance - as this is what they want. They're trying to scare the Gen. Conf. off of the central jurisdiction issue when it meets in 1960 & I don't want to help them.

Enclosed are a couple of clips from the adver. for what they're worth and a copy of a recent memo to my board.

Best always, BH

April 15, 1959

Mr. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I was glad to see the copy of your follow-up letter to Stephen Currier. Let us hope that it elicits some word from him.

I don't know how to account for his long silence on this proposal. But if its any comfort to you, this is the case with all pending requests that I know of. I can only assume that Mr. Currier has gotten involved in some of his other interests and has shelved his philanthropic concern with the South, at least for the time being. Don't be discouraged, for I have a feeling that if he acts favorably on anything, it will be on your proposal.

Incidentally, for your information only, the relationship between Stephen Currier and Adam Yarmolinsky has been completely severed. The story is too complicated to go into in detail, but I thought you ought to know that Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy is apparently the person who is doing

his staff work on such matters as these.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 4/15/59

April 14, 1959

Mr. Stephen R. Currier
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

You may recall that when you attended the Southern Inter-Agency meeting in Atlanta last January, we briefly discussed the State Ministers Conference in Alabama. In response to your suggestion, I submitted an application for financial assistance detailing proposed programs and projects in behalf of this group on January 17, 1959.

I can sympathize with you in the burden you have voluntarily assumed of trying to gain a reliable understanding of the complex racial problems confronting us today and the most constructive manner in which to lend yourself to their solution. This knowledge and the assurance that one is acting in the best way often does not come readily.

Our State Ministers Conference will be meeting next week, April 22nd and 23rd, and it would be helpful to us if we could mention at that time the possibility of financial support for some of the programs which we will be discussing. Unfortunately, much of what we hope to do is limited by meager resources.

In the event that you are in a position to evaluate our application and send us some word before April 22nd, we will be most appreciative. Thank you again for your interest and concern in these challenging matters.

Yours sincerely,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

bcc: Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Harold - we've never heard anything since our initial application. Have you heard anything on it or why such might not have been processed? - BEH

May 14, 1959

Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Harold and I have discussed at some length the possibility of my coming over on the 26th. The concensus of opinion is that since we do not have an overabundance of travel funds it would be best to wait until Fred's replacement is on the scene. The new man would, of course, have to do quite a bit of travelling and we hope it will be possible for him to give you and the ACHR all the attention you request. Hopefully, this development will not be far off, since an announcement of the appointment of a new director of field work should come shortly after the Executive Committee meeting of June 3rd.

I am sorry that I cannot get over. However, other than having an opportunity to visit with you, my regrets are considerably tempered by the question in my mind of how much value my presence would have meant.

All the best to you and Dottie.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls

For your information

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
May 14, 1959

Memorandum

To: Executive Committee

From: R. E. Hughes, Executive Director

Re: Forthcoming Executive Committee meeting

1. Rev. Welton Gregory, president of the Alabama Council, has appointed you to the state Executive Committee and trusts that you will be willing to accept appointment. This body according to custom is composed of the officers of the Council, members of the Board of Directors residing in Montgomery plus one or two additional Board members holding special posts of responsibility. The Executive Committee meets on call about twice a year (usually May and December) in addition to the semi-annual Board meetings (usually Oct. and Feb.) to oversee the general work of the organization.

2. Mr. J. T. Brooks, chairman of the Executive Committee, has called a meeting of this body for Thursday, May 21 from 11:00 A.M. to approximately 2:30 P.M. in Montgomery at the Alabama State Teachers Assn. Headquarters Bldg. on Thurman St. across from the Alabama State College gymn.

3. The agenda of this meeting will include: a critical review of the program of the organization over the state and the work of the State Office with recommendations for the future; reports on finances from the Treasurer and "Underwriter Club" chairman; selection of site, date, platform speaker(s) for the 1960 Annual Meeting; site, date of the fall Board meeting; consideration of question of political activity raised by the Montgomery Council; clerical status of Rev. Hughes and current Methodist Church problems and our relationship to them.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

May 15, '59

Dear Fred,

Here is a copy of part of a letter she written Jean Fairfax. It relates a couple of incidents in Bessemer in which the AFSC seems to be particularly interested. All I know on these particular cases are included on this sheet.

No answer needed.

Cordially,

Bob

May 15, 1959

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
12 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

As far as I have heard until today the Bessemer situation has been relatively "quiet" since Max's visit here. There is such a general state of fear out there that it's difficult to get in touch with people, get them to talk on what they all assume are tapped phones, or to get them to contact you. With nothing new to write about Bessemer I've let other things get ahead of your letter.

Just now I made a final phone try to Bessemer before answering you and find that two incidents have occurred recently.

But to begin chronologically. I reported the beating and school situation incident to the F.B.I. here and my informant states that two agents spent two days questioning whites in that community. "Things are going pretty smoothly in that part of town now." No arrests or subsequent incidents.

"Three or four weeks ago" a 59 year old Negro widow, Ethel Mae Sullivan, living on the outskirts of Bessemer shot once and killed a 50 year old white man in the yard of her relatively isolated home near mid-nite. She reported it to police and they arrested her, placed her in the county jail here in Birmingham where she remains today. At least as of last Friday, May 8th, she had not been indicted. A Negro man who witnessed the act was "advised not to talk" and will not discuss it with anyone white or colored. He has not been arrested as an accessory. No one knows why he was shot and Negroes generally are too afraid to ask about it. The shooting itself was reported in at least the Bessemer edition of the "Birmingham News" but I don't think elsewhere. No other facts.

Two weeks ago, around midnite of either Apr. 28 or 29, an unidentified Negro husband met his wife in his car as she got off from work some three blocks from their home. Before they could reach their home "three or four white fellows" in a car forced theirs to stop and made both get in their car. They drove to an isolated state highway outside of town, beat the Negro man up, left him, drove on with his wife, stopped later and all of them raped her. Around 1:00 A.M. a white lady brought her back into town. The husband was quoted as saying, "I'm not interested in prosecuting anybody. I've been threatened. I have to live here." Apparently no police or press reports were filed. No other facts available at this time.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

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MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President
DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

May 22, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed are three pieces of material for forwarding to various staff members there. As the administrative assistant, at least for the present I trust, I hope you won't mind passing them on and thus saving me the postage. The carbon is for Mrs. Tilly, the article on Michigan for Fred should he drop by before leaving for Michigan, and a clipping for John Constable, portions of which might be suitable for New South squibs.

Enclosed also is a Methodist Layman's Union "answer" to my latest Newsletter which apparently is being sent to ministers and laymen throughout the Methodist Church in the North Alabama Conference and possibly the Alabama-West Florida Conference also. This is just for your general information in case you want a copy. Of all of this material being sent to you, only the Layman's Union Statement needs to be returned. No reactions to speak of at this time.

Bill Swan, Civil Rights Com. consultant, has asked me to serve on the Alabama Advisory Committee. Obviously he is at rock bottom and my thought is that my acceptance would help neither the Council nor the Committee. This is something of a last resort attempt to get one formed here, although he has no truly strong acceptances on it from the Birmingham area which significantly reduces its influence potential in the eyes of the public. The way that he talks I, as the needed white male in Birmingham, represent perhaps the last link in completing the committee. The question at this point is, if my acceptance is the difference in whether or not Alabama will have a Committee, do you think I ought to go ahead. Please discuss this with Harold and let me know your thinking.

Most cordially,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

P.S.- Wish I could have dropped over to say farewell to Fred. Bet you're all having a ball tonite?!

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

May 15, 1959

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your consideration of a trip over this way. Although we regret that you cannot be with us, we understand perfectly and perhaps the new man will be over before long.

June 3rd will be an important date for the entire staff over there. Let me just say - good luck.

Most cordially,

BR

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

P.S. - Is there any prospects that (1) we will have a staff conference at Fisk this summer or (2) that any scholarships are available for the Nat. Citizenship Seminar for h.s. + college students on our nomination as in the past. (make the letter give us or some of us when we couldn't break anyone loose!)

Integration tactics blasted— [redacted] News - May 26, 1959 - Page 1

Rev. Hughes' 'news letter' draws fire from Methodist Layman's Union

BY CLAUDE KEATHLEY
News religions editor

The Methodist Layman's Union this past week officially issued its first challenge to an individual minister in a letter to "fellow Methodists."

Judge Whit Windham, president of the Methodist Layman's Union, released a four-page letter sent to all ministers and at least one layman in each Methodist Church in Alabama.

It challenges the claims in a recent "news letter" issued by the Rev. Robert Hughes, executive secretary of the Alabama Counncil on Human Relations, Inc.

The Layman's Union letter, signed by Judge Windham and L. F. Scarboro, secretary, called the Hughes' letter "an attack on our organization."

THE LETTER identified the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc., as "an organization of a small group of whites and Negroes who, for several years, have been preaching full racial integration on all levels in all areas of the church."

THE REV. ROBERT HUGHES, executive secretary of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, in replying to the challenge, said the council had been in existence 40 years in the state and that it has never taken a position for or against segregation, but has attempted to be a witness to the principle of brotherhood and conscience through practical ways.

He stated that the statistics included in the newsletter with regard to the merging of the Central Jurisdiction (Negro conferences) were securied by him through the statistician of the Central Alabama (Negro) Conference.

"The context in which they were presented are important," he said.

In answer to the charge by the Methodist Layman's Union as relates to his conference annuity, the Rev. Hughes said, "Under Methodist law, ministers serving special appointment receive no service years, accrue no retirement and can occupy no superannuate home. Therefore, during the four-and-a-half years I have held this appointment, I have been ineligible for participation in the church retirement plan."

Judge Windham yesterday called attention to a section of the Layman's Union Letter which identified the Rev. Hughes, head of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Turn to Page 6, Column 2

Layman's Union blasts Hughes

Continued from Page 1

Of the Rev. Hughes the letter said:

"The Rev. Mr. Hughes is a young Methodist minister in the North Alabama Conference. Unknown to the rank and file of Methodist people is the fact that he (the Rev. Hughes) is officially appointed 'secretary, Alabama Council on Human Relations' at the annual conference when the appointments were read.

"Though he (Hughes) serves no Methodist Church, he is carried on the roll of ministerial members and is accumulating service years' and will receive pension paid to Methodist preachers on retirement. While attacking the laymen of the churches who provide the funds and homes for retired ministers and other benevolence, in which he (the Rev. Hughes) will share on retirement.

"Mr. Hughes continues his program of prapaganda to bring full racial integration on all levels of religious, educational and social life."

THE LAYMAN'S Union," says Judge Windham, challenges the Rev. Hughes' claim that abolition of the Central Jurisdiction would affect the Methodist churches in the South only slightly."

According to the Layman's letter the Rev. Hughes claims that membership in the North Alabama Conference would be increased by only 10,881 members and 57 ministers or 5.2 per cent of the total of 195,391 members and 513 ministers. The Hughes letter also claimed that by merger of Negro and white churches into the Alabama West-Florida Conference, the white membership would be increased by 3331 or 2.5 per cent and the number of ministers by 6.3 per cent.

Judge Windham points out that in the Central Alabama Conference (Negro) there are 84 ministers and 18 approved supply pastors serving 99 churches with 14,175 members. "Some of these pastors are Negro women," Judge Windham says.

"By any calculation, should the Negro conferences be eventually merged into the white conferences, the situation would be unacceptable to both races," he added.

Judge Windham says the letter to "fellow Methodists" points out that the Layman's Union was organized to try to preserve the unity of the Methodist Church in the South, "threatened as it is with disruption by a policy of forced integration."

"One of our functions is to keep our Methodist Churches informed of movements aimed at carrying out that policy," the Union president said.

THE LETTER to "fellow Methodists" called attention to the 70-member Study Commission appointed by the Methodist General Conference authorized to study the jurisdictinal system with intent to abolish the jurisdictional system, especially the Central Jurisdiction — in which all Negro churches in the United States are lumped.

"The Study Commission has about completed its studies and is now engaged in writing its report and recommendations which will be passed on at the 1960 General Conference," Judge Windham says.

"The executive committee of the commission has prepared a tentative draft of the report which is now under consideration," Judge Windham says.

THE LAYMAN'S UNION letter claims the Study Commission's report recommends:

1. The holding of the Jurisdictional Conferences at the time and place of the General Conference, thus making ineffective the Jurisdictional conference meeting.

2. The consecration of bishops by the General Conference instead of by the Jurisdictional conference.

3. Assignment of bishops to areas by the General Conference upon recommendation of a joint committee on Episcopacy.

4. An increase in General Conference delegates and the elimination of Jurisdictional delegates, thus diminishing the distinctive place and significance of delegates to the Jurisdictional Conferences.

5. The preparation of Methodist memberships for contemplated merger of Negro churches and conferences into white conferences and Jurisdictions by calling upon every church agency to help in 'creating the climate for Christian brotherhood and integration,' and by use of all groups 'such as Methodist Men, the Woman's Society of Christian Service, and Methodist Youth Felowships in developing good will and understanding by worshiping together and enjoying social fellowship in each others churches frequently."

The Layman's Union letter also urged on the basis of these tentative recommendations of the Study Commission, that churches include in the resolutions not only opposition to abolition of the Jurisdictional systems but also the phrase "or any material change."

"The Rev. Hughes, who also claimed in his News Letter under the topic 'The Methodist Layman's Union—A Challenge to Church Unity,'—intimates," says Judge Windham, "that the Methodist Layman's Union, in its advocacy of separation of the races in the Methodist Church, has become the trouble maker rather exercising the preorgative of free men to defend our life from the forcible imposition of conditions of worship which imperil our progeny, our race and our nation."

The recent Layman's Union letter asked that the letter be read to Official Boards. Judge Windham said that additional copies of the "letter to Fellow Methodists," and copies of the "pronouncement," adopted at the organization meeting at Highlands Methodist Church in Birmingham on March 19, 1958, are available.

May 28, 1959

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your two recent letters and the significant clippings.

I realize full well the seriousness of the attack on you by the Methodist Laymen's Union. But I must confess to some surprise that the attack was not more intemperate than it seems to have been. How great is the danger that they can block your further appointment?

You are to be warmly congratulated on the make-up of the new Alabama Advisory Committee. Not only is this an achievement, but it should give you a fine opportunity to supply the committee with the kind of background information and analysis that will make it a constructive interpreter of the Alabama situation. Let us know how we can be of help in that respect.

I assume you have heard nothing further from Stephen Currier. (Nobody else in this business is hearing from him either.) If the proposal for

the statewide ministerial group is still timely and needed, perhaps I can be of help in rounding up the modest funds required. Drop me a note on this when you can.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED MAY 28 1959

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

May 27, 1959

Dear Harold,

Enclosed is a clip from yesterday's "B'ham News" on the appointment of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the C.R.C. The results of long hours of consultation by our respective offices with Bill Swan are evident.

Of the twelve persons named nine are members of the A.C.H.R.! Of these nine two are faithful former (but recent) members of our board of directors and two are current members of our board - one of these our current vice president. The chairman of the Advisory Committee while not a member of the A.C.H.R. is a contributor in the $25 category. The vice-chairman is a current member & close to and the secretary is the secretary of the Birmingham Council on Human Relations that Jack Marion brought to us on his fall visit to B'ham.

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just yet I know nothing of the two members of the committee who have not associated themselves with the A.C.H.R., but their names aren't openly associated with segregation to my knowledge and they come from the two parts of the state where segregation feeling is more moderate thus they are less susceptible to pressure.

Off hand I'd say we've got a pretty good committee in Alabama - the result of cooperative teamwork of more people and agencies than I'm aware of I'm sure. Thanks for the help!

Cordially,

BH

RECEIVED MAY 27 1959

1218 Comer Bldg.
B'ham, Ala.
May 26, 1959

Dear Harold,

It looks like the issue is now joined between the Council and myself on one hand and the Methodist Laymens Union and the public on the other.

In response to my last "newsletter" on the M.L.U., their president, Judge Wilt Windham who is a highly respected circuit judge here, issued a press ~~statement~~ attacking me, the "newsletter", and the Council to the "Birmingham News". Fortunately I was informed of this and was able to get in a ~~statement~~ of our own to the reporter writing the article. This reporter is famous for twisting and as bad as it is he normally does worse on such subjects. It's being carried in all editions of the news today. After seeing his reporting I got copies of my original to AP & UP so made ~~thought~~ we will fare better with them.

This is doubtless the beginning of a series of developments the anticipation of which for four and a half years is almost as bad the what lies ahead.

Most cordially, Bob

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

The Methodist Layman's Union

REGARDING:

Letter of criticism against Ala. Council on Human Relations. Signed by Scarboro and Whitham

DATE
May 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Criticisms - General

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Slaughter, Miss Sue R.
Norfolk 7, Virginia

REGARDING:

Ltr. re niece who recently moved to Birmingham; HCF replies and introduces Mr. & Mrs. John McConell via Robert Hughes, Ala. C. H. R.

DATE

June 11, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Gen. Correspondence "S"

June 17, 1959

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for sending me the clipping announcing Faubus's appearance under the joint auspices of the citizens councils, the American Legion posts, and other veterans groups. Having copied the clipping, we return it herewith.

I will be meeting with some of the national media people Friday and will raise it with them then. Undoubtedly we can get some strong representations made to the Legion.

If there was followup publicity stressing the sponsorship, I'd appreciate your sharing it with us.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

June 8, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Was glad to receive the memo this morning indicating that Paul Rilling had been named Director of Field Activities for the SRC. I am sure that he will do a good job, is well qualified and I am looking forward to working with him after July 1st.

Enclosed is a clipping which I received this morning. This event may constitute a unique opportunity if handled correctly. I would assume that the national American Legion, even with all of its faults, generally would not like for its name to be linked with the white Citizen Councils of the South. If the American Legion's national office and Northern and Western constituencies were aware of this cooperative endeavor, it would seem that there would be the possibility of some type of reaction, if not now perhaps later after subsequent events of a similar nature. With Faubus as the symbol of defiance of law and order returning to the scene of the Autherine Lucy rights and the first mass disorder after the Supreme Court decision in the South, the event in itself could be regarded as newsworthy nationally without referring to what Faubus himself might say on the occasion. If you feel that there is a possibility of any internal reaction or disavowal from within the Legion or criticism of the Legion from without, the more publicity the better. Perhaps the same for the other more minor organizations. Good luck.

If convenient, I would appreciate getting the clipping back.

Most cordially,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Encl.

June 24, 1959

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Mr. Fleming has asked that I furnish you with the attached list of names and addresses.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (List)

LIST

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York

Mr. David Freeman
and
Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Miss Thelma Stevens
Secretary of Christian Social Relations
Woman's Division of Christian Service
Board of Missions of the Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Mr. Frank Loescher
U. S.-South Africa Leader Exchange Program
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

MF--
~~Rxxxx~~

Please send Bob Hughes the names and addresses of the following:

Mrs. Jane Lee (?) Eddy, Taconic Foundation (same as Currier's address).

Harry Fleischman

David Freeman and Harry Meserve

Thelma Stevens

Frank Loescher (NYC address)

Alexander F. Miller

Ned

PR

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
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REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

RECEIVED JUL 29 1959

July 28, 59

Dear Harold,

Here are the requested clips - or part of them. One continuation is missing & I don't have a Sunday "news" clip here at the office. Secretary's out for day so can't send for one. You can keep these & I'll get duplicates.

Received a call from Will and the news of his son's death. It's all so tragic and I know he must be under a terrible strain although he certainly revealed none of it. Dottie & I will discuss the idea of a couple days there tonite & call him tomorrow. I hesitate to

even consider adding my responsibility to him at a time like this, but he insists that it would help get his mind off things.

Anyway, Harold, thanks for getting in touch with him and for your concern.

most cordially,

BD

Mailed 7/16/59 Le

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

July 14, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

If at all possible, would you send me about 35 or 40 copies each of Report No. L-1 through L-5.

Sincerely,

Annette Cloud

(Miss) Annette Cloud
Secretary to Rev. Hughes

AC/ac

Cross-Burning Probe Continues

B'ham Post Her. July 28, 59

Sheriff's deputies are continuing to check into the burning of three crosses in the Cahaba Heights section over the week-end, but no arrests have been made, Chief Deputy Wilton Hogan said yesterday.

The crosses were burned in front of the Cahaba Heights Methodist Church and two private residences, one the home of the Rev. Robert E. Hughes.

The cross-burnings reportedly occurred after a caravan of some 30 to 40 cars, many of them carrying robed Klansmen, rode through the area, blowing horns.

Chief Hogan said he had a team of men working on the incidents and that their investigation was continuing.

The wife of the Rev. Mr. Hughes is a cousin of Confederate Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, founder of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mrs. Hughes said her family told her that the famed general was distantly kin to her. She said her mother's name was Kate Forrest, and that one of her daughters is named Dorothy Forrest Hughes.

The Rev. Mr. Hughes is an official of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Sheriff vows prosecution of Cahaba cross burners

B'ham News July 28, 59 P. 35

Any law violation occurring during the burning of three crosses in the Cahaba Heights section will be "fully prosecuted," Chief Deputy Sheriff Wilton H. Hogan said today.

"We will have to find witnesses willing to testify and witnesses who are able to make identifications, but the investigation is up to our office," Hogan said.

THE CHIEF DEPUTY added that "we have worked on the case since Saturday night and are still working on it."

Deputies Calvin Holcombe and Harold J. Norman today were in Cahaba Heights talking with residents and following up with the sheriff's office investigation, Hogan said.

Flaming crosses were left early Saturday night in front of Cahaba Heights Methodist Church, the home of the Rev. Robert E. Hughes of 3209 Ridgely-dr, and in front of another home.

Some 30 to 40 carloads of robed and hooded Ku Klux Klansmen paraded through Cahaba Heights, blowing their horns.

Sheriff's Deputies G. W. Cain and A. R. Bracewell answered the original call.

BHAM NEWS July 28, 1959

Childish Display By KKK

The burning of crosses before a Methodist Church and two homes in the Cahaba Heights area Saturday night shows once more that we have among us some who serve the Southern cause poorly.

We contrast such puerile practice as horn-blowing caravans and torching a pair of crossed sticks with the serious, solemn efforts of stable leaders among us who, legislatively and otherwise, try ardently to preserve the Southern system, who vigorously oppose federal interventions, and who know that only hard work and total devotion can bring aid to the Southern region.

We have no knowledge as to why the Kluxers chose the homes they did or the particular church. It would appear that the bedsheeters believe that persons whose homes were so pinpointed were too "liberal" on race matters.

Whether they had any basis for their conclusion interests us not a whit. The people of this area do not need crosses to remind them of the challenge we all face.

Elsewhere, once again, the news will be read with self-righteous lip-smacking and the South again will be spoken of with derision. Only the ignorant would stoop to desecrate what is an honorable cause in such a manner.

Birm. Post Herald - Page 1 7/27/59

Gang Burns Three Crosses In Cahaba Heights Section

Hooded Band Visits Church, Homes Of Minister And Layman

BY EMMETT WEAVER

A gang of hooded, robed men in autos—thought to be Ku Klux Klansmen—burned three crosses in the Cahaba Heights section Saturday night.

Jefferson County Deputy Sheriffs G. W. Cain and A. R. Bracewell, who investigated two of three cross-burnings, estimated that the "caravan" of autos numbered 30, with as many as 75 to 100 men in the cars.

One cross was burned in front of the Cahaba Heights Methodist Church, another in front of the home of a Methodist minister, the Rev. Robert E. Hughes of 3209 Ridgely-dr, and one in front of a residence at 321 Cahaba-rd.

According to Deputy Cain the burning in front of the residence may have been connected with the fact that the owner, said to be a war veteran, was reported married to a "Filipino" woman.

Deputy Cain said he received a call about 7 p.m. Saturday that the autos with the hooded men had congregated about eight miles south of Birmingham at the intersection of U. S. Highway 31 and State Highway 150.

Officers Talk To Men

Officers Cain and Bracewell drove to the scene and talked to the men in the cars, warning them that there had better not be any violence.

They said the men told them it was only a "meeting place" and that they were going to have a parade in the cars and there wouldn't be any trouble.

About 20 minutes later, Deputy Cain said he and his partner got another call that a cross had been burned in front of Cahaba Heights Methodist Church, where the minister, the Rev. Jimmy Short, and his family live in the adjoining parsonage.

The Rev. Mr. Short, who has been pastor of the congregation for four years, said the cross-burning might have been due to the fact that "some people felt I was too liberal on the race issue."

Phone Threats Disclosed

The Methodist minister, who is married and has two small children, ages 3 and 5, said he had received a number of phone calls of intimidation in the past.

He also said that somebody had placed leaflets on auto windshields, while church services were in progress, charging that he was "too liberal," on the race question.

Short wrote a letter to a Birmingham newspaper some time ago criticizing the Putnam Letter which has been used in defense of segregation. The minister emphasized that he didn't believe the robed men were members of his congregation.

The minister was making a pastoral call when his wife notified him by phone that a cross, about four to five feet tall, was aflame in front of his church. When he arrived at the church, Short said, he kicked the cross over and extinguished the flames.

Gun Is Found

Deputy Cain estimated the crowd that gathered at the church at 100 to 150. Cars were stopped, he said, and in one of them there was a gun. "The man had a permit, but we later revoked it," said the officer.

"We have several names and tag numbers. And the tag numbers were the same as those that congregated on U. S. Highway 31 earlier," said Cain. "Evidently they were members of the Ku Klux Klan."

Deputy Cain said no arrest orders were issued, and that issuing of any would depend on the course of action the Methodist minister wished to take.

The other burning, at the home of the Rev. Mr. Hughes, happened around 9 p.m. According to the minister, he saw the men set up the cross in front of his house and set it a fire. He said the men then drove away, and he put out the flames with a garden hose.

The Rev. Mr. Hughes, a North Alabama Conference Methodist

See CROSS BURNINGS, Page 2

Mont. Adv. Page 1 - 7/27/59

Crosses Burned In Front Of Cleric's Home, Church

BIRMINGHAM (AP) — Crosses were burned in front of a Methodist church and at a Methodist minister's house in a suburban residential area Saturday night.

The cross-burning came during a parade of Ku Klux Klansmen through the Cahaba Heights area. Sheriff's officers said 30 to 40 cars took part in the parade.

The Rev. Jimmy Short, pastor of Cahaba Heights Methodist Church, said he arrived at the church soon after the five - foot cross was set afire there. He said he immediately kicked it over and put out the flames.

The second cross was burned in the front yard of a house occupied by the Rev. Robert E. Hughes, a Methodist minister assigned full-time to the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Hughes said he saw three men get out of a station wagon, set up the cross and light it. He said an electric cross shone atop the station wagon.

Some 30 to 40 cars were stopped behind the station wagon, he said, and after the lead car drove off the others followed, blowing car horns.

He said he put out the flames with a garden hose.

Hughes said some of the men wore masks and most of them had on robes.

Short would make no comment on why he felt the cross was burned at the church.

Hughes said he could only assume that the action at his house traced to his connection with the Council on Human Relations.

He said the organization is "involved primarily with racial problems and attempts to build understanding through discussion between responsible white and Negro citizens."

Your safety is our business. Let a professional do your driving. Travel Trailways. Phone AM 4-5326. (ADV.)

In Cahaba Heights—Birm. News Page 1 - 7/27

No charges made in cross burnings

No charges had been made early today against a large group of Ku Klux Klansmen who Saturday night fired three crosses in the Cahaba Heights section of Jefferson County.

Flaming crosses were left in front of Cahaba Heights Methodist Church, the home of the Rev. Robert E. Hughes of 3209 Ridgely-dr, and in front of another home.

Deputy Sheriffs G. W. Cain and A. R. Bracewell, who investigated, said any legal action taken would be the responsibility of the Rev. Hughes or the other resident.

The minister's home telephone did not answer today.

DEPUTIES SAID 30 to 40 carloads of robed Klansmen paraded through Cahaba Heights Saturday night, blowing their car horns and driving in caravan fashion.

The pastor, the Rev. Jimmy Short, said he arrived at the church soon after the five-foot cross was set afire, and that he kicked it over and put out the flames.

The Rev. Hughes watched three men, he said, set up a cross on his lawn and set it afire. He put out the fire at his home with a garden hose.

Deputy Cain said the third cross was burned in front of a residence on Cahaba-rd.

July 22, 1959

Rev. Bob Hughes
Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

According to my figuring you should be back in Birmingham by now, rested and refreshed by your time spent in the free area of the country. I hope you didn't spend all the time giving speeches,etc.

Having been out of touch with the situation in Alabama for some time I found your recent quarterly report helpful and interesting. The political climate continues discouraging and in the case of Bessemer downright shocking and outrageous. All of us take pride, however, in the type of program that you are able to continue and in the scope of your work throughout the state. I was particularly impressed by your work with ministers and with the public media. In both areas you have been able to move considerably further than we have yet done in Virginia.

I hope to schedule a few days in Birmingham fairly soon at your convenience. In the meantime let me know if there is anything that we should be doing to help.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

June 30, 1959

Miss Annette Cloud
Secretary to the Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Miss Cloud:

We have the regular quarterly grant-in-aid payment for the Alabama Council which normally would be mailed today. Since Bob is away from his office for an extended period of time, would you please inform us as to whether or not we should send the check.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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PHONE AL 2-2722

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June 4, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 5 1959

Dear Harold:

Although you might well know about it already, I'll pass on some good news without delay - at least a little trickle of water is now coming over the dam.

I have just received a phone call from Mr. Currier's Mrs. Eddy informing me that their "board" had met yesterday and approved the application for a grant of $1522.00 for the State Ministers Conference here in Alabama. A check will be on its way shortly.

I only hope that this represents some release of funds for other causes including that of the SRC. For what it's worth, she was most apologetic for not having answered my earlier letter, having assumed that Mr. Currier was handling such! They have a board that has been meeting but it has considered only policy questions up until yesterday's meeting. She inquired as to whether or not there was still a need for these funds and if the situation was generally the same to which I gave the obvious answer. In the event you haven't heard from her, I trust you will be receiving some word soon.

In your letter of the 28th, you inquired as to whether or not the Laymen's Union efforts to block my appointment to this work might not be successful next September. Prior to their advent on the scene, my appointment was extremely tenuous and was made last year with the idea that this would be the last. I am inclined to offer no alternative arrangements, stand pat and leave the initiative for and guilt of any "break" in the hand of my antagonists.

The Advisory Committee has suffered two resignations reducing its membership to ten. This includes our nine Alabama Councils members plus the chairman. The local white lady who now serves as its secretary was on the verge of resigning this past weekend due to telephone intimidation and publicity but I think that I talked her into sticking it out at least for a while. Bill Swan should have appraised all appointees of the probable reaction against their appointment and counseled with them on post announcement public relations.

You are correct in pointing out the opportunities that the Committee presents for the Alabama Council. I am already discussing with some of the members the best way in which our office can service or assist the Committee by indirection.

I have had no word as to who the new SRC assistant director will be and I am anxiously awaiting word. Perhaps the choice is obvious as I reflect over the prospects. Hope he accepts.

Most cordially,

Robert Hughes ac

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

August 5, 1959

Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I recently returned from a field trip to Houston and New Orleans. I have read the press coverage of the KKK visitation and have also learned from Harold of communications and conversations that have taken place with you.

I thought that the press coverage was quite good, not unnecessarily sensational nor unkind to you. It looks as though the sheriff concerned is putting you in the middle concerning possible legal action on the whole matter.

All of us here are very concerned about you and your family, your future well-being, tremendous pressures under which you are suffering, and the good work which you have been carrying on. I hope that you have found or will find it possible to talk with Will. I believe you know that we are more than willing to do anything that would ease or help the situation. I do hope that some way can be found to work out the situation concerning your ministerial status but I am sure that Will can counsel you much more wisely on that than those of us here.

Keep in touch. I would like to come over early in September if we can find a time convenient for you.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

August 7, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED AUG 10 1959

Dear Harold:

I have just returned from a visit to Nashville for which you are largely responsible. It was most helpful to talk with Will and the other persons that they arranged for me to confer with. Thanks.

Actually, things are pretty quiet here, no further publicity and not much talk in the community and no word from the Sheriff's Department on any later developments, although the men were still on the case as of Monday anyway. The last thing I've heard from the Deputies was that they thought that the best approach would be to submit the evidence to the Grand Jury thereby letting the State file the charges, etc., with my own role more or less that of witness whose testimony presumably would be secured under subpoena. I feel much better about this prospect, and hope that they will proceed with a thorough investigation.

I do not necessarily regard the future with complete complacency however. Of the three persons "warned" by means of the flaming cross, one moved within three days to parts unknown, Jimmy Short, the Pastor, is scheduled to be moved at the Annual Conference, although this is confidential, and I will remain as the only object of scorn after September with attention perhaps drawn to me through almost inevitable publicity surrounding my ministerial status as declared by the Annual Conference at that time. My next step is to attempt to arrange a conference between the Bishop and myself in the presence of my District Superintendent. I have conferred with representatives in both the Presbyterian branches, but the prospects in each are indefinite or rather questionable. Assuming that I will be forced to change denominations the Congregational Church might be my best bet and before long I may have to come to Atlanta to talk with the Southeastern Convention Superintendent.

Thanks again for all your help and concern.

Most cordially,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

cc: Paul Rilling ✓

Paul - Thanks for your letter. Suggest a Sept. date & we'll see. The 4th Tues., rather a little late, would give the B'ham Council a speaker & want em to hear you.

Answered by memo 8/14/59

PAV
~~PR~~
HF

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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PHONE AL 2-2722

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August 7, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED AUG 10 1959

Dear Harold:

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Thanks again for all your help and concern.

Most cordially,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

cc: Paul Rilling

August 14, 1959

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

It would be convenient for me to come to Birmingham near the end of the second week in September say around the tenth or eleventh. There seem to be a great many factors involved in your present situation and I am naturally anxious to keep up-to-date on how things are going. A couple of weeks would make very little difference however and if a trip to Birmingham during the fourth week would help you with the program need I would be happy to defer it until that time. Be sure and let us know if there are additional developments concerning the matter mentioned in your letter of August 7.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

August 19, 1959

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter and the clippings on Pickens County, which I am returning enclosed.

I have sent copies of the clipping to several of our newspaper friends who have indicated an interest in Alabama's troubles. If I get any reaction, I'll let you know. The whole business sounds nightmarish. If you get any more details, please pass them on.

Is there any prospect of Hartley's probation officer cracking down?

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl
Encls.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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August 18, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 19 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is the clipping concerning the floggings in Pickens County. Between this item and an earlier one which came out four days prior to this which named the same individuals, a group of robed Klansmen rode through the isolated community of one of the victims in an apparent attempt to intimidate them against any further "talking". It's a wonder that there was not much more. I finally located the Sheriff of Pickens County in Tuscaloosa late Thursday afternoon and he stated that the whole idea of this intimidation by the Klansmen was "if we start now we won't have any integration trouble around here later on".

I've got an "information net" out that ought to produce a more comprehensive picture in more detail than the one I now have. When I get more facts in hand, perhaps I can send you a report on everything I know including some proposals I made to local people.

In case you folks are maintaining any kind of Klan file, Grand Dragon Robert Shelton recently stepped down from his spot in order to lessen criticism of the Patterson Administration to which he has had a rather lucrative entree. His successor is Roy Hartley, an employee of the Goodrich Rubber Plant in Tuscaloosa. Hartley was the Klansman who intercepted some of my mail back during the Autherine Lucy period and who was subsequently caught, convicted and placed on five years probation, which has yet to expire. Dispite his probationary status, Hartley has continued to be active in the Klan, having recently been the personality who filed the suit against the Indiana couple for allegedly defacing a Klan welcome sign near Tuscaloosa. This raises some interesting possibilities, doesn't it?'.

Please suggest to Paul Rilling when he returns that because of Annual Conference during the week of September 7th that the following week around the 14th would be ~~preferable~~ PREFERABLE from my standpoint and that we can forget about trying to squeeze him in as a meeting speaker on the

Mr. Harold Fleming
Atlanta 3, Georgia - 2
August 18, 1959

22nd for the local group as this is not important enough to really count.

No second thoughts on the Bessemer situation or the ACLU.

Best always.

Cordially yours,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes ac

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Dictated by Rev. Hughes this date and signed in his absence.

Enc.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS

8/9/59

In Pickens—

Silent victims hamper probe of terrorists

BY CHARLES GRAINGER, News staff writer

CARROLTON, Ala., Aug. 8—Sheriff R. R. Shields has an extra incentive to push him along in investigations of night floggings here.

"They've been using my name," said the sheriff. "And I don't like it a little bit."

Shields said night-riders posed as the sheriff in order to gain admittance to homes where white and Negro men were grabbed, carried away, and whip-lashed.

Faced shotgun

VICTIMS TOLD Shields that when they asked, "Who's there?" after knocks on their doors they were told, "It's Bob Shields. "I'm here to serve some papers on you."

The sheriff said when he actually went to the houses to serve Grand Jury subpoenas on victims of past whippings, he faced the barrel of a shotgun until he convinced occupants of his actually being Sheriff Shields.

At least 10 flogging cases over a two-year period now are known by Pickens authorities, an official said.

Hooded men

HERE IS A TYPICAL experience:

Upon answering the door, a resident was faced by a mob of hooded, sometimes robed, men pointing pistols at his head.

They grabbed him . . . threw him blindfolded into the rear floorboard of a car.

A ride through darkened backroads ended at a clear spot. It was a churchyard. (A church called Flat Top Church was mentioned in one case.)

Some just boys

HE WAS TAKEN into the center of the area and placed face down as a group of 30-50 men milled around him. Then he was flogged across the mid-section of his back—blows so painful that he would have scars to show Pickens County Grand Jury.

He silently noted facts about some of the men.

"Why some of those boys couldn't be over 15 years old," he thought.

Then he was left along a road—victims said the area was in West Tuscaloosa County—where he had to walk or hitchhike several miles back to his home.

He did not report the incident. Fear of more whippings, even distrust of his own neighbors, kept him silent.

'Some trouble'

THEN SHERIFF Shields learned of "some trouble" that had been occurring at a sawmill in the Benevoler community near Gordo during July.

While he sat at the home of Renzo Abrams, the sawmill operator, two Negroes appeared.

Turn to Page 2, Column 2

PICKENS SHERIFF PROBES NIGHT RAIDS
. . . R. R. Shields and deputies have been kept busy checking whipping reports

They were Willie Harton, about 50, of Gordo, and Curtis Peck, 25, of South Gordo.

Both told the sheriff they had just been taken into adjoining Tuscaloosa County and flogged twice each.

Afraid to tell

FROM THAT point authorities learned of several similar cases unreported because of fear, they disclosed. But victims "did not know" the identities of any of their assailants.

"They seemed too scared to tell us, if they actually knew," Shields said.

Sheriff's forces then learned that Sam Moore, 47-year-old white farmer, who lives near the Fayette-Tuscaloosa line, had been whipped on "two or three" occasions.

A one-legged 60-year-old Negro man, Percy Harris of Gordo, was another lashed recently who did not report it.

Run off jobs

FIVE OTHER Negroes were run off their jobs while working for a timber planting company. An effigy was hung and "word was sent that 'they' were coming.

Men masked behind sunglasses and adhesive tape appeared to make certain the Negro workers had gone, said J. J. Garofulo, manager of Weyerhauser Timber Co.

More than a year ago, Sheriff Shields said, a Negro woman Annie Mae Spencer, and her 15-year-old son moved from Gordo into a rural section a few miles north of town.

Shields said a few days later a stink bomb was tossed at her house and she and son also were abducted and whipped. They immediately moved to Tuscaloosa.

Reports of "Dynamite being tossed around" also were heard.

Tell background

WHILE TALKING to residents here, fear makes itself evident in their faces and their conversation. They will talk of night-riding terrorists, but not without protection of anonymity.

Those observations of victims and others close to these floggings gave this background as cause for the unrest in Pickens County.

This West Alabama county, bordered in its west boundary by Mississippi and touching Tuscaloosa County on its eastern edge, is made up of 24,439 persons. Forty-eight per cent of this population consisted of Negroes in the 1950 census.

More than 88 per cent of Pickens Countians are farm dwellers.

Its southern edge is a fringe area of Alabama's Black Belt, where Negroes outnumber whites.

Klan hotbed

AN APPARENT FEELING among the night-riders—as drawn from statements to their victims and others—is that: (1) They do not want Negroes to hold jobs which could be held by whites; and (2) they do not want Negroes to live in the same areas as white persons.

Gordo (population 952) is described as a Ku Klux Klan "hot bed."

The town is located near Tuscaloosa County—where the Ku Klux Klan is said to be "extremely active."

Reform (population 1141), Carrollton (population 710), and Aliceville (population 3170) have seen lesser numbers of the incidents.

'Just lawlessness'

CIRCUIT SOLICITOR Louis Moore, who serves Pickens, Lamar and Fayette Counties, described the activity as "just lawlessness."

Following last week's report of the Pickens County Grand Jury, in which a strong demand for investigation into whippings by night-riders was made, local and state authorities are intensifying their probe.

But their biggest hurdle is fear itself.

If victims do not report floggings, they have no place to begin

Call for help

THIS APPARENTLY is the motive behind a portion of the Grand Jury report which says, "We call upon all responsible citizens . . . to cooperate in stamping out these reprehensible acts."

Only with that cooperation, authorities said, will night terrorism in Pickens County come to an end.

August 25, 1959

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Following the suggestion you made to Harold in your recent telephone conversation I shall tentatively schedule a visit to Birmingham the week of September 14. There is an interagency metting here September 15 and 16. I shall plan to come on to Birmingham Thursday the 17th and perhaps stay over until Friday the 18th. Let me know if this is not convenient.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sl

RECEIVED SEP 2 1959

Pickens County: Some twenty whites & negroes flogged by Klansmen within past 2 yrs. most of them occurred in the vicinity of Gordo 30 mi. west of Tuscaloosa last Aug., Sept. & Oct. One case of arson - bombing of a negro lady's home. Sheriff Bob Shields of Carrollton apparently sincere in trying to catch the Klansmen responsible. Say they're (Klan) trying to stop integration before it ever starts. "Responsible" Gordo businessmen & ch. leaders rationalize around Robin Hoods barn - scared to death themselves of economic retaliation. Haven't been able to dig it up but think that Pickens was scene of arrest & conviction of two Dial brothers for slavery of negroes back about 1953 and '54.

Sources of inf.: Chas. Grainger, "B'ham News" reporter. Sheriff Shields. Victims as listed in news article. Circuit Solicitor in Fayette who is square shooter.

Macon County: ~~Justice Dept. turned down in 3rd. Dist. Ct. last spring to get injunction against registrars~~

Last spring Justice Dept. turned down by 3rd. Dist Judge Johnson when they tried to name Macon registrars party to suit in order to injoin them against voter discrimination.

Registrars had resigned but Justice trying to get legal precedent to prevent use of resignation as escape. Case appealed. May have been upheld in Circuit Ct. more recently. 3 registrars named in July but all 3 resigned because of expected "harassment".

Sources: C. D. Gomillion, pres. of T.C.A., former St. senator Sam Englehart of Mobile.

* B'ham Buses:

Hearing in Fed. Dst. Ct. in B'ham Post Off. Bldg., 9:30-10:00 A.M., Wed., Sept. 2. Last Oct. suit against city transit seg. law thrown out when city repealed law day before hearing & permitted bus co. to "assign" seating. negroes ~~to~~ including Shuttlesworth tested bus co. policy, were arrested & now are testing law permitting the bus co. to assign seats on discriminatory application of law.

Sources: Rev. J. S. ~~Pfiffer~~ Pfiffer. Att. Arthur Shores, Emory Jackson, Bull Connor.

* B'ham Schools

As in each of past two years a mob of perhaps 100 Klansmen are expected to mass in front of Phillips High Sch. in B'ham on Wed., Sept. 2, 8:00 A.M. - 12:00 noon or thereafter for the purpose of "guarding" the school against negroes trying to enter. ~~On past~~ In 1957 Shuttlesworth attempted to escort some children into the school which he had

attacked in Fed. Ct. & badly beaten w/ bicycle chains. Last fall, with no "legitimate" targets, Klansmen roughed up "innocent" negro passerby from adjacent negro neighborhood. Police took minimal action & in both cases never dispersed mob. Likelihood of more incidents & possibility of retaliation by negroes. Last year 18 crosses burned at schools over county site before opening. Phillips will probably get one on Ins. site. His reluctance to disperse mob should be publicized. Klan has out rumor (rumor unpublicized) that Sh. is "going to try to sneak in some nigger children at Phillips on first day". Obviously a call to arms. The Sh. suit against bd. of ed. thrown out by U.S. Sup. Ct. Sh. + his nw. 2 man are in Europe & he would allow nothing of sort to happen unless he was there to call shots.

Sources: Rev. J. S. Phiffer (negro lieutenant of Sh.), Emory Jackson (Ed., B'ham World), Police Com. "Bull" Connor, Police Chief Jamie Moore, Sch. Supt. Theodore Wright.

Patterson - Kennedy

Gov. Patterson endorsed Kennedy for Demo nom. for Pres. after Washington huddle in about June. Sets Bill watchbreed Kennedy by showing he met Sam Engelhart as well as Patterson, Engle-

hart is properly exposed in "Temple of the South" - an excelent albatross.

*Meth. Church

Background inf. you have. Laymens union is attacking every voice raised in opposition no matter how mild. Press has picked up only two or three attacks. Non-meth. + many meth. assume M.S.U. is official + its statements are pronouncements of ch. bodies. Statements are widely publicized through Claude Keithley, rel. ed. of "B'ham News" + "disabled" meth. min.

Role of Bishop Hodge should be exposed. He's never referred to M.S.U. publically in any way leaving ~~publicly~~ meth. min. completely without leadership as their Official Boards across the state have "joined" or "endorsed" the M.S.U. Oftentimes forcing serious breaches. Only when M.S.U. rammed a ch. property bill thru legislature ~~did~~ was any official voice raised & this by ~~the~~ a retired meth. bishop, Clare Purcell of B'ham. Property worth est. $80 mill. was at stake.

Timing is revealing - Bill had been widely discussed in late July, sailed thru senate w/o dissent in early Aug., and Bishop Hodge sent retired Bishop Purcell to oppose measure in house committee on Aug. 6. Bill passed house w/ only 1 dissent + signed

into law by Patterson on Aug. 14. On Aug. 12 Bishop Hodge & the U. Ark Conf. cabinet (12 dist. supts.) passed a resolution attacking bill as "unconstitutional" only. Each dist. supt. ~~made~~ was to mail out copies of resolution to his ministers. At least the B'ham Dst. Supt. (& perhaps all others) mailed his on Aug. 20 & was received by ministers on Aug. 21 — one full week after the law had been completely enacted.

The next test of M.L.U. strength is during conf. Sept. 8 – 11 when Gen. & Juris. delegates are elected. Both "sides" have slates. Resolutions will be passed. There will doubtless be considerable controversy & I myself expect to be personally impaled. There will probably be a good deal of usable copy.

September 9, 1959

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter concerning the Dallas meeting and your Little Rock stopover. Enclosed is our check for the plane fare.

I know this will find you in the midst of annual conference with all that implies. We'll be thinking of you this week.

Unfortunately, Bob Baker's trip had to be deferred because of the death of his mother. He is arriving here in Atlanta tomorrow and will be showing up in Birmingham in due course. He was disappointed not to be there for the conference, but you can fill him in.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Check #510; $104.23)

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

September 8, 1959

RECEIVED SEP 9 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I returned Saturday from the Dallas Conference by way of Little Rock, both visits proving to be most interesting and enlightning.

If I can asses the basic contribution of the Conference, it would be something like this: the sessions revealed a significant gap between the ecclesiastical leaders of the Methodist Church and the pastoral ministry in the area of race. Even though representation of both elements was restricted, I nevertheless feel that expressions of each were somewhat representative, the participating bishops coming from South Carolina, Texas, Pittsburgh, Indiana and Missouri and the clerical and small number of lay delegates fairly well distributed from all over the country. Most revealing was the unprecedented "B ishop's Panel" in which four bishops submitted to questions and answers from the floor. It would be a conservative statement to assert that clerical questions revealed a strong impatience with the higher leadership. It is interesting to note that second to the expected Central Jurisdiction question, the primary issue raised by delegates throughout the week revolved around the support of pastors and their witness by bishops.

I, of course, took every opportunity to bring this latter issue out into the opening along with pressing for a purely Southern regional conference along the same lines sponsored by the Board of Economic and Social Relations.

I found Nat in pretty good spirits over Little Rock itself, but concerned over Pine Bluff where he expected violence and possibly retaliation from Negroes. At this point he seems to be directing his efforts toward implanting ideas of non-violence in the Negro community. Everyone I talked to seemed to be of one mind in the hope that all the trouble is now past but it was not at all surprising to see the outbreak of violence there last night.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia - 2
September 8, 1959

Enclosed is my receipt for my plane ticket which as I stated earlier came to a little more than I was expecting. In the event that this was above your own expectations, let me know and the Council will absorb whatever balance might be left. Thanks so much for making this possible.

Conference opens this afternoon. We'll see what evolves.

Most cordially,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Encl:

Return PR

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Sept. 16, '59

Dear Paul,

Our semi-annual Board meeting is set for Sat., Oct. 3 11:00 - 5:00 in Montgomery. This Sat. date presumably would push our talks back to the previous Fri. or Thurs. However much time you feel you will need will be O.K. It's always good to see you anyway.

I might have a prospect for you should you be interested in trying to ~~secure~~ ~~start~~ anything in Mississippi. There's a young minister at the

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

methodist Church in Magee, miss. who transferred down from Kentucky within the past year who would like to work on race relations full-time but has no platform. He's apparently independently wealthy and could be at least partially self-supporting from several oil wells he owns. I met him out at the Dallas Conf. Superficially as I got to know him he seemed level-headed

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

enough & should be of some use even if you don't chose to try to resuerrect a miss. Council on Human Relations. Let me know if you're interested.

I'll be out of the office for a few days beginning in the morning. Three meetings in Talladega & Montgomery & then with the family

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

to the coast until next Tues. or Wed. I've got to get a buffer between me & race relations as I can tell him on the verge of a stomach siege.

Have written two or three persons about annual conference but I don't think you were one. I've received a "supernumary" relationship which is a hair better than "location". I'm a member of the conference yet

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

but not under appointment. If my status hasn't changed in a year I will be "located involuntarily" or kicked out of the active meth. ministry.

On the first ballot the meth. Laymens union elected their entire slate of 14 Gen. & Jurisdictional Conf. delegates and on the second ballot elected their men to fill the five "reserve" spots. An incredible show of strength that I doubt has ever happened

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

before in methodism. Liberal forces in the ~~church~~ conference during the session were almost completely cowed into silence + as a result of the week are now completely demoralized.

as though this wasn't enough an ominous picture is falling together ~~[illegible]~~ tantamount to the "Birmingham News" blackmailing the methodist church in alabama. When I return I hope to get more details and send on what I have. Bye for now.

Cordially, Bob

September 18, 1959

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The news about the action of the annual conference was impressing. We certainly had not expected very good news here, but the absolute victory of the Layman's Union is certainly disastrous at this time and place.

I will be in Tennessee during the period before your Board meeting. I will plan to come from Nashville to Birmingham Thursday night so that we may talk together on Friday and drive on to Montgomery for the Saturday meeting.

Please let me know about your contact in Mississippi. As you probably know, Gene Cox of the National Council of Churches, has been spending approximately one-week-a-month in Mississippi attempting to locate and contact friendly forces. Gene Cox should at least talk to the man. We learned at the recent interagency meeting that the American Friends Service Committee is contemplating a staffed program aimed at the hard-core areas of Mississippi and Louisiana. They have not yet made a staff appointment and this person might be just the man for them.

I definitely feel that we should be attempting to make some contribution to that area, but any

further move from this office will wait for further developments from the AFSC.

I hope you enjoy your brief vacation. I'm looking forward to seeing you again soon.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/mf

September 24, 1959

Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I will be arriving in Birmingham Thursday, October 1, via Eastern Flight 185, at 6:22 p.m. I will get in touch with you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Billing
Field Director

PMR:sm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 7, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks so much for squeezing us into your tight schedule this past week-end. I have seen several Board members since the Meeting and I think that you made a very good impression on everyone down there. Welton hopes that you will be able to be back with us on Saturday, December 5th for the special meeting of the Board in Montgomery, which you will remember is being called soley for the purpose of delving into our program role and from there into Methodology. In the absence of any other agency bureaucrats with field experience hanging around, you might as well come on over. The meeting will run from 10:00 to around 2:00 or possibly 3:00.

Old buddy, I'll expect to hear from you right away indicating your success in securing a $4200.00 grant for us. If you laid down on the job you'd better not show your face around these parts, for after all I don't want any part of my salary ending up in your personal slush fund. Miss Cloud says, "Mine neither"!

Indefinitely yours,

Robert E. Hughes
ac

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Dictated by Rev. Hughes this date and signed in his absence.

PR - Pls handle for me. H.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

(Hang onto Waring story for me.)

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
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DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 7, 1959

RECEIVED OCT 9 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a draft of a letter which I expect to send to Harry Flieschman next week after I have heard from you. We are aware of no expressions of concern on the subject matter of this letter, so obviously I am trying to arouse initial interest. I would appreciate any suggestions you might have.

We were most happy to have Paul with us for our Board Meeting last Saturday as well as a brief visit at the office in the afternoon. From the standpoint of the needs of a state organization and program development evaluation and recommendations, I think he is going to be tops. Although he had only a limited opportunity to give us much counsel at the Meeting, I think he made an excellent impression on the Board members present. I hope that he will find time to squeeze us into his busy schedule in the future for several projects which I would like to structure around him.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Most cordially,

Robert E. Hughes ac

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Encl: 2

Dictated by Rev. Hughes this date and signed in his absence.

C
O
P
Y

Morrow Urges South To Present Solid Front Against Integration

BY CLARKE STALLWORTH

Post-Herald Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Oct. 6 - The South can get around the effects of the Supreme Court desegregation decision, "if every Southern state will form ranks and wholeheartedly stand firm," according to Birmingham Industrialist Hugh Morrow in a speech before the Alabama Legislature.

Mr. Morrow, a former member of the Alabama Senate, told the legislators:

"Don't yield. Follow the heroic example set by your heroic fathers and grandfathers in the tragic era of reconstruction...and like them, present a solid and unbroken front.

"The South, forever tragic, forever triumphant, forever doomed and yet forever on the march, finds herself today, with her back to the wall, facing the dire necessity of making a last stand in defense of her true way of life.

"If I am any judge, her people will not surrender to the 'pinks' and the 'reds' and the 'mongrels' nor to any foreign conception of sociology flying under false colors of the law."

Morrow quoted Sen. Eastland of Mississippi as saying that there were four witnesses before the U. S. Supreme Court who testified on the psychological aspect of desegregation.

Two of them, Morrow said, have been identified with Communist-front activities.

He classified Gunnar Myrdal, author of "American Dilemma," as "a product of one of those South-hating, tax exempt, multi-million dollar, leftist, 'intellectual disease carrier' foundations."

He quoted from Myrdal's book - which the Supreme Court mentioned in its decision - as saying that the U. S. Constitution was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions."

"Sounds like this is direct from Moscow," said Morrow. He said Myrdal's book was largely written by Communists.

Morrow, grandfather of Rep. Hugh Morrow III, was introduced by Gov. John Patterson, who called him "a truly great man."

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT

October 7, 1959

Mr. Harry Flieschman
National Labor Service
386 4th Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Flieschman:

At the request of the Executive Committee of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, I am bringing a matter to your attention in the confident hope that it will merit consideration by the Consultative Conference on Desegregation. It involves the observance of the Civil War centennial which we feel justifies serious concern.

As you know, the federal government has endowed the National Civil War Centennial Commission headed by Gen. U. S. Grant III with large funds with which to sponsor and promote appropriate observances throughout the 1961-1965 period. State centennial commissions with local autonomy as to interpretation are being established as was recently done in Alabama. After a visit by Gen. Grant to this state the legislature appropriated $50,000 to such a commission composed of political officials and historians for the purpose of marking and holding commorative observances at the site of the numerous battles and skirmishes which occurred over the state. Doubtless the national commission, obviously expert in public relations according to its monthly releases, is already cultivating national television and periodical features and coverage of the centennial preparations and observances thus expanding interest and participation.

At first glance all of this might appear entirely appropriate for such a historial occasion, but regretably the practice of withholding basic rights from large groups of Americans because of racial origin is not confined to past history and the same basic issue is very much alive today. Slavery and segregation differ but in degree and nullification and interposition stem from the same autequated view of states rights. A Confederate flag now stands opposite the American at most political rallies and when a football band strikes up "Dixie" people jump to their feet and cheer. Alabama history books are currently being rewritten in order that children will have an "unbiased" regard for their heritage. The Civil War will be commorated in the Deep South not by the expression of regret that such occurred in defense of an evil system but by bestowing honor and respect upon forefathers who fought and sacrificed to preserve a way of life. We may rest assured that no speaker on any such occasion, especially the proverbial politician, will close his speech without some appropriate application to the present - dispite the naive intentions of national commission members.

It is the height of folly for us to focus attention on the Civil War for the next six years when feelings in the Deep South will already be inflamed by a situation that demands responsible reflection on the present and sober regard for the future. The inevitable "justification" of schism will have direct implications for most national organizations which possess the

combination of a racial conscience and a sizeable Deep Southern constituency which includes most church denominations, labor internationals, the P. T. A. and the Democratic Party. As Arkansas and Virginia fall into line and the idea of inevitability and hoplessness begins to spread, only honor and loyalty will remain to impel the diehards. Unlike the North these forces are far from insignificant in the yet untested Deep South. The enclosed clipping from today's "Birmingham Post Herald" is sufficient example. Why must we reinforce such positions? The Citizens Councils couldn't be happier!

In the face of such a rapidly developing situation a concerted effort of containment and restriction appears to be in order beginning with interpretation of such implications as mentioned above to appropriate governmental officials, national commission members and mass media agencies. We are launching a similar effort at the Alabama level inthe near future. A simple barbecue at Getteysburg will be much preferable to a reenactment of that battle by hundreds of charging infantry and cavalry backed by blazing cannon before a national television audience. Perhaps there is relatively little that we will now be able to accomplish in such hard core states as Alabama, but with your assistance perhaps our detrimental influence on the rest of the South can be held to a minimum.

Sincerely yours,

October 13, 1959

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The December 5 date looks fairly clear from this vantage point. I will tentatively plan to be with you.

Completely off the record, the Executive Committee did agree to recommend to the Board that the Alabama Council receive a grant of $4,200 for next year. We may still have some kind of flare-up at the Board meeting, where there is a larger group of people with axes to grind from the various states. Best you not spread the good word around prematurely. Hold it to your bosom and be happy in secret.

Sincerely,

Paul Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
Dictated but not read

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 22, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 23 1959

PR
Enc. yesterday
See letter on your desk

Dear Harold:

Usually you reply to my letters more promptly than any of my correspondents when you're in town. Some two weeks ago I sent you a draft of a letter to Harry Flieschman concerning the centennial observance of the Civil War asking your appraisal of the idea embodied. As yet I have received no reply to this or a later letter relating some statements by Tom Waring which did not necessarily call for a reply. The thought creeps into my mind that somebody might be tampering with my mail again so please let me know if you received the above and if a reply has been sent.

PR

Night before last one of our student members came to the Negro church where the Birmingham Council usually meets each fourth Tuesday evening, by mistake he had come a week early. As he sat in a darkened car outside the church, a Birmingham policeman in a police car spotted him, interrogated him as to the purpose of his presence and the fellow willingly gave him all information he requested, which actually wasn't a whole lot. However, the Birmingham Police Department is now aware of where and when the group meets so it is difficult to predict just what might happen next Tuesday evening when the group convenes its next meeting. I don't know just what decisions, if any, have been made just yet, but the group can be written off more or less permanently if they choose to attempt to evade sanction further. Loss of group self-respect before almost destroyed all unity. Personally, I cannot attend because I have a meeting in Huntsville that night, but I will keep in close touch and let you know if anything should develop. Bull Connor could easily try to avoid trouble until such time as the Klan or other forces might attempt to make it an issue.

Best wishes in every way.

Most cordially,

BER

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

P.S. Yesterday's "Birmingham News" carried an editorial on your voter survey which I will send over tomorrow.

REH:ac

CONFIDENTIAL

HCF

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

October 22, 1959

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes

RE: Board meeting transactions

Fourteen members of the Board met on Oct. 3 at the Ala. State Teachers Assn. Building in Montgomery. The session centered around reports on activities over the state by district chairmen and leaders followed by discussion with business and finances receiving relatively short consideration. This was one of our most interesting meetings in some time. Paul Rilling, new Director of Field Service of the S. R. C. participated.

I. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES: While it is impossible to give a resume of each presentation with the exception of the attached State Office report, the Montgomery and Tuscaloosa groups are currently relating themselves to important local problems in meaningful ways. Faced with the probability of a school suit in Montgomery, the M. C. H. R. is carefully surveying comparative school facilities, curriculum and origins of the two systems. Once the obvious inequities are reduced to statistics, the facts will be transmitted by various means to the white community showing that the separate facilities have never been equal.

In the wake of several incidents involving groups of whites beating Negroes, the T. C. H. R. is surveying "Tuscaloosa News" files since 1954 to reveal to the public the cumulative picture of this growing trend. The State Ministers Conference constitutes another bright spot, a committee of which has succeeded in initiating two "exploratory conferences" aimed at securing a state council of churches. On the other side, little or no activity could be reported from the two Black Belt, Wiregrass and Tenn. Valley Districts with student work restricted to isolated local activity.

II. MEMBERSHIP:

In order to increase the outreach of the Council's program and to broaden its basis of support, a campaign was adopted to build the membership from a current 443 to 600 by Feb. 1 representing an increase of 1/3 in the remaining three months. A breakdown would yield the following district goals:

District	Oct. 1 Total	Jan. 30 Goal	Increase
Tenn. Valley	20	30	10
West Piedmont	64	86	22
East Piedmont	73	100	27
Birmingham	75	100	25
West Black Belt	12	18	6

East Black Belt	27	42	15
Wiregrass	4	9	5
Mobile	59	80	21
Montgomery	80	107	27
Out of State	29	40	10
Total	443	600	157

III. ANNUAL MEETING: The date of the 1960 Annual Membership Meeting was set for Saturday, Feb. 6 at Talladega College.

IV. FINANCES: Attached you will find the Treasurers report for the period Feb. 1 - Sept. 30.

The Director presented the following analysis of needs for the rest of the fiscal year. Some of the "Needed Efforts" burden was rearranged. Changes are incorporated here.

Source	First 8 Mon.	Expected from Present Efforts	Needed Efforts
SRC	$5,600	$1,400	$1,400
Cash on Hand	751	900	900
Underwriters	1,435	600	1,100
Contributions from Individuals	660	200	500
Contributions from Organizations	285	300	500
Memberships	850	300	400
Misc.	80	-	-
Totals	$11,670	$3,700	$4,800

Balance in Budget	$5,100
Two items able to "give"	300
Needed	4,800
Normally expected	3,700
Balance	$1,100

Plans to marshall the needed effort were adopted:

* Underwriters Club, Dr. A. C. Winn - All due pledges paid - $900, ten new members in Oct. - $200
* Individual Contributions, solicitations by State Office, Dist. Chairman
* Organizational Contributions, Mrs. A. W. West - $25 gifts from ten organizations - $250, plus $250 gift already committed.
* Memberships, District Chairmen - Dist. Chairmen promoting dist. campaigns

A tentative budget for next year was submitted by the Director but consideration was delayed until the Annual Meeting Board session.

V. NEXT MEETING: Members present requested a special Board meeting for the exclusive purpose of mapping out an overall strategy for our work in the light of future needs. This meeting was set for Sat., Dec. 5 at 10:00 a.m. in Montgomery.

October 22, 1959

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I was extremely pleased to hear that John McConnell accepted a position on your state Board. It has been my experience that he takes his responsibility seriously and I feel he will be a real source of strength. I believe he should be encouraged to take an active roll in the local group as part of this responsibility. The political factor is always a risk in cases like John's but calculated risks are indicated in the present situation and I believe he made the proper decision.

We have passed your message concerning the Mobile ladies to Mrs. Tilly.

We very much appreciated the clipping concerning Tom Waring and are considering some distribution of it. Harold is out of town this week but told me to pass on his acknowledgment of your letter to Harry Fleischman and his agreement with your concern about the possible repercussions of all this hoopla about the Civil War Centennial, especially with a character like U.S. Grant III in charge.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Oct. 14, 59

Dear Paul,

Am just back in from Mobile this afternoon & find your letter with the most welcome information that our request was tentatively approved by the Exec. Com. Will regard as confidential until finally confirmed. When does the Board meet.

Glad to hear you can be back over with us on Dec. 5.

Please let Mrs. Tilly know that I was unable to get any definite word on any prospective Mobile ladies for the FOC meeting there in Mobile in the short time I was ~~there~~.

Remember - you promised me a "Semper Ole South"

— Bob

P.S.: John Rice Cornell accepted the Board spot. Will probably be there on the 5th.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

November 3, 1959

Dear Paul

Welcome to LETTERWRITERS UNLIMITED! As an official LETTERWRITER you have become one of twenty charter members of a new highly select group of students committed by Rev. Dan Whitsett at the recent regional M. S. M. conference to write letters to the editors of Southern newspapers on race relations topics.

Never feel that your letter will be ignored. Anything published on race will be read and if properly written it will have a constructive influence.

LETTERS UNLIMITED will have a two fold program. First, when you read of some development in the South, particularly the Deep South, on your own initiative write to the editor of the largest newspaper in the largest city in that part of the state. Call your local newspaper for the name of the appropriate Southern paper. For Alabama they are: North Alabama - "The Birmingham News", "The Birmingham Post Herald"; Central and South Alabama - "The Montgomery Advertiser". Secondly, as time allows I will send different ones of you a clipping of a news article or editorial, perhaps with a suggestion of an appropriate angle to use, for you to answer in a letter.

Here are tips for every LETTERWRITER to keep in mind to insure publication and effect:

1. Keep it concise and brief - 500 words maximum. Three pointed sentences are sometimes more powerful than three paragraphs.

2. Peg your statements on something specific - an incident or editorial comment.

3. Don't be self-righteous. Admit shortcomings of self or area and tell what you are doing about them.

4. Try to be positive, constructive, temperate, no blanket condemnations, appeal for change in the cautious good-hearted person of principle. A leading question is often useful - "Do the ministers of _____ really condone such practices?" "What are the responsible citizens of _____ doing to prepare their community for inevitable desegregation?", etc.

Send me a blind copy of your letter to the Alabama papers, we'll watch for it and send you the clipping when it appears and any response it might create. It would be better not to mention LETTERWRITERS UNLIMITED, the Alabama Council on Human Relations or me. Down here our public statements have to be carefully timed and such could open a Pandora's Box for us at the wrong moment.

We'll be doing our part and you can serve a fine purpose through assisting in this way. Good writing!

Sincerely yours,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:ac

This is a carbon ~~of~~ letter sent to ~~twenty~~ methodist students from Maine to Penn., a project I passed on to Dan Whitsett in Boston last summer. Not much but it might help. At least its an opportunity for them to face these problems.

Many thanks for the Peters book. Glad to hear of the Jan. staff meeting. The dates are clear & I'll see if I can come up with some agenda suggestions. Bob

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 13, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

HCF

When Bill Peters was doing a research for his book, The Temper of The South, he found that in South Carolina and in Georgia, a number of cases where individuals who were known to be active on our side in race relations had had their personal income tax investigated with Internal Revenue Service. Perhaps it is only a coincidence, but a lady here in town wrote a liberal letter to the editor of the "Birmingham News" which was published last week, and in addition to catching it on the telephone, has been visited by an Internal Revenue Service man just six days after the letter's publication. It could easily be only a coincidence, but it might be worthwhile to start cataloging these things for Sen. Douglas or someone to bring up with the I. R. S. in the event that a pattern becomes evident. No one has ever bothered me personally on this matter.

Please share with me your ideas on the content for this Board Meeting that will be held on December 5th. As you know, it was rather hastily arrived at during the Board Meeting which you attended and will be devoted almost exclusively to a discussion of program development. Any insights into our apparent program needs which you may have gleamed from your participation in the former meeting would be helpful for me as I try to make some kind of preparation to get them started. I will probably be circulating some kind of memo including salient questions to them about a week ahead of time for the purpose of provoking their thinking.

Tomorrow I'll be down to Tuscaloosa for the Fellowship of the Concerned state meeting to make a brief report. However, I'm going to be leaving the meeting a little early in order to witness our mutual Alma Mater upset of Tech here in Birmingham. Wish you could come over for it, although I don't know where you will get a ticket. This will be the first time I have seen Alabama play since Mississippi Southern stomped us in 1954!

Most cordially,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac Not read

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

November 19, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Rev. Hughes will be out of the office the remainder of this week and all of next week visiting with some of our different groups. However, before he left home this morning I read him the letter over the phone written to Mr. Bension from you. He asked me to acknowledge your letter for him.

He is rather suspicious of Mr. Bension and said he thought it would have been wiser to have answered such an inquiry in more vague general terms in view of the highly organized activity in the Tuscaloosa area. However, if necessary he will check into the matter further.

Sincerely yours,

Annette Cloud

(Miss) Annette Cloud
Secretary to Rev. Hughes

ac

MEMORANDUM November 20, 1959

To: Bob Hughes
From: Paul Rilling

Re: Alabama Board Meeting

As I understand it, this meeting has been arranged to give the Board of the Alabama Council an opportunity for discussion of program and philosophy and direction of the Council in a discussion setting unhampered by the usual agenda items.

I would suggest the following general continuity for the discussion:

1. Analysis of the Council to date. What is or has been the philosophy or direction of the Council, its achievements, its failures. This might well be handled briefly by the Executive Director as a means of focusing the discussion and getting it underway.

2. Philosophy and goals. It seems to me that the Board needs to adress itself to such basic concerns as the general direction of program, goals, etc. Does the Council consider itself primarily to be a communications channel, an agency for the resolution of tensions? Does it see itself as an agency for the advocacy of change or for the promotion of a program for public education? Is its role that of coordinating and motivating other groups and organizations? Does it have the obligation to take an uncompromising stand on principle?

3. What should be the strategy plan of the Council. The strategy would, of course, be dictated by the goal or direction as determined above. I would expect discussion on such matters as the openness with which the Council should operate, the wisdom of seeking mass medium publicity,

whether or not local or state group should pass resolutions and make public statements, whether the posture of the Council should reflect the true goals of the organization or those objectives immediately possible. Should a Council group attempt to involve or to reach the power structure, strive for large membership, or function as a small strategy planning group?

4. Program techniques. What specific activities or techniques can be used to advance the above strategy and make maximum use of the Council energies and resources?

5. The role of the local group. What is effective programming for local activity? How independent should local groups be in operation? How can they attract membership if desirable?

PMR/sm

November 20, 1959

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Don't worry about the Bension letter. I did not intend that you should follow up the deal other than perhaps inquiring about him from reliable sources at the University. I don't blame you for being suspicious of him. He certainly wrote an odd letter. I suspect he is a sincere, but eccentric liberal.

I am sorry if you thought my letter too encouraging and specific. I meant it to be friendly, general, helpful-sounding, but completely meaningless and promising nothing but suggesting that he check with you if he insists on following up.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

December 14, 1959

San Shiller
Mont

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Please thank your secretary for the "New Souths" which we received in good order this morning. These enabled us to complete the materials required for our tax exemption application, which materials have now been filed. Glad that's over!

It would be helpful if you could give me a fuller statement on the Taconic Foundation's criteria for ministerial awards this year. Does the person have to be the pastor of a church or can he like Welton, for instance, be serving in a connectional capacity? Should I use last years awards in Alabama as something of an index as to numbers and sizes or are the funds more restricted? Also, do we first clear the nominations with the prospective recipient before sending them to you or does some one up that way handle this matter? Also, I don't recall from our conversation the specific deadline you specified on getting these in to you.

We'll endeavor to have the program report in as soon as we can get it shaped up as we'll certainly need next quarter's allotment immediately after the first. Blackmail!

If at all possible please send me by return mail a report on the Craig Air Force Base school situation as I need it for a newsletter which I want to write this week. Any further information on the Federal Government's support of segregated education and attempts to get out from under it will be most welcome.

I talked to Frank Anderson in Montgomery after the Board Meeting the other night and there is some possibility that he might be in a position where he could take the post of communication director if our program comes through and he is asked to do so. He now edits the Air University quorum out at Maxwell Field, but they are having a one-third reduction in force sometime in spring and he may be part of it.

Hope you had a good meeting in Mobile and that you were satisfied with the visit even though you did it with reluctance. Don't let this substitute for a little longer visit later on when we can go down together. Thanks again for coming over for our Board Meeting.

Most cordially,

Robert Hughes ac

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Dictated by Rev. Hughes & signed in absence.

December 16, 1959

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Just a few comments concerning my recent visit to Mobile. There were about eighteen at the meeting. This included a very poor representation of white people. The Mobile district effort has apparently not been successful in involving any cross-section of whites although this would seem to me to be possible in the climate existing there. I met afterwards with Joe Langan and others in the political sphere. Contacts were renewed but there was no specific emphasis on human relations problems. I was not able to meet with Rev. Lowery.

John McConnell was present at the meeting and should provide a channel through which a number of persons could become involved. None of the white ministers was present and Father Foley tells me that they have not been active in recent months. I think it entirely possible that a change in leadership of the group might be a useful step towards building more membership. There was a fairly good representation of Negro leadership present.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

December 18, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for bearing with us until we could finally complete the list of ministerial nominations. If you folks had any responsibility for suggesting a repeat of this program this year, please accept my gratitude as I feel that this gesture is most meaningful to some of these fellows.

Thanks for your report on the Mobile meeting. As to the character of this particular meeting, I would assume that it was not too different from others which I have attended. About the only white participation ~~are~~ is four or five whites from Fairhope, Father Foley and occasionally John McConnell. Indeed it is pathetic in view of the potentiality of that community and I feel that any real progress membership wise, whether qualitative or quantitative will be determined by the presence or absence of Father Foley as chairman. He's really wrapped up in it, likes this role as it constitutes virtually the only platform he has outside of the classroom which is almost necessary for him as a sociologist-actionist. He has served as president for five years and the group has been in this rut for about the last four. Joe Lowery and I worked together to decentralize the "one man show" setup by appointing several committees during his regular summer leave; however, soon after he returned he disolved all committees into a civil rights committee of the whole, with himself as chairman. A little after this, I suggested as tactfully as possible the asset of new leadership toward bringing in new blood. At the next meeting, without appointing a nominating committee, he merely asked for nominations and one of the Negro members who feels that the sun rises and sets in him and who is not very bright immediately made a motion that the same officers be retained.

At such time as we may be able to get back to Mobile together I hope that you can help me iron out this problem. You are in a position to say and do a few things that I cannot do in that you are a complete outsider who nevertheless is knowledgeable of the problems of local groups and of the Mobile situation. I have to work with that group and Father Foley both at the local level as well as on the State Board. If you have any ideas on preparation for such prior to any time we can get down, let me know.

Mr. Paul Rilling
Atlanta 3, Georgia - 2
December 18, 1959

A note from Foley today reports that you made a "splendid presentation and a good interpretation of program possibilities in the light of what he knows about the Mobile situation". He also suggested that you and I come down together sometime that you might steer him and me into contacts that would "revive the white participation in the local council". So at least you have an invitation for involvement.

Warmest regards to all of you from all of us for a happy Christmas season.

Most cordially,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

December 30, 1959

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I have arranged for the Rev. James C. Brewer to do the analysis of the Virginia developments that you requested. Jim was chairman of the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools throughout the crisis there and was a member of the state executive committee of the Virginia Committee for Public Schools. He has recently been elected a state vice-president of the VCHR. He is minister of the Norfolk Unitarian church.

I have trouble remembering some of the details you passed on via the telephone. Please send me complete details, repeating suggested subject matter, place and time of meeting, when you need him to come and by when he will be finished with this particular chore. Being a minister, he is a little uneasy about his Sunday preparation which he usually does on Saturday. I told him this was probably a Saturday morning meeting and that he could reasonably expect to get away by early Saturday afternoon.

I think I told you that the use of Consultant Service assistance to help you with possibe regional workshops has been approved. If you think you will want to carry through on this we should begin setting dates, etc. John Hope suggested two workshops would probably meet your needs.

Concerning Father Foley's plan for a massive communications effort, Harold and I have given it further examination and discussion and our reactions are roughly as follows.

1. Harold doubts that the Field Foundation would be particularly interested in this kind of effort, but sees no harm in approaching them. Harold has reason to feel on the basis of his contacts with the Field Foundation that they tend to resist direct grants to our state groups because of their increased support of the SRC program in general.

2. We feel that the general problem of foundation giving makes it extremely unlikely that a grant of the size of that contemplated by Father Foley could be secured by the Alabama Council. Foundations generally act on the principle that funds should be allocated in general proportion to the size and budget of the receiving agency. Rarely, for instance, would a foundation give a grant for $25,000 or so to an agency with a regular budget of $15,000 or so. For this reason, we doubt that it would be practical to include an item providing for a full-time specialist in communications.

3. The program as outlined in the first extemporaneous paper is over-ambitious. There is also some vagueness concerning the specifics of the proposal.

We do feel though, that some more modest effort along these lines would be feasible and useful.

4. We feel that a program involving a request for $3,000 to $10,000 a year can be developed and might meet a favorable response through some foundation.

If we can be of help in developing the final proposal, let us know. We feel at this point, however, that the proposal needs further discussion and refinement by your people.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

1959 HCF ✓ return to PR

PROPOSED LONG-RANGE POLICY FOR COMMUNICATIONS: ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

OBJECTIVE: To achieve the basic goals of the Alabama Council in promoting better understanding and mutual respect and cooperation between citizens of Alabama, and to reach a wider proportion of these people than are reached in the small-group meetings of the local councils, the Alabama Council on Human Relations Board of directors proposes to launch an extensive program of multi-level communications aimed at using both the facilities of the mass media of communications and other forms of communication with a stream of well-designed communiques.

Areas of Action:

The stream of communiques will be concerned with the major current issues in the field of racerelations in Alabama: voting rights and civil rights; the preservation of our public schools; the enlightening of the citizenry on the effects of the economic retardation consequent on the closing of the schools and other types of racial violence; the stepping up of the understanding of the New Southerner -- both the New Negro in the South and the New White Southerner, in order to counteract the distortions of the stereotypes of both the groups in the past. etc etc.

Methods and Needs:

1. The Alabama Council proposes to set up a special communications division either in the state office or as a new "front" organization in case the heat would be too great for the state office.

2. A fulltime or part time communications-arts expert will be employed to draft a long-range program and design shorter-term projects in the field of communications -- including newspaper releases, special material geared to editorial-writers, special mailings to educators, legislators, power-structure figures, economic leaders, businessmen, and -- yes--clergymen as well as laymen of specific areas and churches; other materials for radio, TV, car-cards, billboards, and comparable outlets, all designed mto better the climate of mutual understanding and respect in the state.

3. Consultive services will also be rendered by the communications-arts expert to the local councils to help them meet effectively the problems in communications that they face when confronted with local issues and the building up of local tensions.

4. The advisory committee appointed to assist the communications-director will be enlisted to help him understand the problem-areas that need to be handled and also to aid him with counsel and guidance where controversial materials might possibly endanger lives or create needless tension etc.

5. Other office personnel on a part-time or full-time basis might also be needed -- layout artists, script writer, ad-writers, re-write men etc.

6. Publication under an Alabama imprint of materials prepared elsewhere, but otherwise unacceptable in Alabama because of the "out of state" publication-imprint.

Finances:

1. The Alabama Council Board suggests that specific presentation of these plans and needs be made to foundations interested in supporting new and imaginative and creative approaches to the problem of bettering the spirit of democratic relations between the citizens of the Deep South..

2. Other Sources of finances are also to be explored for more immediate subvention in some of the more readily manageable elements of this program. Aid from SRC for special projects might be solicited while awaiting action from board of foundations which might not meet again until the spring.

3. More of this coming year's budget might also be earmarked for this more urgent type of project than for some of the current projects that are not productive of any effect in the present state of race relations in the state.

PR - Let's discuss
PA - ✓

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 6, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you and Paul indicated in your response to the proposed information program, the next step was to work out a detailed proposal. Father Foley has done just that and I am forwarding to you the copy which I have received this date. We would appreciate any further response that you might have to this more specific paper. One important error is that the proposed recipient organization has not as yet been declared tax-exempt although the papers are on file and we are hoping for some disposition before too many months pass.

The reaction among several key persons who were not at the meeting is that this involves a major change in policy by moving out into the open and thus should be undertaken finally only with the sanction of the Annual Membership Meeting, Feb. 5th, which would not be too late to get it on to Field's spring meeting agenda. Therefore, this proposal does not necessarily represent any final draft. Regardless of this time table we would appreciate any further thoughts you might have. Personally I would and probably will suggest that Alabama's strategic position and potentiality be pointed up within a larger regional context hoping to over-ride the foundation prejudice against "local causes". Also, I would place greater emphasis on the Piedmont section of the state in contrast to a general overall state-wide approach.

Above I referred to reactions among some of our leadership. Some feel that our work should be broadened to include cultivation and mailings to interest or occupational groups with materials orientated to their primary interest with me doing the work and leaving off a good bit of the field work which I have been involved in all along. Actually this would implement only one of Foley's five methods.

I am glad that you have referred Dr. Bruwer to me and I hope that we will have time to chat because I am interested in Africa anyway myself. I'll drop him a note inviting him to visit us and suggest that he might be interested in attending the Annual Meeting on February 6th.

Most cordially,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Encl:

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

EMERGENCY PROJECT IN EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Proposal Summary

Significance: To launch an emergency educational and informational program designed to help save democracy in Alabama during the coming crises in race relations precipitated by the Department of Justice's proposed integration of public schools in Huntsville and by the governor's determination to close schools thus integrated.

Amount: Minimum Grant Requested: $37,000. Maximum Desirable $75,000

Period: Spring 1960 to Spring 1961.

Sponsor: The Alabama Council on Human Relations, a non-profit, educational corporation, 1218 Comer Building, Birmingham, 3, Alabama, formerly affiliated with the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga.

Submitted By:

Rev. Welton Gregory, President ACHR
Methodist Educational Director,
1125 Woodley Road, Montgomery, Alabama

Rev Albert S. Foley SJ

Rev. Albert S. Foley S.J., Ph.D., Vice-President, ACHR
Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama

Endorsed By:

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council

Directed by:

Rev Robert E. Hughes
State Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, 3, Ala.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

EMERGENCY PROJECT IN EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Proposal Statement

1. Background. Almost everyone who comments on the deterioration of relations between Americans of different racial provenience in the South today points to the breakdown of communications as one of the major factors and symptoms of this worsening of the climate of democratic life. Very few whites and Negroes can be brought together in small-group meetings for a promotion of mutual understanding and respect. Large-scale interracial meetings are almost completely abolished. Yet the urgency of resumed communication between the races is apparent to all who are concerned with warding off in the decade of 1960-1970 a twentieth century version of what happened in the decade of 1860-1870.

2. The Immediate Need. In view of the recent declaration of the U.S. Department of Justice that it will press for the integration of schools in Alabama such as the Huntsville public school attended mainly by children of the federally-employed staff of the Redstone Arsenal, and in view of the reiterated declaration by Governor Patterson that he will close the schools that are ordered integrated by the Federal courts, Alabama is faced with a crisis in democracy that is in many ways comparable to that of Arkansas two years ago, and of Alabama itself at the time of the Autherine Lucy riots at the University of Alabama.

There is urgent and immediate need for an Emergency Project in Education for Democracy beamed at the basically sound middle-of-the-road citizens who can be induced by the extremists of the right-wing philosophy to support their undemocratic program, and who could also be induced to support the basic American principles of democracy, if these were presented to them in the right way and with the effective use of all that modern psychology and technology makes available to Americans in the field of communications.

3. The Proposed Solution. With a view to bettering the climate of democracy and promoting mutual understanding, respect and cooperation between Americans of divergent racial background in Alabama, we propose to launch a full-scale emergency program of educational and informational projects known as the "SAVE Movement--to Save Democracy in Alabama."

The S-A-V-E Program will be concerned with presenting the basic principles of American Democracy in their current application to the present issues in the field of race relations in Alabama:

1. The Public School Integration Issue. The program will be aimed at arousing public opinion to protest against the proposed closing of the public school for the sake of avoiding the integration to be ordered by the federal courts. S-A-V-E will be spread across the state in a move to Save Alabama's Vital Education.

2. The Voting Rights Issue. The S-A-V-E program will blanket the state with a plea for the basic rights of American citizens to vote, appealing to the principles of the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, to urge citizens to "Support Alabama's Voter Equality."

3. The Economic Issue. Tied in with the above, and representing the most practical and easily understandable motivation for immediate action, the economic impact of school-closing and worsened race relations will be played upon to stress

urgent need for democratic fair play and respect for the rights of all citizens. The S-A-V-E Program will be projected also as urging citizens to "Save Alabama's Vital Economy."

4. Methods. The following components of the program will indicate the means to be used in the emergency project to educate Alabama citizens for Democracy in the 1960's:

1. A state-wide series of television spot-announcements and specialized programs, expertly designed and technically sound in mass appeal with the full impact of modern know-how in this medium.
2. An even broader series of radio announcements, talks, programs, complete with jingles and catchy tunes, to reach the day-time audience and the rural listeners to radio stations in areas not covered by Television.
3. A well-designed and carefully laid-put series of quarter-page and half-page newspaper ads in the dozen major newspapers which blanket the state, spelling out the meaning of Democracy in the context of the current issues confronting it in the state.
4. A multiple series of highways billboards whose text and illustrations proclaim the message of Democracy's principles as applied to the present crises in education, voter-rights, and economic development.
5. An integrated series of newspaper news-releases, special materials geared to editorial writers and publishers, and to television and radio news commentators, all repeating in a variety of ways this basic appeal to "SAVE Democracy in Alabama."
6. A series of special mailings to educators, school administrators, principals, and teachers, to state legislators, pwoer-structure figures, economic leaders, businessmen, and clergymen and church men and women, all using this medium to appeal for sustained citizen-action in behalf of the SAVE program for Democracy in Alabama.
7. If required, a reprinting of vital and important publications -- leaflets, pamphlets, brochures, and even paperback books on Democracy in America, where the effectiveness of these publications could be enhanced by being issued under an Alabama imprint instead of coming in from out of the state.

In a word, the SAVE Program for Democracy in Alabama will make full use of the vast facilities of the communications industry in Alabama to mend the breakdown of communication between the people of Alabama. It will get the common message of all citizens across to the bulk of the state residents in an effort to promote an enlightened and broad-visioned approach to the crises of Democracy in the coming year.

5. Staff and Personnel Requirements. It is anticipated that the present staff will assume major responsibility for the direction and coordination of the program, but that he will be aided by the recruitment of some part-time and some full-time staff and auxiliary personnel. Preliminary inquiry has revealed the availability of a former Air Force editor of the base magazine at Air University, Maxwell Field Montgomery, Alabama, as the key man for this program. He is familiar both with the Alabama problems and with the communications field.

The basic contacts with newspapers, radio, television, and billboard companies will be made through the "Affiliated Advertising Agencies Network" and its Alabama affiliates.

6. Detailed Budget:

I. The Component Projects of the S-A-V-E Program.

	Minimum Required	Maximum Desirable
1. The Television Coverage Project		
a. Birmingham and Vicinity Coverage:		
WBRC-TV Prime Time for 3 Spots,20 seconds...	$390.00 (10)	$1300.00
Prime Time for 3 Spots,20 seconds...	770.00 (10)	2590.00
Day Time for 3 Spots,20 seconds...	510.00 (10)	1700.00
b. Mobile and Vicinity Coverage:		
WKRG-TV Prime Time for 3 Spots,20 seconds...	324.00 (10)	1080.00
"A" Time for 3 Spots,20 seconds...	229.50 (10)	760.50
"B" Time for 3 Spots,20 seconds...	175.50 (10)	580.50
c. Montgomery and Vicinity Coverage		
WFSA-TV Prime Time for 3 spots,20 seconds...	280.50 (10)	935.00
"A" Time for 3 spots,20 seconds...	204.00 (10)	680.00
"B" Time for 3 spots,20 seconds...	178.50 (10)	595.00
d. Other Television Coverage:		
Miscellaneous Otther stations and spots.....	500.00	2000.00
TV Totals.....	3562.00	c30,000.00
2. The Radio Coverage Project:		
a. Birmingham and Vicinity Coverage:		
WBRC Multi-Spot Plan, 13 Weeks,6 per wk,30 sec:	$ 1,263.00	2,527.20
WAIP 104 Spots, 20 secs ea., AA Time.....:	$ 1,600.00	3,200.00
b. Mobile Area Coverage:		
WKRG 10 Spots per week, 13 weeks @$70.00 per..:	$ 910.00	1,820.00
WKAB 104 Spots,30 secs ea.,@$6.55 ea.....	$ 681.20	1,362.40
c. Montgomery Area Coverage:		
WBAM 100 Spots, 30 secs ea., 10 weeks@$8.00 ea:	$, 800.00	1,600.00
WCOV 104 Spots, 1 minute ea.,$7.50.ea.....	$ 780.00	1,560.00
d. Dothan Area Coverage:		
WAGF 104 Spots, 1 minute ea, @$3.40 ea.....	$ 353.60	707.20
WOOF, 100 Spots, 1 minute @$3.60 ea	$ 360.00	720.00
e. Jackson Area Coverage:		
WTHG: 52 Spots, 1 minute @$3.50 each.....	$ 182.00	362.00
f. Jasper Area Coverage		
WWWB, 60 words, 30 times, @$1.20 each.....	$ 36.00	72.00
g. Monroeville Area Coverage		
WMFC: 104 spots, 1 minute @$2.75 ea.....	$ 286.00	572.00
h. Selma Area Coverage		
WRWJ: 104 Spots,1 minute,@$2.50 each.....	$ 260.00	520.00
l. Troy Area Coverage		
WTBF: 104 Spots, 30 secs ea, @$2.10 each.....	$ 218.40	536.80
m. Wetumpka Area Coverage		
WETU: 1o4 Spots,30 secs., @$3.40 each.....	$ 353.60	707.20
TOTal Radio Cover:	8,083.80	c16,000.00
3. The Newspaper Ad Coverage Project:		
80-Inch Ads in Birmingham News-Post-Herald	816.60	2449.80 Three
Mobile Press-Register.....	332.00	996.00
Montgomery Advertister Journal.....	358.40	1075.20
Tuscaloosa News.....	156.80	470.40
Gadsen Times.....	201.60	604.80
Huntsville Times.....	224.00	672.00
Dothan Eagle.....	168.00	504.00
Anniston Star.....	145.60	435.80
Tri-Cities Daily.....	145.60	435.80
Decatur Daily.....	112.00	336.00
Total Newspapers:	$ 2760.80	c6,000.00

6. Detailed Budget (cont'd)

			Minimum Required	Maximum Desirable
4. The State-Wide Billboard Coverage Project:				
Area:	Number of Billboards regular	illuminated	One Month	Three Months
Birmingham	20	20	$1,580.00	4740.00
Mobile Metropol.	14	10	804.00	2412.00
Montgomery	8	6	490.00	1470.00
Tuscaloosa	6	6	360.00	1060.00
Anniston	5	4	287.00	861.00
Gadsden	7	5	372.00	1116.00
Huntsville	5	5	340.00	1020.00
Dothan	6	2	240.00	720.00
Selma	6	2	215.00	645.00
Decatur	6	1	200.00	600.00
40 Small Towns & Roadside Sites @$25.00			$1,000.00	3,000.00
		Total Billboard:	$5,888.00	c$18,000.00

5. The State-Wide Mailings Project:

TO:			
500	Editors, Editorial Writers, Feature Writers, Reporters.....	$ 75.00	$ 225.00
1000	Legislators, State and County Administrators, City Officials.....	150.00	450.00
4000	School Board members, Principals, Teachers, School employees.....	600.00	1800.00
5000	Clergymen, church-school teachers, religious administrators, etc.....	750.00	2250.00
6000	Large and Small Businessmen, Executives, Key employees.....	900.00	2700.00
10000	United Church Women, League of Women Voters, Legislative Council Members..	1500.00	4500.00
	Total Direc Mail:	$ c4,000.00	c12,000.00

II. Staff and Personnel Expenses of the S-A-V-E Program:

1. Full-Time Director, Communications Arts Expert.....		$8,000.00
Part-Time Director, Idea-Man, or Writer.....	$ 3,000.00	
2. Part-Time Layout Man, Writer, Ad-Man,.....	$ 1,500.00	
3. Office Expenses:		
Secretarial Help	$ 2,500.00	$5,000.00
Printing, &c	1,800.00	3,600.00
Incidentals	1,000.00	2,000.00
4. Travel Expenses for Advisory Board:	500.00	1,000.00
ESTIMATED TOTAL COST:	$37,000.00	$74,000.00

January 8, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I have some sort of vague conference on my pocket calendar in Talladega January 16. I have no clear memory of what this is, but kind of remember reserving the date at the request of someone at your Fall Board Meeting. I understood they would follow it up if the meeting materialized.

I want to go to the Arkansas Annual Meeting on that date, and will do so unless you remember something firm in Talladega that I don't.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Via Air Mail

January 13, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

After considerable examination of Father Foley's proposals, Paul and I have come to the following general conclusions:

1. The proposals represent the kind of bold new approach to the problem that we should all be constantly considering. We tend too much to plow the same furrows year in and year out. We hope that there can be some implementation of some of the very provocative ideas suggested.

2. We feel, however, that in its present form, the proposal is too large and ambitious in concept and in budget to be a realistic possibility for the Alabama Council. It has been our general experience that foundations temper their giving to the size of the recipient agency. In other words, we think it unlikely that a foundation would donate a sum sufficiently large to put the entire project into operation, to an agency with a one-man staff and a central budget of $12,000 to $15,000 a year. We would also question very strongly a project budget providing for a communications expert who would be paid more than the Director of the Alabama Council.

3. We are particularly impressed as are evidently some of your own leadership with the plans for special mailings to key individuals and groups in the state. It would also be quite useful we should think if certain

vital and important publications could be reprinted in the state, as was suggested in Method #7. The idea of a series of news releases and special materials geared to editorial writers, etc. (Method #5) has proven quite useful and worthwhile in SRC's own operation.

4. We are much less convinced of the practicality of those parts of the project that contemplate the use of radio, TV and newspaper advertising. The amount of money needed would be tremendous, yet the saturation effect would be relatively slight in each area. We would also question whether specific attitudes or ideas in human relations can be marketed through newspaper ads and radio jingles. I would respect Father Foley's judgment on such matters but still have considerable doubts, based on my own observations and experience.

5. I think the SAVE idea is catchy and potentially useful. I am not too sure that the blanket approach involving education, voting, economics etc. under the SAVE label would be the best possible tactics. It seems to us that you ought to carefully consider the possibility of reserving the SAVE idea for a one-shot stand on keeping open the public schools, after the pattern of the Women's Education Committee in Little Rock and the Public School Committee in Virginia.

6. I think I would at this time recommend a more modest, scaled down program request, something in the neighborhood of $6,000 per year and providing for only part-time staff assistance. I think that such a proposal would have a stronger chance of favorable action on the part of foundations. We would be happy to do all we could to support such a project request should the Alabama Council wish to submit a proposal along these lines. If successful, the project could and no doubt would grow in size and support.

7. If the Alabama Council disagrees with some of the above thoughts and still wants to carry out some of the radio and TV aspects of the program, we would suggest a partial effort aimed at a city or a small geographical area so that the results could be evaluated before too much money is committed.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

January 18, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Our friend from Selma has come up with some information which he has apparently solicited from one of his friends at Craig Air Force Base. It is an elementary school with 175 students and eight teachers. The principal's secretary says that the school is open to all personnel living on the base. However, no Negroes have in fact attended this school during the past five years. The secretary stated that no Negro has requested enrolment during this time. According to my information, no Negroes now live on or near the base. This is not necessarily any indication of discrimination. Housing is scarce and inadequate near the base, with the result that most personnel, white and Negro, choose to live in town and send their children to Selma schools.

The federal government now contends that there are only two schools run by the federal government exclusively for personnel on military bases which have not yet been desegregated. One is Dyess AFB in Abilene, Texas, and the other is at Huntsville.

Please put in writing the specific information on the place, time, etc. of the Board Meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Jan. 19, 1960

Dear Paul:

To quickly catch up on your questions concerning the annual meeting:

The time is Sat., Feb. 6 at 10:30 A.M. This is the hour at which we open the meeting and as soon as greetings & orientation are out of the way your man's presentation will be first up. We'd like for him to take approx. 30 min. followed by you with approx. 20 min. (10:45-11:15, 11:15-11:35). Then will follow questions and answers (11:35-12:15) after which comes lunch and your man could leave before or after lunch.

As to content - he should treat the general situation & give his account of events & their meaning as he sees it. He's doubly involved at the local & state level of HOPE & it would be good to treat both but I suggest much more emphasis on Norfolk as something of a local case study. I would like to hear precisely from what quarter or individual(s) did the very first initiative come & how it was developed. What

was the role of the V.C.H.R. in Norfolk in which I believe you said he was active. How are the H.O.P.E & V.C.H.R. roles to be contrasted? What were the strategy or tactical mistakes made. Where he fades out you pick up - I would assume this would be somewhere at the state level. You can briefly fill in the V.C.H.R.'s activities & fill in any obvious spots he's omitted, synthesize the Vir. situation in your inimitable way & make application of Virginia's experience to Alabama. One question I have is just when is the proper time (under what conditions generally) for publically something like H.O.P.E. to "spring up" in Ala. assuming such could be premature, and when to start buttonholding individuals quietly outside the A.C.H.R. to insure the arrival of a spontaneous H.O.P.E. on the Ala. scene at the proper time.

The nature of the program conveys the idea of the crucial nature of the education issue, but regardless, ~~should we~~ would we be justified in placing the major

organizational program development emphasis on education or should we try to do a good job on voting and violence during the coming year using this program as something of an ~~emphasis~~ "introduction" to our responsibilities for the crucial period ~~year~~ yet a year or two away at best? Your thoughts on this question would help me try to guide the board.

Now - during the aft. session of the Ann. Mtg., 1:30-3:00, we will have a series of 3 min. reports and would also like for you to give whatever you give on the SRC at this time. O.K.? Also - the previous evening we will need you for the board meeting. We will meet for supper there at Talladega, have an evening session + usually a morning session before the Ann. Mtg. ~~starts~~. Come over on Fri. A.M. & go down w/ me that afternoon. Any questions?? Thanks for your cooperation, slave.

Cordially, Bill

January 22, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

For some reason you still refuse to tell me where the damn meeting is going to be. This would be of considerable help in getting me there, and enabling me to direct the guest speaker.

If you really feel it would be helpful, I will try and come in time for the Friday evening session of the Board. Jim Brewer, however, had planned to come to Atlanta and travel with me to the meeting. Actually, it would be good for him to be exposed to the Board meeting and I will suggest this to him. If he is unable to make the meeting, shall I wait and bring him over early Saturday morning, or shall I come on Friday and tell him to make his way to the place of the meeting, wherever that is? There is such a thing as carrying security precautions too far.

The organization with which Jim is connected is not HOPE. It is the Virginia Committee for Public Schools and the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools. Since the operation of the Committee was of considerable value, they are rather sensitive about being referred to as HOPE, which is the name of another organization in another state which has yet to prove itself.

Your suggestions for the morning's presentations are quite satisfactory. I feel that you should emphasize such matters as voting and violence in addition to a discussion of the Virginia experience. It would seem that Alabama is

is still some time away from this kind of crisis, regardless of Huntsville.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Jan. 25, 60

My dear Mr. Rilling

I keep getting these nasty letters from you moaning about not being informed of the "secret" location of the annual and/or Board meetings. I kindly refer you to: announcements made in your presence at board meetings on Oct. 3 and Dec. 5, 1959 to which you had been informed as holding a perpetual invitation; Board memoranda dated Oct. 22, 1959 and Jan. 20, 1960, sections "III" and "next meeting" respectively; and postal card dated Jan. 22.

In the event none of these breached the iron curtain or certain stone craniums turn page→

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

If you can get together with Jim Brewer Friday, the 5th, maybe he can lead you over here and I can take both of you in tow and we can go down to the Bd. mtg. that afternoon, preferably leaving here around 4:00 P.M. We'd like to have both of you at the Bd. mtg. if it can be worked out, but you alone if

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

necessary.

Give me what inf. you might have on him — name of his local church, role he played or something that will make people want to come to hear him — Anything to offset your influence. — BH

January 28, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

After reading your nasty and defamatory letter of January 25, I have decided that I will not at this or any other time attend any meeting with which you have any connection. Neither will I permit Jim Brewer to attend any such meetings.

I knew the meeting was at Talladega. I knew that. What I have been trying to find out is where in Talladega. What do I do, stand in the middle of the sidewalk and ask everybody I see where the ACHR is meeting?

I think we will not come first to Birmingham and ride over with you because it would prolong the driving that day. I have not heard from Jim, but I hope we can drive directly from Atlanta to Talladega, arriving in time for the Board meeting.

As for biographical data, Jim holds degrees from the University of Toledo, Harvard Divinity School and Tufts. He is minister of the Unitarian church of Norfolk. He was one of the organizers and first chairman of the Norfolk Committee for Public Schools. When several of the local communities organized the state-wide Virginia Committee for Public Schools, Jim was elected to the state board of directors. Jim is currently an officer of the Norfolk Council on Human Relations and was one of its organizers. He has recently been elected a state vice-president of the VCHR. Last year he received the Helmes-Weatherly Award for Social Justice, a national award.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 28, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Rocky:

A couple of bits that you might include under "cooperation with other groups and agencies" of the suggested agenda for the State Staff Meeting. First, Federal governmental resources or potentiality and how a state council on human relations can utilize or stimulate such (the President's Committee on Government Contracts, the President's Committee on Government Employment Policies, potential government control over school admission policies on military reservations and in government subsidized federal impact areas). Secondly, Contact with liberal congressmen (what types of information would be useful to them, who receives such with discretion, etc. This information would be most useful to Negro action groups and we ought to have it on hand for our own purposes.)

Looks like a good meeting from your outline.

Cordially yours,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS February 2, 1960

PERIODIC FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE PERIOD: OCT., NOV., DEC., JAN., 1959-60

INCOME

From SRC	$ 2100.00
Memberships	225.60
NEW SOUTH Subscriptions	(In Memberships)
Contributions	1330.81
Sale of Literature	11.80
Miscellaneous	29.73
TOTAL INCOME	$ 3697.94

EXPENDITURES

Salaries	$ 2771.54
Travel	441.14
Rent	250.00
Electricity	8.60
Phone & Telegraph	196.49
Miscellaneous	27.28
Office Supplies	316.40
NEW SOUTH Subscriptions to SRC	116.00
Housing Allowance	333.32
Social Security	87.94
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$ 4548.71

- * -

Balance on Hand (Beginning of Period)	$ 2654.70
Income For Period	+ 3697.94
Total	6352.64
Expenditures For Period	- 4548.71
Balance	1803.93
Plus Balance Beginning Fiscal Year, February 1, 1959	+ 751.69
Total	2555.62
Minus $2500 Transferred to Second Account (Reserve for 1960-61 Fiscal Year)	- 2500.00
NET BALANCE	$ 55.62

Thurs. aft.

Dear Paul,

Thanks so much for your trip over last Friday. I felt it was helpful in a number of ways & hope you didn't feel it a waste of time. Make your meeting O.K.?

I've just had a call from the program chairman of the East Piedmont Dist. which meets in Talladega on either Sat. May 7 or 14 and they'd like for you to speak to them on the sit-ins Southwide, etc. I would also attend & the date would be left up to you. I hate these meetings that take my Saturdays - I've got 'em for the next two and would prefer the 14th in order to get one Sat. at home to cut grass! Don't exert yourself on this & if inconvenient I can fill in.

Let me know by return mail if possible on this & I'll meet with the Sylacauga folks on Thurs. to plan this meeting & also what we're to do about the Klan sign litigation. Anything in the way of ideas on the latter would be appreciated. I'll have to leave on Thurs. A.M.

I've just had a call from Harrison Salisbury in N.Y.C. asking for details, incidents etc. to underpin his story in event of need. Ask Harold what he thinks. If negative, better call. — Bob

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

February 15, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

This is to remind you that you were going to call Father Foley on Monday and then call Rev. Hughes to let him know the results of your conversation. As soon as this is done, please let him know as he will be in South Alabama Friday of this week and will need to set up a meeting if one is needed.

Sincerely yours,

Annette

(Miss) Annette Cloud
Secretary to Rev. Hughes

ac

HCF ✓ Sarah

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

February 22, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for the fine Staff Conference which you set up for us week before last. Personally, it was most helpful to me in the way of providing ideas and encouraging to hear about progress elsewhere. I hope you'll be successful in establishing this as an annual event. Please tell Harold that I am suggesting such without any degree of coercion from Harry Jones, and that if he submits a similar request, it will be purely spontaneous.

I hope that what turned out to be an inquiry by Father Foley has not done too much permanent damage to Harold's relations with the Field Foundation. As we proceed to formulate a formal application within the next few weeks presumably, it would be helpful if we could have the benefit of Max Hahn's initial reactions and questions that Max conveyed to Harold in his inquiry. I will use such in any way you deem proper in guiding the committee's thinking. I will possibly get down to Mobile later this week, but this jaunt is still questionable. Let me know by Thursday if there are any loose ends on the other matter that I would need to try to clear up.

Saturday I received a copy of Jim Brewer's address to the Annual Meeting and within the next few days I am hopeful of having Paul Rilling's outline in hand as well.

I still have in mind my offer to pass on the bits of information which Dow Krkpatrick's associate pastor gave me, but as yet I haven't had a chance to transcribe my notes.

Keep up the good work.

Most cordially,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

February 25, 1960

Mr. Bob Hughes, Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Will try to send you the names you requested concerning NEW SOUTH in the very near future. We are rather strapped here. Because of the lunch room situation I have been up to North Carolina looking around.

Your request to Les concerning L-Reports should have come to me since I distribute these reports. It will be a little difficult to supply you with these addresses, but we will be able to do this as soon as things quiet down a little.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec

file

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President
DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer
REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

February 22, 1960

Mr. John Constable
NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

A couple of note I made during your presentation at the Staff Conference reminds me of some assistance which you offered us.

First, could you send us the names of those "New South" subscribers in Alabama who are not members of the A. C. H. R? I understand there are just a handful.

Secondly, could you send me one of your "New South" flyers which ~~you~~ are designed to encourage renewals in order that we can make a determination as to the practicality of sending these along with our expiration notices here?

Many thanks for your assistance on these two matters. Good to see you week before last. Keep up the good work.

Most cordially,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Confidential

Mar. 1, 1960

Dear Harold:

Here's a quick report on background that I couldn't have given over the phone.

Friday, a few Myles College students were ready to go to the lunch counters but delayed until Monday to get more support and numbers. At 11:00 Sun. night I was called to a meeting of four persons to help give the pres. of the student body advice. He was in a dilemma and was desperately seeking counsel.

He didn't like the lunch counter idea but they would have to have something to capture their enthusiasm + imagination. Petitions for library desegregation, etc., etc. were discarded until finally the "Vigil For Freedom" - praying round the clock as long as they filibuster around the clock - seemed the best way out. From this idea, conceived initially as a means of diverting from lunch counters + averting violence, it was felt that if other vigils would spring up the mass movements would secure a focal point, it would be directed at a more basic and strategic objective and the moral force and spiritual aspects would be given fuller play. Some civil rights legislation is bound to be passed but there is question as to how restricted it will be by amendments. The difference between the present number of stamach backers + a 2/3 cloture vote might easily be determined by

the amount of impatience generated against filibusters because thousands of people across the South & nation are standing in freezing weather, rain, etc. night and day as long as they persist. It could be something like fasting - there's power in unmerited suffering.

International implications, although most unlikely, conceivably could develop by visits & expressions of concern abroad for removing this stigma on the "symbol of democracy and freedom throughout the world".

Nobly conceived, possibly crushed. Have tried without success to contact that person who would know if there would be any further student efforts from Myles. Shuttlesworth's group was not involved + has no plans to be involved. They took up some "bond money" at their mass meeting last night to make available if needed.

My role has been rendering advice and limited press relations. Only a handful of persons know I have been involved in any way so far.

The aft. Birm News mentions the "mild demonstration" and makes no reference to their goals or statement. The names + addresses of each was published and police stated that they wouldn't "question" anyone else similarly involved. Intimidation. None were actually arrested or abused directly.

Enclosed are a couple of the statements they handed out to the few who came by before they were picked up. At least Time + N.Y. Times have something on it.

END

VIGIL FOR FREEDOM

In view of the plight of millions of Negroes throughout the South, who hold little hope of participating in American democracy through voting, we students of Birmingham announce that we are launching a "VIGIL FOR FREEDOM."

We covenant together that members of our group will maintain a round-the-clock prayer vigil in behalf of democracy, fair play and voting rights as long as our representatives in Washington continue their present attempts to deny us our rights.

We will remain in this public place night and day regardless of weather as many weeks as our prayers are needed.

There is no hate in our hearts for anyone, only love for all men and devotion to the principles of Christian brotherhood.

We appeal to others throughout the South, the nation and the world to join us in this vigil that America might truly become a beacon light of freedom to those struggling against oppression throughout the world.

March 9, 1960

Via Air Mail

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We received today a letter from Max Hahn of the Field Foundation relative to the application for assistance from the Alabama Council. Hahn's letter was specifically in answer to a letter from Harold of February 16, indicating our understanding that this was a tentative application in the process of revision.

Hahn says, however, that the special committee of the Field Foundation (on, I presume, race relations) was interested in learning whether or not the SRC "acting as the parent of the Alabama Council" might wish to submit a revised appeal. He goes on to point out that time is very short, that the deadline for the mid-April board meeting of the Field Foundation is past, and that "to receive consideration, the revised Alabama application would have to reach us promptly." This would seem to indicate that Hahn would try to get it on the agenda for the April board meeting if it is in hand shortly even though the formal deadline has passed.

We continue to have trouble clarifying for people like Max Hahn the relationship between SRC and state councils. Of course we could not act as the parent of the Alabama Council, or submit an appeal in its name. Nor does Harold feel it compatible with your status as an independent Council for him to "endorse" formally any application for assistance from the Alabama Council.

Hahn's letter does seem to give definite encouragement, however, and I would like to see the Alabama Council make

some effort to submit a revised appeal now. If the appeal were of such a nature that Harold could conscientiously do so, he would be glad to write a letter saying nice things about it, by way of an "independent judgment."

The problem is, of course, in the hands of your officers and board. If you can develop a revised appeal quickly, I would hope you would let us see it before submitting it to the Field Foundation. In an effort to indicate the kind of approach that would meet with maximum support here, I am enclosing a sketchy outline of some ideas. You will remember that we have always been particularly sceptical of mass media spot announcements of a general educational type. Although the budget indicated is for one year, it would certainly do no harm to continue the three year element in your request. I doubt, however, that a foundation would be likely to approve more than a one year grant for what is in effect a pilot effort.

Harold is in agreement with the general approach of this outline.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sn

COMMUNICATIONS PROJECT, ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Objective: To reach influential Alabama leaders in various fields with information and interpretive material concerning racial problems and current tensions; to counter, to some degree, the prevailing ~~[illegible]~~ and pervasive extremist interpretation of all such developments; to approach the public directly through the use of mass media in special crisis situations where public understanding is critical.

Methods:

1. Preparation and dissemination of a series of news-releases and special materials for editorial writers, newspapers, radio and TV news directors.

2. Implementation of a research and fact-finding effort to determine the accurate facts concerning local and state problem situations.

3. Special mailings to educators, school administrators, principals and teachers, state legislators, clergymen, civic leaders, economic leaders, etc. Materials would be selected and prepared with a view to the interests and competence of each such group.

4. Reprinting and circulating under an Alabama label important articles, pamphlets and other important materials of particular value.

5. The use, in one or two special situations, of television and radio to inform and advise public opinion. An example of such strategic use of the mass media would be the recent television series in Atlanta, Ga., featuring various school superintendents from desegregated communities. Other examples would be spot appeals for negotiation and public understanding of current lunch counter demonstrations, etc.

Budget (per year)

Part time project director, public relations specialist	$3,000
Reproduction and postage	4,000
Mass media special efforts	3,000
Total	$10,000

Hes ~
Paul Rilling

March 28, 1960

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

We regret the confusion we have caused you concerning the prospective application for a grant from the Alabama Council on Human Relations. In order to erase any question still lingering at this time, this is to inform you that we will not be submitting an application for the consideration of your board at its April meeting.

In view of the fact that we do expect to submit a request for funds for the fall meeting we would appreciate your informing us as to the agenda deadline for that session.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

BR

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Apr. 13, 60

Dear Harold,

I wasn't able to reach Paul R. late last night so hope he can come over upon his return.

One of our major weaknesses is the lack of an attorney committed to render immediate legal assistance when needed. Arrests of myself or persons attending a local meeting are one thing ~~which~~ but more important is the need for someone who has researched relevant

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

law and is prepared to recover ~~in~~ any records seized on short notice by going into federal court for a restraining order on the NAACP vs. Ala. Supreme Court decision precedent.

I have pressed Dave Vann, local attorney on the bd., as far as possible on this but without commitment so far. Paul might be able to help impress the need on him.

Then there are the

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

problems of general security, public relations, strategy, etc. I'd like to talk over with someone.

The Courier funds didn't come up at the B'ham Sou. College Bd. of Trustees meeting last Friday as expected but the meth. Laymen's Union is spreading rumors that the NAACP + Communist Party are paying his church $1,000 a month to keep him there for his integration work. They also say that

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Jimmy has been closely associated with and has had dinner in the home of a known "Communist fronter". (He did come out to the house last fall for dinner once & how they found out I'll never know.) They've also found out that several students have attended our meetings during the academic year.

With the easy access of the M. L. U. to the pages of the B'ham News along

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

with Bull Connor things could bust wide open any time.

Sent

I expect to hear from you tomorrow on the quarterly allotment. Hope they haven't gotten this too. Someone is intercepting mail between here & Selma & I've gotten the Postal Inspectors on that. There's a lot of noise on my phone and I've had the telephone company to run a check on my line. There are known Klansmen

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

in the local phone company union.

This morning it was announced that the local ~~dist~~ U.S. attorney had asked the F.B.I. to investigate a police shooting of a negro in Helena near here. This is a case I reported to the local F.B.I. two weeks ago followed by a prompting letter to Justice Dept. by our local chairman last week. Now I want them to move on our local chairman's arrest case.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Haven't seen the Salisbury piece. The "N. Y. Times" doesn't arrive here until Thurs. or Fri. Typical! Please send the Baker County piece by Claude.

Sent

One of our white members in Sylacauga, a fine church lady, couldn't take any more after the Houston KKK episode & smeared the local Klan sign with yellow paint and wasn't arrested in hours. She tried

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

to get Art & Charles interested in financing a preliminary research of the sign's legality but so far unsuccessfully. All the local Jews are too busy ~~now~~ selling shoes and dresses for Easter to even talk for a moment!

Finally, I need $100 to keep a negro sitdowner and two-time demonstrator in school at Miles Coll. He was fired from his job after his arrest. ~~He's~~ the president of their student

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

body. Any ideas? It's needed within two or two and a half weeks.

That's about all for now. Best wishes.

Cordially,
Bob

P.S. - McMillan called from Aiken for some Selma "posse" clippings. He's doing a piece for "Look" on how much time is left or something along that line.

April 19, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I could come to your district meeting on May 7. I might be able to come on May 14, but will not know for a few days. There is going to be a consultation at Frogmore, South Carolina on one of the last three week-ends in May. The date is not yet finally set. If you must know immediately, best you choose the 7th. I would suggest if possible you wait a few days and let me se if I can clear the 14th. I doubt that I will have any Saturday off in May.

I don't see how you could refuse to cooperate with Salisbury in the pulling together of details in his behalf. Let's hope that such will not be needed in the last analysis.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

April 20, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Pmt 4/21 O.K.

I could use ten copies of the latest sit-in report to good advantage. I have just received a request for four of these from the Birmingham Council from persons who need such information very much. Also, permit me to renew my request for 35 copies of the "L" reports as they are published. The ten which I normally receive are enough for our Executive Committee but I would like them for our Board as well. When I have circularized the Board with them in the past, I have received many good reports. Many thanks.

I am glad that you will be with us on the 7th. I was just wondering if you could arrange to come a day or two before to do some of the work you mentioned here in Birmingham, such as contacting George Campbell and Cooke at the "Birmingham News". My own schedule is clear right through there and I could arrange to move with you. If you can come even if it is only for a day, I would like to get a group of interested local members and ministers together for an informal chit-chat and a fill in by you on sit-ins as well as any suggestions that you might have for a situation such as ours. A better perspective might be helpful.

In the meantime I am looking for a couple of Atlanta Council workshops programs for the 29th. Thanks for all your help.

Cordially yours,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Memo

* Section Sent to Tyler, Justice Dept - Washington - 5/13/60

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

May 11, 60

Dear Harold:

One tip on the current Justice Dept. investigation of Wilcox County. * Rev. James Reece, formerly of Camden the county seat, is one of the very very few negroes who ever attempted to register there and he probably made more attempts than anyone else. He is well educated, articulate and his testimony would probably be the best of any person available for the 1954-1958 period.

He testified secretly to the Civil Rts. Commission in

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Montgomery, was seen there by Wilcox County Officials, and immediately afterward decided to accept a pastoral call in Knoxville.

I have been unable to get a direct line on the church except that it's the "campus" church adjacent to the Presbyterian U.S.A. negro college in Knoxville.

I would suggest that you get the name of the church from someone in Atlanta and forward the information on to your contact in Justice. He is probably the only negro

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

with this unique experience who can testify with impunity and I just hope that with a slight shove the F.B.I. will try to track him down wherever he is at present.

Thanks for your help on this.

Cordially,
Bob

P.S. - Just a reminder of the need for some kind of guide of a practical sort on civil rights laws by some of us laymen in the field.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

we aren't lawyers, but nevertheless, I for one, frequently come across apparent civil rights violations and in gathering the facts for reporting the allegation I could easily overlook a key condition which would be decisive as to whether or not M. F. Ryan's Office would authorize an investigation.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

May 31, 60

Dear Sarah,

In response to your memo - Miss Cloud is taking a portion of her vacation and as I don't even hunt & peck, the "acceptable" quarterly reports will have to wait until sometime after her return next week.

The report on the matching funds drive will be mailed tomorrow as soon as I can complete tabulations on income that has come in at the

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

last minute to meet the June 1 deadline. I now am shaken with the realization that I not only can't spell but I can't add either. Things have come to a screeching halt with Miss Cloud gone and I'm beginning to wonder which one of us would go if we ever had a personnel cut-back.

From the regularity of your memos, etc. you seem to have things very well in hand in spite of Paul's claims of indispensability!

Best, BH

Dear Max:

June 2, 1960

Thanks you for being so thoughtful to share with me the details of your regretable Montgomery experience through the copy of your memo to Jean. I'm sorry it had to happen to you at all, but especially in Ala.

You may recall that an almost identical incident happened to Glen Smiley here in Dec. 1958 except that they went through confidential papers and reports in his brief case, photostatted them as I recall, and released some of the sensitive portions to the press. As I said to Glen at the time, Max, I wonder if it might not be a philosophical as well as tactical mistake to "cooperate" with evil to the extent of voluntarily accompanying officers and submitting in a limited way to interrogation. I recognize the opportunity inherent in such in being able to witness directly to those who need it most, and you seem to have done

an admirable job in this connection, but I wonder if it isn't incumbent upon us to stand on those legal rights which reflect moral principle in such situations when the issue is squarely joined and leave it to others to violate or compromise ethics as they might choose.

Perhaps I'm all wet and at any rate there's no telling what I would do in a similar situation. Remember, this is the after thought!

There is mixed legal opinion here as to whether or not forced ~~detention~~ detention or accompaniment actually constitutes arrest even though charges are never filed, etc. whereas yours was not ~~necessarily~~ involuntary usually it is and this practice of intimidation through identification and detainment is fairly common in at least Montgomery and Birmingham.

Should any group consideration of the larger problem of law enforcement practices in some of the more tense areas be scheduled as you and the college committee recommend I would like to have the opportunity to participate. Not because I have ideas, but because I NEED 'em!

Cordially,

Bob

C.C. - Harold Fleming

Letter reopened by REH

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

FATHER ALBERT S. FOLEY, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
DR. CARL LANDES, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
DR. R. D. CROCKETT, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Dear Harold, June 2, '60

Enclosed is a copy of my response to Max Hierich's recent memos. It is such police practices that really creates negro tension - far more than Klan activity, etc. Wish I had some fresh ideas or a gimmick, but I know ADL pamphlets aren't the answer. Some thought in depth along new line seems to me to be in order.

Yesterday I spent the afternoon with a B'ham man who was released from a psychiatric ward last Friday after being committed, rightfully or wrongful I can't tell, on Apr. 24 th. If any portion of his story is true Bull Connor among others is in for trouble. It's so fantastic that it's unbelievable but there may be

something to it, but I lack the means of documenting it or evaluating his emotional stability. Says he mailed sixteen letters on Apr. 18 & 21 to Att. Gen. Rogers, B'ham F.B.I., Treasury Dept., narcotics Div. & Pres., Sen. Douglas, etc. and only one got through. He's just returned from Washington. At the same time the letters were mailed he called Washington several times and is convinced ~~to~~ now that on most he never got outside of B'ham being routed to the B'ham Pol. Dept.!

Oh brother.

Harold, was surprised and further concerned to see some confirmation of your ~~statements~~ about the Justice Dept. in Robert S. Allen's syndicated column of May 31. If you didn't see it get a copy & if needed I'll loan you mine. As soon as this fair haired young deputy is confirmed next Aug. it will be a matter of just a few months before he's out & the Democrats move in. This Eisenhower-Rogers expediency ought to be made a political issue. Any possibilities?

Cordially, Bob

PR ✓

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date June 1, 1960

To: Jean Fairfax

From: Max Heirich Max

Subject: Civil Liberties Problems in Montgomery

Some of you have already received my memo, or our college committee minutes describing current police harrassment and violation of personal rights in Montgomery, Alabama. In addition to developments in Montgomery we are aware of severe problems in Memphis and Birmingham. Several members of our regional committees and of our regional staff are concerned about what may be a growing trend as tensions increase across the South.

We wonder if there now should be an inter-agency effort to bring influence upon police systems which currently intimidate and harrass individuals within their communities. A.D.L. has published a police guide on dealing with riot situations. Perhaps this could be a springboard for concerted action, including contacts with national and regional police associations and sympathetic police in other southern communities who might bring individual influence to bear on the situation.

Obviously we are "feeling in the dark" for a way to get hold of the problem. Reactions and suggestions will be appreciated. We, here, are concerned that we not turn our backs on these communities, but find ways to be relevant.

Our college committee, after thorough discussion of this problem, in relation to our now-cancelled Montgomery project, urges exploration of new approaches to the situation. We wonder whether those suggestions might be an approach, to what extent they are being tried now. Most of all, we hope AFSC can find concrete ways to maintain contact and fellowship with those individuals currently undergoing this harrassment.

cc Steve Cary
Bob Hughes ✓
Harold Fleming ✓
Will Hartzler

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

June 3, 60

Dear Sarah,

Enclosed are a couple of clips from today's B'ham News. May I suggest that someone send the editorial to Sylvan Meyer who I believe is in Gainesville with the suggestion that he might want to write the editorial page editor, "Red" Holland, a letter. They're old friends.

The clip on voting really takes the cake. Clarke Sitton or someone might be interested in picking it up. Don't let anyone overlook the recommendation request of the 2nd from last par. Cordially,

Bob

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

June 20, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

According to indications here there is little chance that I will be able to get over this week and offhand I cannot tell just when such would be feasible. I will probably have to go to Montgomery Wednesday or Thursday as our local leadership there is wrestling over the question of princple vs. discretion concerning a public protest re: the Reddick affair. Part of the problem is that at both the state and local levels our top leadership is involved at the College which might set them up for an expansion of the same attack. Personally I have vague qualms about Reddick. You might possibly recall a visit Fred and Emory made to Montgomery in 1956 in which part of their purpose was to convey some caution to Dr. Trenholm and myself.

It is my understanding that Attorney Walter Brower of Birmingham has for many years served as legal counsel and arbitrator for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, perhaps as far back as the 1930's. This same Walter Brower, according to information reaching me last week, has been in times past an active Klansman and close to Attorney Grover S. McLeod of Birmingham, who was a key person in Kasper's defense at Clinton, Tennessee. It is told that he worked on this case along with several other Birmingham lawyers and might possibly have gone up for the trial itself. Last November or December he was appointed by Gov. Patterson as chairman of Jefferson County Board of Registrars. According to Negro voting league leadership he is regarded as unfriendly to Negro registrations and recently initiated a purge of both whites and Negroes. The purge of the Negroes is along the lines set forth by McLeod in his 1958 publication, "A Study Of Voter Registration In Jefferson County, Alabama", published by the Citizens Press, the publishing agency for the Jefferson County Citizens Council. He is the source of rather deep concern among Negroes here for obvious reasons. I wonder if he is still retained by the I. L. G. W. U. and if they would be interested in at least his current activities. Would you be interested in bringing some of this to their attention or raising appropriate questions or is such too closely kin to the matter involved in the previous paragraph?

Warmest regards.

Cordially,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Mr. Harold Fleming
Atlanta 3, Georgia - 2
June 20, 1960

P.S. Enclosed is a clipping on the recent new development here. Sent to Research

Newsclip from Montgomery Advertiser June 18, 1960 Sent to Research Ask "Birmingham Negroes Ask Schools, Park Integration"

PR
Tyc
Return

July 1, 1960

Reverend Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

This is a belated reply to your letter of June 20th.

As to Reddick, I have seen no need to get into a depth analysis of the man. The central point of this contriversy is, and should remain, the unfair and improper process by which he was discharged. He was clearly entitled to a hearing and an opportunity to answer the damaging charges against him. What I have read in the papers hardly constitutes proof, or even reliable evidence, to support these charges. But, even if there were such evidence, Reddick would be entitled to a full and fair hearing.

As to Attorney Brower, Al Kehrer, regional director of ILGWU, is an SRC board member and a good man in every respect. The next time I have an opportunity to talk with him, I'll be glad to raise the matter. Meanwhile, if you can give me any more information about Brower and his activities, that will be helpful.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 13, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Congratulations to you and Dottie on the continued growth of your family unit. A reading of your recent garbled note seems to indicate that you are now the parents of new triplets, three baby girls. You had better purchase that new station wagon fairly soon before it becomes already too small.

We are encouraged here with the fine level of the reports and newsletters coming out of the Montgomery group. I hope that I am on the mailing list for all of their publications. I trust that the newsletters represent an increasingly active local group in various directions.

Have the New York Times articles etc. been widely circulated in Alabama or only the news of answers, law suits, etc. Do you feel that the impact of these articles has been useful?

I was interested and gratified to note the recent petition concerning the desegregation of the Mobile golf course. Give me more facts on this when you get around to it. Who was behind the petition, what action was taken on it if any, etc.

Congratulations to you and Father Foley on the rather surprising success of your recent financial effort.

I note in your Board Memorandum of May 13 that you have recently completed an audit of your records. We would appreciate

it if we could have a copy of the audit for our files. As of this year, we are requiring all state groups to complete an annual audit and provide us with copies of same.

Let me know when you would like to start planning the leadership workshops for the fall and how I can help on this.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

FATHER ALBERT S. FOLEY, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
DR. CARL LANDES, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
DR. R. D. CROCKETT, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

July 22, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Concerning some of the questions which you had in your letter of July 13th:

I am going to try to get a wide inter-chapter distribution of chapter newsletters including that of the Montgomery group, of course, and in doing this I will endeavor to secure copies for you. Is this your desire?

As to the usefulness of the New York Times article, they have been of paramount service and value. Immediately after they were published the Birmingham News and Post-Herald naively published them verbatim on the front pages thus giving them wide circulation throughout North and Central Alabama. In doing this whites learned a great deal about their community and state - facts, developments and implications and interpretations - which they had never received elsewhere at least in so compact a form. It aroused a great deal of antagonism, of course, but nevertheless they were informed and probably 99% of the readers admitted to themselves if to no one else that practically everything there was true. Practically none of the "answers" to the article that have been published countered specific points effectively being more confined to contesting some of the broader interpretations because the facts could not be dismissed all of which together provided a tragically needed confrontation for a period discussion of a situation which they had generally been successful in ignoring.

Enclosed is a copy of the requested audit of our records for your files. Presumably another will be out sometime in February for this year.

I don't know who got up the Mobile Golf Course petition but will pass on additional information as I might have it. I will use this as an excuse to write Joe Langan personally.

When I can get a clearer picture of the possibilities of the leadership workshop, by all means, I will talk turkey with you folks.

Mr. Paul Rilling
Atlanta 3, Georgia -
July 22, 1960

I am endeavoring to expedite the advice in your first paragraph and get a station wagon for my family soon. At your age, buddy, you had better make haste in requiring one yourself.

Cordially yours,

BEH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

P.S. I've had a couple of nice letters recently from Alice and Bill Williams. Sure am glad to hear that Bill is finally in the black.

REH:ac

Encl:

P.P.S. - Somewhere I seem to recall a request for our current board list which you should have received in late June in the form of a board memo. Let me know if you did not receive it.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

July 29, 1960

Sarah - Please make 2 copies - one for our files + one for me. HCF

HCF ✓ → SM (return memo to Bob) ✓

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is the one copy I have of the memorandum which I sent to Harrison Sallisbury in his request for information around April 25th for the purpose of substantiating his material. When I mentioned this to Harold he registered interest in it so I am sending it over for you and him to look over according to your desires but please return it soon.

It was accompanied by a cover letter in which I expressed gratitude for the two articles, gave my interpretation of their influence and suggested that we were probably under a moral obligation to assist in substantiating the content of the articles in court if necessary. Bear in mind that the memo is based upon the one article on Birmingham and is written in the same outline as he wrote. I expressed the hope that the names of specific organizations in the "Fragmentation of the Middle Ground" section not be released for any publication without checking with me.

Most cordially,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Encl:

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August 11, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have tentative plans to be in Atlanta tomorrow afternoon in connection with "ecclesiastical arrangements" and, of course, would hope to see you if convenient.

How about asking Sarah to get me a room at the Atlantan or some similar priced hotel. I enjoyed my visit out to your house last time, but it would probably be better for you to plan to sleep in your own bed this time as there is some chance that I will have to be at Clark College Friday evening. I'll be returning sometime Saturday morning. Tentatively, let's plan to have dinner together Friday evening if you have no other plans.

See you tomorrow.

Cordially,

REH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Ben Segal could advise + possibly help. Also, HCF ✓ Idens?
Paul Christopher? HCF SM

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

August 19, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have just returned from a meeting with our Muscle Shoals chapter and they are going to concern themselves for the foreseeable future primarily with economic discrimination. They have established a pattern of discrimination in admittance to apprenticeship ranks in at least the electrical workers field of the Muscle Shoals Branch of TVA, which pattern appears to be maintained through some degree of collusion between the IBEW local and management.

They have asked me to assist them in securing authoritative advice and counsel as to the appropriate way of building up an airtight case and the appropriate channels through which complaints would be sent. Who can you refer me to who might speak at a local chapter or executive committee meeting giving us some confidential counsel along these lines? There is little sympathy in merely filing a simple complaint with the Knoxville office of TVA due to the fact that such efforts in the past have been referred back to the local level for investigation by those who are involved in the discrimination. I would assume that there might be several resources to which to turn in labor as well as government.

I wonder if you could spare us 50 copies of Will Campbell's sermon which you've recently published? I think it's topnotch and those with whom I have shared my single copy have all expressed a desire to get one themselves. Our State Ministers Conference could make excellent use of it. Bill us if there is any charge.

Many thanks for your help.

Cordially,

REH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

cc: Dr. Edgar Moreno

Dr. Walter Brown

ACF PR

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Aug. 22, 60

Dear Paul,

That which we anticipated now appears to be progressing toward a reality. This afternoon at 3:00 I received a phone call from the asst. solicitor of the "Bessemer Cut Off" Division of Jefferson County stating that I could expect a subpoena to be served on me in the next day or two in connection with the grand jury investigation of the Ballisbury series.

This could be an order calling upon me to produce certain records such as supposed to the solicitor

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

correspondence with the Jim
or Sallisbury that might be in
my possession at any
time between now and
Aug. 29 when the grand jury
session opens; or it might
be an order for me to be present
for testimony and/or present
records on or after Aug. 29 the
to the ~~of~~ grand jury itself.

At any rate there appears
to be a strong possibility that
we will be subjected to: (1) nega-
tive publicity ~~within~~ anytime from
now on through the 29th and
afterwards, and (2) legal prosecution
such as indictment on criminal
libel charges.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

I have been consulting with Dave Vann, a young attorney here in the building who is on our board and he is now doing some research on it. However, we cannot necessarily expect Dave to go far on this as he is but an employee of a large conservative law firm. Legal counsel may become a major problem but it's too early to tell yet.

For the present we'll keep all of these developments quiet as we can until we are able to determine our legal posture

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

better.

I may be sending you some more gifts for old time's sake as an expression of my fond admiration!

So here's the latest as I have it and I wanted you fellas to be brought up to date as well.

Cordially,
Bob

HCF
SM

Mon., Aug. 29, 60

Dear Paul:

John Schulter just came by - apparently quite a guy + one which I'd like to talk to in some depth. He's invited me to dinner tonite so perhaps I'll have that opportunity.

As of 3:30, now, still no subpoena and it's now been one week since the asst. solicitor called to say I would be served. They may have been wanting to scare me out of town and then announce that I was avoiding the subpoena, but now that the grand jury ~~to~~ session has commenced, this morning, they might have dug up enough to attempt to get an indictment for criminal libel. I believe Dave will stick by me throughout even though it will create backfire for him in the event open legal defense is necessary.

were not idle but I won't go into any detail concerning what preparations were able to make. As yet no final decision has been made on which of two or three general courses we should take.

So far I've sent you about ten or twelve gifts in regular business envelopes and larger manila ones. On about ~~Thurs.~~ ~~or possibly~~ Wed. we sent one wrapped in manila paper which was larger than any of the others and doubtless came postage due. It wasn't sealed with tape nor marked "first class" as I learned later. Hope you got it O.K. If not call immediately.

From here on out we'll number each piece on the top sheet of the contents so if you miss a sequence in arrivals you'd better let us hear about it.

A white Ch. of God minister working with Negroes building a denominational school near Mersidean, Miss. was beaten, threatened, etc. by about 20 white men about Fri. or Sat. (Gray)

with will in mind. there's no logical person to notify but someone ought to check into it. Jim Cox of Memphis sometimes works miss. for him. Enclosed is clip. Please return it or a copy.

All for now. Take care of the back. Who did you leave to carry on in your stead in New Orleans — Dreamillion? He seems to have gone too far at last!

cordially,
Bob

Statement by the Rev. Robert E. Hughes, executive director, Alabama Council on Human Relations, September 6, 1960

We are, of course, quite happy that the Grand Jury dropped its subpoena for names of members of and contributors to the Alabama Council on Human Relations. As a matter of conscience — as well as legal right — we did not intend to reveal the names of persons who might be injured by such disclosure. We feel that the jail stay over the Labor Day weekend was well worth the principle involved.

We are most grateful to the many people who expressed concern for us and for the right of conscience involved in our struggle, and also for the courteous treatment given us by the Sheriff's office, the Court, and the prisoners in the jail, for all of whom we have nothing but good will.

:

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

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September 22, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

I am sorry that we are late in mailing in our quarterly report to the SRC, but it looks as if it will be a few more days yet before you will receive it. As you know, as soon as Rev. Hughes was released from jail the Methodist Conference had started and he had to attend this, and from there he has gone on his well deserved vacation. I am expecting him in the office around the 26th or 27th. There are a few questions I must consult with him on before I forward this report to you.

Sincerely,

Annette Cox

(Mrs.) Annette Cox
Sec. to Rev. Hughes

ac

September 26, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Now that the smoke has cleared somewhat, I find that I never answered a letter of August 19 concerning someone who might advise you in relation to strategy in cases of economic discrimination.

I believe that Ben Segal, (Education Department, I.U.E., 1126 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6) whom you may know, from Washington, would be of considerable help. You might also check with Paul Christopher who is a member of the SRC Board and has been helpful on previous occasions. (Regional Director, AFL-CIO, 216 Flatiron Building, Knoxville, Tennessee.)

I have Father Foley's notice of a board meeting on Saturday, October 1. I plan to be on hand and will probably come into Birmingham Friday evening and ride over with some of you that morning.

We are doing our best on the money angle with some nibbles, but not much cold cash as yet.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

October 3, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting in Atlanta September 27, asked me to convey to you the concern and support of the Committee.

We heard a full report on your recent experiences from SRC staff and from Mr. Joseph Haas, our own legal counsel. Those present felt a strong sense of pride in our association with you and the Alabama Council as we learned of the firm, courageous, and dignified way in which you acted to protect the records of the Alabama Council and in support of your own principles. We feel that you have made another important contribution to the cause of improved human relations, in Alabama and in the South.

We strongly regret that you will be leaving your work in Alabama although we understand your long-time desire to be of service in the mission field. Our best wishes will go with you.

May I add my personal appreciation and hopes for success in your new work.

Sincerely,

James M. Dabbs
President

JMD/sm

October 4, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I talked with Ed Lukas of the American Jewish Committee in New York today. He is trying to line up speaking engagements in and around New York with fund-raising potential. I told him you would get in touch with him as soon as you got to New York. I also told him you would be there the weekend of October 15 and 16. Right?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm

P.S. His phone is PLaza 1-4000.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

October 5, 1960

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Ed Lukas, of our office, mentioned this morning that Reverend Robert Hughes would be available for a number of speaking engagements in the next few months.

In order to facilitate the utmost effort in making contact with interested groups, it will be most helpful if you would rush me biographical data, a photo, background on the most recent situation involving Reverend Hughes and the Alabama Council and his itinerary in New York as well as the time limit of his availability in the United States.

Many thanks for your kind cooperation in this matter, and looking forward to hearing from you in the very near future, I am

Sincerely,

Leonard Zion

Leonard Zion

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

LZ:hrf

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IRVING SALOMON, San Diego, Vice-President
A. M. SONNABEND, Boston, Vice-President

October 7, 1960

Mr. Leonard Zion
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Zion:

At Paul Rilling's request, I am enclosing a copy of the memorandum he prepared on Bob Hughes' recent experiences in Alabama. I believe that Paul requested by phone today that Bob send pictures and biographical data. The only such information we have dates from the time of his employment with the Alabama Council:

> Native of Gadsden, Alabama; graduated from University of Alabama and Emory Theological Seminary; employed as director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in 1954.

If you need additional information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
Secretary to Paul Rilling

Enc.

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
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"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

October 31, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was good seeing you again when I was in Atlanta last and to chat with you on the phone since my return. Many thanks for entertaining me that evening and for dropping me at the airport.

Dr. R. D. Crockett, 1006 Thurmon Street, Montgomery 4, Alabama, needs information on police institutes, the curriculum of which would deal with the proper handling of prisoners, etc. This need arises in part from numerous cases of police brutality in Montgomery. There is the possibility that some remedial measures would be considered and we certainly would not want lack of information on training available to be a stumbling block.

I was to leave Wednesday for about ten days in the Los Angeles area under the joint sponsorship of the Methodist Conference Board of Christian Social Concerns and the regional A. J. C. but was belatedly informed today that the Methodist body had felt that it could not enter into the sponsorship even though they were not committed to any specific amount of funds raised. Two possibilities for interviewing Garrison arise therefore, both of which would be in conjunction with my going up to Virginia to be with Dan on the 14th. I will be driving the family up as far as Charlotte and in the event that Garrison's city would not be too far off my route, I could manage to stop off and see him briefly, or perhaps he could meet me in some mutually agreeable city like Greenville. I would need his address for this purpose so how about having Sarah send it to me as soon as possible. This does not take into consideration a joint interview with the Georgia folks and I wonder if they would think we ought to wait for a mutually acceptable time in Atlanta still sharing expenses.

I had thought that the quarterly report had been sent in but just found out that it has been delayed because of incomplete records. This will be mailed tomorrow as we have statistics for it. I deeply regret the delay. Let us know if the portions missing are absolutely essential and if so, we will endeavor somehow to piece it out some time in the future.

Thanks for the plug in the newsletter. We now have $2900 toward our $5100 goal. Four hundred dollars came in from the United Presbyterian Church just as I was leaving to go to New York and $300 was handed me in a check by Oscar Lee from the National Council of Churches while I was up there.

Mr. Paul Rilling
Atlanta 3, Georgia - 2
October 31, 1960

With the California trip falling through I'm now rather skeptical about our reaching the goal.

That's all for now. Best personal wishes.

Cordially yours,

Bob

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

cc: R. D. Crockett

ala
BH

November 8, 1960

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

We have recently paid $1,000 to Mr. Timberg for his Washington services. Mr. Timberg did not submit a specific bill, but indicated that he would accept whatever we offered. He did, however, indicate the number of hours he had worked and his normal pay per hour, which would have figured out to a sum considerably higher than what we paid him. Mr. Haas, our counsel here, who made the initial contact felt that $1,000 would be the minimum fair payment we could offer.

This relieves the Alabama Council of any further concerns about the Washington attorney. Nevertheless, however, this money had to be taken from funds that might otherwise have gone directly to the Alabama Council to help with your other financial problems.

I had been holding this particular money for assistance to the Alabama Council. It has now been expended.

The situation concerning a possible Georgia interview with Garrison is still uncertain. I would suggest that you proceed to interview him if you can without too much expense on your way to or from Virginia.

Another possibility turned up last week in Virginia that I think you might check into. I refer to the Rev. Norman C. Jimmerson, a Northern Baptist minister who is currently serving as prison chaplain near Ft. Lee, Virginia. He has worked closely with Dan and has taken the initiative in organizing an interracial ministers' group in difficult Petersburg - Hopewell. He is

interested in finding new challenging work and has a strong concern for human relations. He is a Yankee by birth and upbringing but might be a possibility nonetheless. I talked to him at some length while in Virginia recently. I am writing him that you will be in the state the week of November 14 and suggest that Dan arrange for you to meet and discuss the situation. His address is:

The Rev. Norman C. Jimmerson
103 Prince George Street
Hopewell, Virginia

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sm
cc: Father Foley

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**
RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Nov. 10, 60

Dear Paul,

Thanks for the letter of today and particularly are we indebted to the S.R.C. for picking up the $1,000 bill or gratuity from Mr. Jinfurg. The SRC has been wonderful in its support all the way around and the ACHR as well as me personally are very grateful.

Off to N.C. & Va. —

Bob

November 10, 1960

Rev. Norman C. Jimmerson
103 Prince George Street
Hopewell, Virginia

Dear Mr. Jimmerson:

I have just received word from Paul Rilling of the Southern Regional Council indicating that you might be interested in the post of executive director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Due to the fact that I will be in Virginia next week with Dan Bowers, I trust that you can arrange with Dan for us to get together for an interview at a mutually convenient time.

Paul mentioned your strong concern and desire to be of fuller service in the field of human relations and permit me to encourage you in the direction of seeking out a full time ministry in this crucial area, whether it is in Alabama or elsewhere. I am looking forward to meeting and talking with you in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

BER

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

cc: Paul Rilling

Father Albert S. Foley

3209 Ridgely Drive
Birmingham 13, Alabama
November 10, 1960

The Honorable H. V. H. Sekyi
The American Embassy of The Republic of Ghana
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Sekyi:

I have read recent news accounts of the treatment which you received Tuesday at a polling place near Atlanta to which you went as an official observor at the invitation of the United States Government. As a white Methodist minister from the Deep South permit me to convey my deep concern and apology for what must have been an embarrassing and disillusioning experience at the hands of my brothers and to assure you that, while such could have happened in numerous places over this section, in every such place there are many persons such as myself who are deeply grieved with the sickness of soul of our society which gives rise to this, and that we are striving to bring forth a healthy new democracy based upon justice, understanding and the acceptance of the individual according to his merits rather than the group to which he belongs. Without attempting in any way to minimize your experience I hope that you can see as I see this in the perspective of reactions against a social and moral transition that is occurring throughout the world. Just as certainly as this transition is taking place in Africa today it is taking place in America as well. Rest in the assurance that it is only a matter of time until this dark blot on democracy is removed.

Yours sincerely,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

bcc: Mayor William B. Hartsfield

bcc: Paul Rilling

3209 Ridgely Drive
Birmingham 13, Alabama
November 10, 1960

The Honorable William B. Hartsfield
Mayor, City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hartsfield:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter I have sent to Mr. H. V. H. Sekyi of the Ghana Embassy who was involved in the "incident" according to press accounts at a polling place in Mableton near Atlanta.

Perhaps it is too much to expect of the local officials of that area and although it apparently occurred outside of the city of Atlanta, may I respectfully suggest that some expression of regret, concern or reassurance from you might be most meaningful at this point.

May I take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the constructive leadership you are showing in these trouble times in our Southland. Every move that you make and statement that you utter on the subject of race relations appears immediately on the front pages of newspapers in Birmingham and Montgomery among other cities of this state. The eyes of Alabama are on Atlanta "waiting to see what they are going to do about their schools". The precedent which you establish without a doubt is going to have a tremendous influence on Birmingham which is going to need every possible constructive influence and example for the time when it is confronted with the same challenges as Atlanta.

Considering the tremendous burden on your shoulders we can hardly expect you to do more. We can only hope. Know that my prayers have been and will continue to be lifted in your behalf.

Respectfully yours,

REH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:ac

Encl:

bcc; Paul Killing

January 5, 1961

Dr. Marion Wright
Topknot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Wright:

Thank you so much for your very prompt response to my telephone call inquiring about your availability for our annual meeting. We are most pleased that possible conflicts did not interfere and that you can definitely be with us.

Our meeting runs from 10:30 a.m. until 3:00 p.m. on Saturday, February 4th, and will be held at the Student Activities Building at Talladega College on the west side of the town of Talladega. Talladega is located some 15 miles south of U.S. 78 which connects Birmingham and Atlanta, a total of 50 miles southeast of Birmingham. Therefore you might have a choice of flying directly to Birmingham with some of our people driving you down on that Saturday morning, in which case you would need to arrive by 9:15 a.m. Possibly you might prefer to come to Birmingham and spend Friday night here so as to be more rested for the coming day. The other alternative would be to come to Atlanta and come over with Paul Rilling in the event that Paul does not attend our state board meeting there at Talladega the previous evening. This alternative also has the limitation of Paul's antiquated navigational system with which you are doubtless familiar in view of the fact that you have had at least a brief association with him.

We would be happy if you could be with us for our state board meeting which begins with 6:00 p.m. dinner at Talladega College on Friday, February 3rd. I am certain that your insights would be most helpful in providing a broader context within which to make policy determinations.

Our state executive committee meets Saturday, at which time a definite theme will be forthcoming, and, according to your request, perhaps we can indicate a topic for your presentation. Also we will be able to determine whether your presentation will be in the morning or afternoon session.

Due to the fact that I am attempting to close out my official duties with the Council with this meeting next Saturday preparatory to going to

Boston, I am asking Father Foley, our president who is in Mobile, to inform you of any further arrangements. Unless notified otherwise, regard him as your contact person.

I am deeply grateful that our annual meeting will be able to hear you, although unfortunately I will not be able to be there. Our brief association has been both a pleasure and an inspiration, and may I take this opportunity to convey my best wishes to you in your further service in this crucial cause.

Most cordially,

BH

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

REH:dsh
cc: Father Albert S. Foley
Paul Rilling

Paul - Gene Etheridge in responding to my inquiry as to his availability next Sept. called today to state that he could be available June 1st for us if desired. Looks like we'll have a permanent recruit to the profession as he hopes to spend the rest of his active ministry in this field - whether he begins in Ala. or elsewhere. Congrats on the selling job you've done! Congrats also on your new status. Want to meet somehow somewhere before I'm completely gone. REH

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

P.S. - I would love to be able to attend the staff conference in Feb. but don't know whether or not I could justify it - financially & timewise.

Should the others' consensus be against the 9th & 10th & subsequently for the 2nd & 3rd I might be able to combine such with our GCHR ann. mtg. on the 4th & bd. mtg. on evening of the 3rd, at Talladega. Of course you wouldn't

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

change the dates to accommodate me, a "lame duck" or an "ex-duck", and I wouldn't want you to.

I could be tied to school through there regardless of opportunities here for all I know.

Best
— Bob

January 6, 1961

The Rev. Robert Hughes
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

I have been trying to call you for two days. During that time you have called this office three times and talked to everyone in it but me. I give up. Will try the written word. The news that Gene Ethridge will evidently be able to take the Alabama job as of June 1 is the happiest news I have received for a while. This takes a big load off our collective shoulders and assures the Alabama Council of continued able direction. The personnel situation in Georgia is still in a state of confusion.

We have received replies from most of the state directors and it does look as though the state staff meeting will be the 9th and 10th, as previously indicated. If just one of the active directors is unable to make the meeting, I will make the shift to the date you suggested.

I am sorry that I was not able to make your committee meeting on this Saturday, but you evidently didn't think it critical that I be on hand. It would seem that the personnel situation is pretty well solved anyway. Do you want me to plan to attend your annual meeting February 4? I had not planned to come inasmuch as I was at this meeting last year, but in view of the transition situation, would it be well for me to be on hand?

I believe that it will be possible to assist with your travel expenses to the state staff meeting should you need to come from school. If you come down for both meetings, we would expect the Alabama Council to foot part of the tariff. If Gene Ethridge is definitely committed by that time, would it not be wise to invite him to the staff meeting as well?

At any rate, I hope to see you at least once more before you leave. Let me know if there is anything further I or we

can do to facilitate your peaceful exit.

Did Claude Sitton reach you the other day for further details on the Christmas statement issued by the Birmingham Council? Could we have a copy of this?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

FATHER ALBERT S. FOLEY, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
DR. CARL LANDES, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
DR. R. D. CROCKETT, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 9, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Theoretically Saturday was my last day at work but I will be in one more day, that is tomorrow, to clean out my things and catch up on matters left hanging. I'm dictating this on the phone from the house in the middle of packing and selling most of my earthly goods. Consider the circumstances if this is erratic.

The Executive Committee Saturday did not take any formal action on a successor feeling that we ought to keep looking at least until the Annual Meeting, considering female prospects as well as male although there is every indication that Gene will be a unanimous choice by the Board at its meeting on February 3rd. We are way out ahead of you on Gene's presence in this period. His message conveying his availability of last week at our request also indicated he would probably be available to visit the Board Meeting and the Annual Meeting on Saturday, February 4th for the two-way benefits that would accrue. Of course, this would be at our expense. Personally, I'm deeply pleased in so many ways about this trend of events and the only possible drawback is the waiting period, but the positive aspects are so numerous that we can readily afford to overlook this. Gene understands that no final decision will be reached before the Annual Meeting period. If he is selected at that time we will see if we can work out an arrangement whereby he can come over for a couple of days each two weeks or so with expenses and some salary compensation for his services. This will enable him to become acquainted with the administration and developments and also would afford some service to us of a limited nature. During the interim between my departure and my successor's arrival on a full time basis the State Office operation will be supervised by a Board Committee composed of local persons headed by Rev. J. C.Wilson. I would suggest that he would be the appropriate person to contact after I leave with carbons to David Vann and Father Foley as you feel appropriate.

If possible could you send me an outline of SRC funds available of all types as they have been presently committed. I will have to give the Board an income projection and am pretty thoroughly confused with just what we will get and the terms of grants - the original grant, the second grant, $1,000 deduction because of the legal fees expended in my behalf and deductions because of lack of full time staff.

Mr. Paul Rilling
Atlanta 3, Georgia - 2
January 9, 1961

The Birmingham Council statement which the "New York Times" used was published locally with additional information on yesterday. Some of this additional information was of a relatively sensitive nature and there is a very interesting sequence of events in the schedule of how the story finally got out which I will probably call you about. You had better put down on your calendar, if at all possible, availability in this area on January 24th and 25th, the dates of the next Birmingham Council meeting.

Will be talking again to you later. That's all for now.

Cordially,

Robert E. Hughes

Rev. Robert E. Hughes

P. S. Regardless of your presence last year I think that we would greatly benefit by your attendance at our Board of Directors Meeting on February 3rd at Talladega College commencing with the 6:00 p.m. dinner hour at the College dining hall located behind the Chapel. After the dinner the meeting will in all probability commence in the Students Activity Building lounge on the second floor. The Annual Meeting will occur the following day, Saturday, February 4th, in the same location running from 10:30 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Any navigational problems which you might incur would best be submitted at an early date so that detail instruction can be submitted to you for appropriate study.

REH:ac

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

FATHER ALBERT S. FOLEY, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
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REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

January 10, 1961

Mr. Paul M. Rilling,
Director of Field Activities,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St. N.W., Room 201,
Atlanta3, Ga.

Dear Paul,

At our executive committee meeting last Saturday, we decided to invite Reverend Eugene Etheridge, the director of the Westminster Fellowship at Mississippi State University, to accept, tentatively, the directorship of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, pending the final decision by the full board of directors at their meeting at Talladega College on February 3rd and 4th, 1961.

The committee asked me to invite Reverend Etheridge to attend this board meetign and, also, of course, the annual general meeting. This will give all concerned an opportunity to become better acquainted. We have undertaken to pay Gene's expenses and to provide accommodation for him at the guest house of Talladega College for the night of Friday, February 3rd.

The general plan outlined by the executive committee involved a holding open of the position of executive director until June 1st, when Gene will be available to accept full-time responsibility. In the interim, however, we hope to be able to make arrangements with him for part-time employment on a one day a week or two days every two weeks basis, so that he can keep in touch with the office and as assume at least partial responsibility for its routine operation. I was authorized to offer him $100 a month for this part-time service plus his travel expenses fo and from State College, Mississippi.

We are hoping that a mutually satisfactory arrangement, based on the above outline, can be worked out in order to fill the gap between Bob Hughes' departure for Boston University and Gene's full assumption of responsibility for the office. We realise that such an arrangement will involve his seeking partial leave of absence from his present job during the coming semester and we hope that this will not cause too much inconvenience.

I trust that 1961 has gotten off to a good start for you and I hope that the rest of the year will bring its full measure of satisfying achievements.

Sincerely yours,

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.

Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
ACHR State President

ASF:jms

January 17, 1961

The Rev. J. C. Wilson
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Mr. Wilson:

I told Bob Hughes some weeks ago that I thought I would drop over for your annual meeting February 4. It now looks, however, as though it would be most difficult for me to be with you at that time. Inasmuch as I attended the meeting last year and have no program responsibility this year, I hope it will be all right for me to miss this time. Let me know if you see any particular reason for me to come and I will try to rearrange my schedule.

If your board does decide to employ Mr. Ethridge as recommended by the executive committee recently, we would like very much for him to be with us for our meeting of state directors February 23 and 24 here in Atlanta. If he is employed and is able to come, we can take care of his travel expenses and maintenance in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
cc: Father Foley

John Constable—

The enclosed editorial might be of some use. Please return.

Hope this for literature order finds some of it still available. —Bob Hughes

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

Hugh.

Dear Paul -

Sorry you folks won't be over for the board meeting, but will be expecting to see you at Talladega a little after 10:00 A.M. The bd. usually meets Fri. nite + awhile on Sat. morning before the folks begin arriving around 10:00 so if you should be able to conveniently arrive

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

a little early just come on up to the second floor of the Student Activities Bldg. there at Talladega College.

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers called me from Boston on monday and wants me to meet him in Atlanta on the Saturday after our staff conferences. So guess I'll see if I can't worry some of you

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

and some of the Emory folks on Friday.

Enclosed is a clipping from todays Advertiser reprinted from yesterday's Post-Herald - rather surprising I'd say.

Also enclosing a newsletter that I doubt if we got mailed to anybody out of state.

See you Sat.

- Bob

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **BOB HUGHES**

RM. 1218 COMER BLDG., BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA.

MF - clips to research
H

Harold,

Enclosed are clips from the Post Herald on the Reddick Case. If you know more about him pro or con which you couldn't mention on the phone pass 'em over. He's a recently expired ACHR member.

Don't know my plans for next week yet. Will write or call if I can make it. — Bob

BACKGROUND ON RECENT EVENTS CONCERNING THE REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES

1. Since 1954 the Rev. Robert E. Hughes, a Methodist minister and a native of Gadsden, Alabama, has been serving in the capacity of director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

2. Until September of 1960, he served in this capacity by appointment of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church.

3. The Alabama Council is an interracial organization with some 8 local units around the state concerned with interracial communication and improved race relations. The Alabama Council is one of ten state interracial organizations which are cooperating groups of the Southern Regional Council. The Council is a direct successor to the old Alabama Commission on Interracial Cooperation, dating back before 1920.

4. In April of 1959 Mr. Hughes, in the Newsletter of the Alabama Council, included a report on the newly formed Methodist Laymen's Union in Alabama. The article analyzed the issue in the Methodist Church concerning integration of the Central Jurisdiction and contended that the Laymen's Union was a group organized to maintain segregation within the church. This purpose is openly admitted by the Laymen's Union.

5. The Laymen's Union responded to this article in the Newsletter with an open attack on Mr. Hughes and the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The attack emphasized that Mr. Hughes was officially appointed to his position as secretary of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and contended that he is therefore accumulating service years and is eligible for ministerial pension. The statement of the Laymen's Union charged that "Mr. Hughes continued his program of propaganda to bring full racial integration on all levels of religious, educational and social life."

6. In September, 1959 at the Annual Meeting of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church, efforts were made to withdraw the ministerial

credentials of Mr. Hughes. Mr. Hughes was placed on a supernumerary status until the 1960 Annual Meeting with the warning that if his status was unchanged during that year,he would be "involuntarily located."

7. In the spring of 1960 Harrison Salisbury, reporter for the New York Times, spent some time in Birmingham and wrote a series of articles on the keen racial tension existing in that community. The stories stirred up a tremendous storm in Alabama, and Mr. Salisbury and the New York Times were sued for libel by the three Birmingham City Commissioners.

8. The Bessemer Cut-Off (division) Grand Jury of Jefferson County decided to consider an indictment in the case of "the state of Alabama vs. Harrison Salisbury." As part of the investigation, the Grand Jury subpoenaed the names of all persons with whom Mr. Salisbury had been in telephone contact during his stay in Birmingham. The list was obtained from the Hotel. Mr. Hughes' name was one of those on the list. He was one of several subpoenaed to testify before the Grand Jury on the Salisbury case.

9. In the case of Mr. Hughes, however, the subpoena duces tecum was a somewhat unusual document. It ordered Mr. Hughes to bring before the Grand Jury the financial statements, cancelled checks, subscription lists, names of donors and benefactors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. He was asked to produce records going back to January of 1958, although the Salisbury articles were not written until April of 1960. It might be noted that the Deputy Solicitor of Bessemer, the prime mover in the Grand Jury action, Mr. Howard Sullinger, is a lay member of the Methodist Church and allegedly an active member of the Methodist Laymen's Union.

10. On Thursday, September 1, Mr. Hughes appeared before the Grand Jury but refused to bring the documents requested. He refused to answer questions

to the "satisfaction" of the Grand Jury. Acting on advice of attorneys, Mr. Hughes felt that to present the records or answer some of the questions would be to expose some individuals to the danger of future violence and intimidation.

11. Hughes' attorneys attacked the legality of the subpoena in local courts, in the Alabama State Supreme Court, and managed to get the case before the United States Supreme Court. The appeal, however, to the United States Supreme Court could not be heard until after the deadline for Mr. Hughes' appearance before the Grand Jury. The clerk of the Supreme Court requested more information on the case, but the necessary four signatures of Supreme Court Justices needed to secure an injunction against the subpoena could not be secured in time.

12. Following his refusal to answer certain questions to the satisfaction of the Grand Jury, Judge Gardner Goodwyn in a rather questionable and summary procedure found Mr. Hughes guilty of contempt of court and committed him to jail until he purged himself by satisfactorily answering the Grand Jury questions. This was on Friday, September 2. Mr. Hughes was confined in the Bessemer County jail where he remained over Labor Day week-end until Tuesday, September 6. While in jail, Mr. Hughes typically made friends with officials and inmates and held prayer services every evening.

13. During the week-end some 30 - 40 ministers attempted to visit Mr. Hughes and scores of lay persons phoned and attempted to see him. In the meantime, Mr. Hughes' lawyers, Charles Morgan and James Shores, pressed their appeal petition to the United States Supreme Court. Evidently as a response to these developments, on Tuesday morning, September 6, when the Grand Jury reconvened, the solicitor summoned Mr. Hughes again under a standard subpoena, simply demanding that he appear and answer questions

about matters relating to the Salisbury case. Under this subpoena Mr. Hughes was willing to testify and did so for some four hours Tuesday. He was then reported to the judge as having "purged himself of his contempt" and released from jail.

14. After a one day rest following his release from jail, Mr. Hughes participated in the 1960 Annual Meeting of the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church in Birmingham. On Thursday, September 8, while Mr. Hughes was temporarily absent from the floor, a vote was taken on a recommendation from the credentials committee declaring Mr. Hughes "involuntarily located" which expression means "deprived of his ministerial credentials." The leaders of the Laymen's Union had been active throughout this period in efforts to remove Hughes from the ministerial rolls.

15. On Saturday September 10, at Mr. Hughes' request, the North Alabama Conference voted to restore his official credentials in order to permit him to transfer as a minister in good standing to the Southern Rhodesia Conference of the Methodist Church in Africa. His reinstatement was conditioned on his departure from Alabama and his surrender by January 1 of his position as director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

16. It should be noted that Mr. Hughes has always planned to devote the greater part of his life to the mission field. He had made several previous attempts to get into mission work and was turned down just two years ago because of a physical condition. He will apparently now be accepted and permitted to carry out his life-long ambition.

ACHR
B'ham
Thurs.

Mrs. Sarah Miller
SRC
Atlanta

Dear Sarah:

Just got a call from Carl Garrison and we'll meet there at your place in any available cranny next Monday at noon. O.K. He didn't know plane schedules, but felt he could make it O.K. at that hour and will call tomorrow if he can't work it out.

If S.C.H.R is still looking around maybe they would like to interview him (and share expenses??).

I need to see Martin King Jr. right away and if you could get me an appointment with him sometime on Monday I would deeply appreciate it. Thirty minutes is sufficient length of time.

Tell Harold that I'd like to get from someone there practical proposals on what

the Executive Branch of the federal govt. should do under existing legislation during Kennedy's first year in Office. I ran across an old friend there last week who will doubtless be in the administration and able to exercise influence. However, I realize Harold & others there & I have discussed this topic before & they may feel there's nothing new to be added.

Thanks for your help, Sarah, and I hope to see you and your boss come Monday if he's in town. Best

- Bob

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1224 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Friend:

The response of many persons scattered over the nation as well as over Alabama to our recent problems has been most encouraging. But for me personally, the most heartwarming has been those expressions of concrete concern coming from our sister state organizations.

From personal experience I know so well how we become preoccupied with our own situations, how difficult it is for a state council on human relations to raise its budget, to meet matching funds on schedule, etc. Certainly your generosity is above and beyond that which we have expected and in extending a helping hand to us in our time of need a bond of comradeship is sealed.

We hope that we will merit your confidence and trust. With this message of appreciation we also convey our hopes for your own work in your state during the coming year and our seasons greetings to you.

Gratefully yours,

Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Executive Director

REH:ac

P.S. Mrs. Billing, this letter was sent to all members of other state councils who contributed $19.00 or less to the Defense fund. Another letter will be mailed to those contributing $20.00 + over. All of these, of course, have come through the SRC to date.

Mrs. Cof

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.
ROOM 1218 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Fri., Aug. 28

Dear Harold,

Here are a couple of additions to the sketch I wrote up last night so hurriedly:

* Gov. Patterson + the Klan - nine cities in Ala. have one or more Klan "welcome" signs on their highway approaches - Tuscaloosa, Bessemer, B'ham, M'gy, Prattville, Monroeville, Selma, Sylacauga + Gadsden. These are all just outside of the city limits of these cities + on the highway rights of way. The State Highway Dept. has never been smoked out as to whether or not their approval is required or was sought. Privately they have said the Fed. Govt. has jurisdiction + no signs, church or civic clubs included, theoretically are allowed + to remove the Klan signs would force removal of all - if the Fed. Govt. ~~tests that~~ desired to do so. St. H'way Dept. director is Sam Englehart.

It would be helpful if he would publically put the onus on the Fed. Govt. or if he won't let it lay at his own feet.

Ex-Grand Dragon Robt. Shelton while " " + since has rather immediate access to Patterson's + merriwether's offices. When endorsed by "Robt Shelton of Tuscaloosa" for gov. during campaign, Patterson professed ignorance as to who he was even though Shelton was head of a large, statewide lawless outfit + Patterson was Attorney Gen. + should have known. When Shelton was identified, Patterson never repudiated. For Shelton's support, ~~Shelton has~~ + subsequent entre, Shelton was named Goodriche's representative to sell ties to State.

Sources.— Reporter Bob Ingram of Birmingham Ala. Hugh Sparrow. Blackwood capital reporter. Art Sevin

* Miss Emily Reed attempt being made at book-burning by Sen. Eddins — because of the mixed bunnies + now "Stride Toward Freedom" being circulated by St. Library Service, Director Reed is about to lose job.

Source - Hugh Sparrow

* Bessemer, Asbury Howard

after Howard completed his 6mon. hard labor sentence, the Ala. Supreme Ct. turned down his appeal as moot on Aug. 13. Other events you have. - Source Emory Jackson

* Alabama's Violence Record

From your survey Alabama stands alone in entries on violence with 55. Jem. next with 17 + all other states 14 or lower - while Ala. has never been actually confronted with a real ~~situation~~ threat of public sch. integration.

Enclosed is a copy of ~~report~~ supplement I sent in last fall w/ my program report - story of B'ham mob scene at Phillips High School. Whole idea is - if this is the temper now, what will it be like when the last legal barrier is down + negroes are poised to enter?! next wed. is just a peak at a sneak preview.

Harold, thanks a million for breaking me away for the Dallas trip. However the plane fare will be around a hundred dollars if I come back by way of Little Rock and I believe I mentioned this figure to you as the total trip + conference expenses. If this is too much for such we'll absorb part of it.

Most cordially,
BH

P.S. Conceivably I might try to stay over in Ark. until Tues. aft. to see how Dollarway goes down at Pine Bluff on Tues. A.M. Because of Bakers ~~visit to~~ possible visit to B'ham Sun. or Mon., Sept. 6 + 7, I might come on back. Therefore I need to know his plans.

SPECIAL PROGRAM REPORT

BIRMINGHAM HIGH SCHOOL MOB SCENE

According to the pattern established in September, 1957 it was anticipated that the Klan would assemble men en masse in front of Phillips and Woodlawn High Schools in Birmingham to forcibly, and if necessary, violently prevent any Negroes from enrolling on registration day, Tuesday, September 9th. It was determined that the Rev. F. C. Shuttlesworth who has led the legal effort to enroll Negroes in these schools would not present any students for this purpose prior to securing a favorable Federal Court decision.

On Saturday night, September 6th, eighteen crosses were burned in front of Jefferson County schools. The one "talkative" Klansman with whom we had contact was approached on Monday and revealed that the Klan was going to "meet" at the above mentioned schools with emphasis on Phillips.

This prospective situation involved danger, not to Rev. Shuttlesworth, but to unsuspecting Negroes who by chance would pass through the areas. The Klansmen, after standing around in the hot summer sun for several hours without any obvious targets, could be expected to take their frustration out on these Negroes.

On Monday a crash plan was formulated to: (1) mobilize the most effective weapon available, the press; (2) build up pressure upon the Birmingham Police Department to disperse the mobs; (3) secure white individuals who would go to the scenes to observe and witness for reason and calmness according to opportunity.

On Monday afternoon calls were placed to contacts in the Birmingham News, Birmingham Post-Herald, United press International Bureau, WABT-TV and WBRC-TV apprising them of the facts and deductions. No agency had as complete a picture as we were able to present and all agreed to staff one or both schools.

Two attorneys, a merchant, a labor leader and a Protestant minister who were known to be personally acquainted with the police commissioner were informed of the facts and urged to communicate their concern to this official. The chairman of the

Birmingham Council on Human Relations and the chairman of the Birmingham Brotherhood of clergy were informed and asked to secure individuals who would go to the scenes, each person being asked to be responsible for seperate schools. In addition the local Federal Bureau of Investigation Office was alerted.

At 8:00 A.M. on registration day some sixty Klansmen were assembled in front of Phillips High School deployed in small groups on the four corners of each adjacent street intersection and strung out on the sidewalk across the street in front of the block-long building. A total of eight uniformed policemen in cars patrolled the vicinity but made no effort to disperse the men.

A check at Woodlawn High School revealed only three obvious Klansmen who contented themselves with sitting in a parked car. Two detectives and five uniformed policemen patrolled the area, but their services were never needed as any demonstrations that may have been planned there failed to materialize.

Back at Phillips, by 10:00 A.M. the mob had grown to around 75 men and 15-20 students, having completed their registration, joined them. Some fifteen uniformed policemen were on hand. By 11:00 A.M. the mob had become more restless and began cat-calling at Negroes in passing vehicles. A group of four teen age Negro boys, in passing across a street near the mob, were challenged by white students. As the white students advanced across the street the four boys fled, one lobbing a half brick over his shoulder which landed on a white student's head inflicting a minor laceration but necessitating ambulance removal.

This incident incensed the mob which by now had increased according to varying estimates to 125-150 persons. A Birmingham News truck driven by a Negro was stopped and the driver accepted a challenge to fight. Dismounting from the cab he opened a switch-blade knife but hastily retreated when more men approached, he drove out of the area under a rain of rocks, bottles and lengths of bicycle chains.

Tension rose sharply as a Negro pedestrian was manhandled but quickly rescued by a policeman. The officer was hit on the head with a beer can filled with rocks and quickly summoned help by phone. Sizeable police reinforcements quickly arrived at the school from all directions and ordered the crowd dispersed. Four men were quickly arrested for loitering after warning. One man challenged a policeman's order to move on by producing a deputy sheriff's credentials and asserting, "I've got as much right to be here as you have."

Within thirty minutes the block was cleared of all but about a dozen persons dressed in civilian clothes. By 1:00 P.M. some 15-20 of the Klansmen remained on the two intersections at the ends of the school while an equal number of policemen silently watched them.

As the confusion and tension was subsiding a burly member of the mob addressing this writer asserted, "Look at that nigger man walking over there. He knows better than to be around this school. Somebody ought to go over there and beat his_____." When asked if the white men were Klansmen he replied, "No, we're just everday people like me who came up here to protect the school." In vehemently explaining what had happened he stated, "Shuttlesworth sent some nigger kids up to the school to register, but we ran 'em off. One nigger fractured a white boy's skull with a brick and he's in the hospital about to die right now. The cops let the niggers go and then turned around and arrested four white men for lottery!" When asked why the men were there he stated, "To keep the damned niggers out of the school. If they try to get in, well, we just won't stand for it." When it was suggested that the police were the proper authorities to enforce the law he retorted with, "But they can't keep 'em out of the schools. The Supreme Court won't let us run our own affairs so we have to do for ourselves."

In summary, the following observations can be made:

1. At least three of the five persons asked to contact the police commissioner are known to have done so directly or indirectly, and two of these initiated other

approaches. Throughout Tuesday the police commissioner rode in a police car issuing direct orders by radio. When diversionary calls were made to police headquarters reporting fictitious racial fights at Negro schools, he was heard on the police radio ordering cars to "get over there and arrest everybody you see and find out what those whites are doing around there." Breaking up the mob at Phillips High School although belated represents the first time since 1954 that any mobs have been actually dispersed in Birmingham. In contrast to mob violence at the same scene last year, a police officer "remembered" who he had arrested and, for the first time in years, whites were convicted for their mob participation.

2. Press and TV reporters and photographers carried detailed accounts of most of these events. The Post-Herald did not carry an editorial on the subject on Tuesday morning, but did condemn the mob action later in the week.

3. Three white ministers were present at Woodlawn High School on Tuesday morning. Three Birmingham Council on Human Relations members were present at Phillips and reasoned with several members of the mob.

4. The Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations was present at both schools, talked with members of the mob, and fed accounts of events back to each of the news agencies previously referred to throughout the day.

5. Generally it is felt that the primary purpose of this effort was partially accomplished. Namely, this purpose was regarded as an effort to establish a precedent of mob control, public reaction against mobs and a mobilization of responsible forces, all looking to that future September when every possible resource will be urgently needed.

Thrasher
Alabama

October 23, 1957

Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher
Church of the Ascension
315 Clanton Avenue
Montgomery 6, Alabama

Dear Tom:

I have received your letter of October 19 and regret the delay in a reply, but I have been out of the office a considerable amount of time and tied up rather badly while here. I am sorry you did not get to spend some time with Dr. Hellman for you would have found her a delightfulylady with a considerable amount of skill and knowledge, and she would have found you an invaluable source of information.

Certainly I am happy to answer your questions: 1) There is no connection, official or unofficial, between the Southern Regional Council and the Highlander Folk School. 2) There is no connection, official or unofficial, between any of the affiliated organizations of SRC and the Highlander Folk School.

From time to time various members of SRC staff or Board have participated in workshops at Highlander. They have always done so as individuals and never as representatives of the Council. I am enclosing for your information Myles Horton's answers to the charges made by the Georgia Commission on Education, which is probably the source of your concern. I would point out to you that Highlander has never been listed as a Communist or Communist-front organization by the Attorney General of the United States nor by the House Committee on un-American Activities.

One expects mud-slinging and name-calling from the vicious pro-segregationists in this time of transition. The old axiom from the field

Continued . . .

Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher. October 23, 1957

of inter-collegiate debate applies here: "If you have a good case attack the opponent's facts: if you have a poor case attack the opponent's logic: if you have no case attack the opponent personally." It would seem obvious that the Georgia Commission on Education has no case.

I am also enclosing for your information SRC's answer to the charges made in Firing Line. This fully explains the nature of the charges which have been levelled against SRC and admirably refutes them point by point.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosures.

FBR:fcl

Church of The Ascension

Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher
Rector

315 Clanton Avenue
Montgomery 6, Alabama

October 18, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh:
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Dr. Hellman came on the eve of my departure for a two day meeting in B'ham, and I therefore was able to have only a phone conversation with her. I'm sorry!

Could you take time to answer a question for me? ① Is there a connection official or unofficial between the Southern Regional Council and the Highlander Folk School? ② Is there a connection official or unofficial between any of the affiliated organizations of the S.R.C. & the Highlander Folk School?

I would greatly appreciate an early reply—

Cordially yours,
Thomas R. Thrasher

Episcopal Church of the Ascension
Montgomery, Alabama

December 1, 1957

My dear friends:

Humbly aware of my solemn obligations as priest in the Church of the living God, as Rector of a fine parish, and as a Pastor of God's flock, knowing that our time of troubles may not be over, fully aware that tension begets misunderstanding and that misunderstanding begets further tension, we have decided to stay in our beloved Church of the Ascension.

In announcing this decision I feel I must also announce my firm conviction that the pulpit of God's Church must be free. I am your servant, but your servant for Jesus's sake. The Church of which Christ is head and all baptised people are members has laid upon me obligations which I must discharge whether they accord with popular views or not. The Church, the family of God, the body of Christ is bigger than <u>any</u> issue and I pray God that our love of God, and our loyalty to His Church may lead us to a solution of <u>all</u> our problems in the "spirit of love, and of brotherhood, and of a sound mind".

With deep affection for you all in which Mrs. Thrasher joins, I am

Sincerely yours,

Thomas R. Thrasher

Alabama Council NEWSLETTER

DISTRIBUTED PERIODICALLY by the ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC. ROOM 1218, COMER BUILDING BIRMINGHAM 3, ALA

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND ACTION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

Vol. 4 No. 1 January, 1958

TUSKEGEE

As the old of the white culture comes into classic conflict with the new of the Negro in Tuskegee, a drama is portrayed that will doubtless be enacted many times over the South during the coming decade. The actor-adversaries and individual scenes will vary, but the interplay of fear and frustration will constitute a common theme with the finale never in doubt.

The White Community: A Story of Fear

Tuskegee is typical of the Black Belt Deep South. Its ante-bellum mansions, aged churches, and plantations present constant reminders to the dominant aristocracy that the traditions of the past must be preserved. In symbolic surrender to provincialism, no industry larger than a cotton gin has been permitted to locate in the city, and the railroad was routed six miles to the north to prevent the entry of alien influences.

Concern for their tenuous economic and political security has been a strong motivation factor as the white minority has witnessed the growing unreast of the 84% Negro segment of the population, the highest of any county in the nation. The average white suffers from a vague obsession that someday the Negroes might be in a position to "take over" with colored sheriffs, tax assessors, etc., creating unbearable chaos. A wag recently put his finger on the real source of these fears when he chided a local resident with "Oh, don't worry, friend. They'll treat you just like you've been treating them all these years."

The Negro Community: A Story of Frustration

In sharp contrast to the white community, the Negroes of Tuskegee are markedly "untypical" of the Black Belt Deep South.

Economic opportunity, education, and culture stemming from the Institute and more recently from the huge Veterans Hospital have unshackled bodies, minds, and spirits to the extent that their standard of living probably excels that of any Negro community in the South. These two institutions produce an annual payroll of $8 million upon which the economy of the city is based. The ranch-styled homes nestled behind neatly tended lawns in Tuskegee's Westside would do credit to any neighborhood in the state.

Some persons can take some forms of racial discrimination almost indefinitely, but when a college trained, if not professionally equipped, person is told by a voter registrar of meager education that he is not qualified to vote, this particular form of discrimination usually becomes unbearable. From such frustrations come "Crusades for Citizenship".

Chronology of Negro Voting in Macon County

The "city-split" law no more "caused" the Crusade for Citizenship than the arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks "caused" the Montgomery bus protest. Both were nothing more than the precipitating incidents in a long series of grievances imbedded in time - and in the minds of thousands of Negroes.

1910 - Community improvements needed. Tuskegee Men's Club formed.

1935 - Tuskegee Civic Association evolves when it is apparent that community improvements stem from political pressure. 32 Negro voters in the county.

1935-46 Negro electorate and community improvements expanded begrudgingly.

1947 - Board of Registrars sued in Federal Court on racial bias charges. Court rules in favor of Board.

1947-51 - New Board adopts moderate policies. More Negroes vote.

1951-55 - New Board adopts conservative policies. 1,024 Negroes apply for registration, 270 certificates issued.

Jan. 1956 - Approximately 2,900 whites and 1,000 Negroes now registered in county, 600 whites and 400 Negroes registered in City. White position in city becomes precarious. Birmingham News study shows 157 white and 14,571 Negro adults in county not registered. Therefore, need for a Board of Registrars virtually ceases from white point of view. When one of the two active Board members dies, Board loses its quorum and no whites subsequently accept appointment. Negro leaders repeatedly appeal for a functioning Board.

Jan. 1957 - Civil rights legislation protecting Negro voting introduced in Congress.

Feb. 1957 - Tuskegee voting situation frequently mentioned in Congressional hearings.

Apr. 1957 - Two Macon whites surprisingly found who will accept appointment to Board. One is Citizen Council official.

May 6 - May 20 - Board meets for first time in sixteen months. On both days Board "discovers" that it has no office equipment and tells long lines of waiting Negroes to "come back next time."

June 3 - Board convenes late, permits only four Negroes to fill out the involved forms while constantly distracting them with verbal questions and directions.

June 17 - Board convenes late, permits only four Negroes to apply amid distractions. A school teacher is required to copy thirteen pages from the state constitution to determine her eligibility. One of the two registrars on duty becomes ill after lunch and Board adjourns early.

* * * * * *

Of approximately 100 Negroes coming to register in May and June, eight were permitted to apply and no certificates were issued. No Negroes enfranchised since late 1955.

June 21 - Legislature gerrymanders 410 of Tuskegee's 420 Negroes outside of the city limits. Frustration is now complete.

June 24 - Crusade for Citizenship launched by over 3,000 massed Negroes who are urged to "buy goods and services from those who will help you."

June 28 - Misconceptions, rumors, and tension rife in both communities. Idle merchants standing in front of empty stores tell reporters that the Crusade has failed. Negroes joke about the used car dealer who parked all his autos around the square to help business appearances. Politicians claim widespread intimidation from "goon squads" as their Montgomery predecessors had done. Only one Negro files any charges.

July 3 - White officials ignore Negro leaders' public offer of discussion of problems.

July 25, July 29 - Alabama Attorney General personally leads raids on Tuskegee Civic Association office confiscating records.

July 31 - Six Negroes receive voter certificates during month.

Aug. 15 - Attorney General secures temporary injunction restraining T.C.A. from boycotting after large part of staff and energy of his office had carried out extensive investigation in Tuskegee. During same period one staff member was spared to talk to Maplesville police chief after 200 Klansmen has mauled eight docile Negroes in that town.

Aug. 16 - Injunction fails to increase business. Pressure further unifies ranks of Negroes.

Dec. 17 - Alabama voters by 3-2 margin approved ammendment permitting Legislature to abolish Macon County at its next session in 1959.

Jan. 21, 22, 1958 - Hearings on request by Attorney General for permanent injunction against T.C.A. Judge to render decision after March 22.

* * * * * * * *

Who Originated the Gerrymander Plans?

Four aristocratic families have dominated Macon County politics and economics for generations. Their five present-day descendents constitute a powerful oligarchy composed of a banker, cotton broker, high city official, businessman, and a high county official.

It is thought that this group tapped an obscure planter named Englehart for the Legislature in 1950 and last spring quietly prepared the gerrymander measures for him to introduce. All are wealthy and boycott-secure with only one having to dispose of a retail business, an auto agency, just before the rank-and-file businessmen were informed of the plans. Several of these persons are in a position to substantially benefit should many businesses go into receivership, but their primary motivations are probably best expressed by one who recently states, "I don't care what happens to Tuskegee. The niggers aren't going to take over."

Where are Tuskegee Negroes Trading?

Immediate necessities such as groceries and gasoline are purchased from local Negro businesses. Other needs are usually secured by neighbors taking turns driving each other into nearby Auburn, Opelika, or Montgomery two or three times a month. Relatively few shop in Union Springs because Bullock County has enfranchised only six Negroes.

How Has This Affected Downtown Business?

To date, only six stores have been closed, most of them having been operating in the margin before last June. A few more were "hanging on" until after Christmas and may be closing soon. Several merchants have left stores to be operated solely by wives and are attempting to open new establishments in Opelika, etc. Most will manage to remain open for some time, but all have been severly hurt.

What Effect Could Injunctions Have Against the Crusade?

Obviously, no one can be forced to trade in a particular store, but leaders of organizations, such as the T.C.A., might be accused of conspiracy to boycott, held in contempt of court, fined and jailed. Before the Crusade was ever launched, the T.C.A. officers fully recognized and accepted this possibility. On the other hand, persecution would only increase determination as in Montgomery.

Have Bi-Racial Talks Been Attempted?

Individual officials have conferred with individual T.C.A. leaders, but witnesses and anything in writing are carefully avoided. Requests for anything more are ignored. Once when a Negro delegation arrived at a City Council meeting, a council member physically barred the door and refused to convene the session until they had left the premises. The only group discussion between T.C.A. leaders and local whites (none were officials) since the Crusade began was arranged by the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Tuskegee, like every city or town in Alabama, has white persons of genuine convictions. Some stood for principle in the white community and suffered, but few, if any, local Negroes know of it.

What Conclusions About a Solution Can Be Drawn?

1. The Negroes probably will not settle for anything short of: (a) restoration of the original city limits, and (b) a functioning Board of Registrars which would register a reasonable number of qualified Negroes each registration day. These, of course, are based on the present situation. To secure these goals, they are of a mind to endure almost anything indefinitely.
2. It is inconceivable that the Legislature would reverse its city gerrymander act, nor would state authorities appoint the desired registrars in the foreseeable future regardless of any possible outcry from the local whites.
3. This dead-lock ultimately will be broken only in the Federal Judiciary acting under the Fourteenth Amendment with final implementation decrees becoming operative several years from now.
4. Whether Tuskegee eventually becomes an all-Negro city or a venture of cooperative coexistence involving a substantial number of whites largely depends upon the effectiveness of Negro efforts of reassurance and reconcilliation in the future. Regardless, Tuskegee will establish a pattern that others will follow.

-Rev. Robert E. Hughes
1/28/58

March 25, 1958

Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher
Church of the Ascension
315 Clanton Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Tom:

It certainly gave me an unusual amount of pleasure to hear that you had been elected President of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. I am convinced that there is nothing which you could do at this time which will have more meaning to the future of a democratic society in Alabama. I am convinced that because of the talents and interest and experience which you bring to the position the Alabama Council will continue to grow and to expand its activities in helpful ways. I am convinced that because you approach this from a religious standpoint that the organization will remain true to its basic task.

My sincerest congratulations for being elected and my heartfelt gratitude for undertaking this added responsibility. If there is anything that we can do to help please feel free to call on us.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Ala
Thrasher file
st. Chmn

Church of The Ascension
315 Clanton Avenue
Montgomery 5, Alabama

Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher
Rector

March 27, 1958

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 25th. It is gratifying to me to know that you think well of my election as President of the Alabama Council. I must confess that I undertake this job with a great deal of trepidation. The task in Alabama is Herculean. I made a speech to the Council meeting which elected me, insisting upon the fact that I am a moderate, and it does appear to me that the only answer in this whole area is such a moderation as will enable people of widely varying points of view to exchange ideas and to sit down together and discuss our problems in an atmosphere of mutual respect and confidence that some solution can be worked out. Up to now, however, the hysterical voices seem to be in the ascendant and there appears to be very little that we can do except to continue in our small group meetings to keep open just this channel of communication in order that in case a crisis does arrive there may be some people around who can talk to one another about our common concern. You are quite right that my approach to this whole matter is a religious approach and I am convinced that the teachings of Christ plainly state the equality of all men in the eyes of Almighty God. A sociological problem, however, of such enormous range and significance must be dealt with in the terms of what is at present possible. You can help me very much if you will channel to me practical suggestions about things that we can do of a constructive nature, things that have been done in other state organizations, and opportunities to make our voice felt in our local situation.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Tom Thrasher

Thomas R. Thrasher

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April 6, 1955

Reverend Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

You will recall that in Memorandum #1 from this office it was stipulated that state organizations organized by 1 October, 1954 and receiving aid from SRC are required to raise at least $1800 before the end of the fiscal year, 30 September, 1955, in order to get a renewal of aid for the next fiscal year.

Such is the case with your state organization. Please write me a confirming reply stating that this arrangement is understood by the Alabama Council on Human Relations. And note that you will be asked to show, just prior to 30 September, 1955, that your organization has raised the stipulated sum.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: FBR
CHP

April 18, 1955

Reverend Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

All we would need here is evidence that your office raised for its own purposes the $1800.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: KS + incoming 4/12

April 18, 1955

Reverend Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

By our records the ex-officio member of the Board of the Southern Regional Council, chosen by the Alabama Council on Human Relations, is Mr. C. G. Gomillion.

You recall that under SRC's by-laws each state organization affiliated with the Southern Regional Council is expected to choose two persons to serve as members of SRC. These "two persons from each affiliated state organization shall be the chairman of such affiliated organization and one additional member elected by the members of such organization,"(Article II, Section 1A2).

The chairmen of state organizations are on the Board of SRC as long as they are chairmen, and "ex-officio members elected by their affiliated state organizations shall hold membership in the corporation for not more than two consecutive four-year terms, or portions thereof," (Article II, Section 1B).

If we have incorrectly recorded your ex-officio elected member of SRC's Board, and the date of election, let us know. If we are right, please confirm. If you have no one elected, please attend to the matter at the next available proper meeting of your group and notify us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Mr. Robert E. Hughes

KS
GTH
FBR
HCF

First Methodist Church

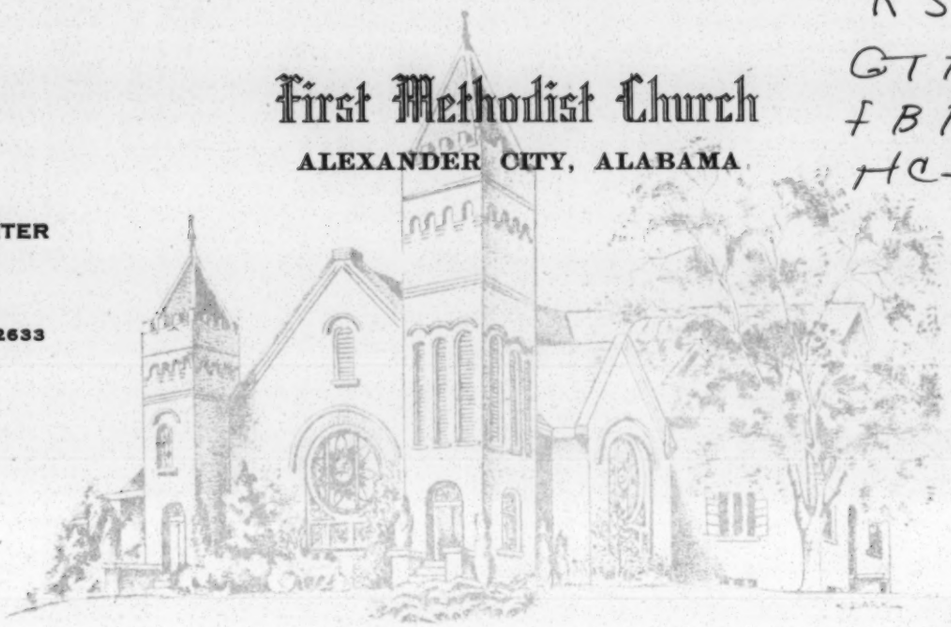
ALEXANDER CITY, ALABAMA

DUNCAN HUNTER
MINISTER

RES. ADAMS 4-2633

ELNA WOLSONCROFT
SECRETARY

BUS. ADAMS 4-3331



APR 22 1955

April 20, 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Alabama Council's income from Oct. 1954 to date (April 1955) has been $1,025.40. We ful confident that we will reach $1800 by Sept.

Hughes will confirm Gomillion as a member of the Board of the SRC.

Sincerely,

Duncan Hunter

NORTH ALABAMA CONFERENCE STUDY GROUP

Paul Clem - President
Dan Draper - Vice President
Carl Tolleson - Secretary

April 19, 1955

Dear Friend:

The Study Group will meet Tuesday and Wednesday, May 17 and 18 at Kowaliga on Martin Lake.

We have missed our last two sessions so please make a special effort to be present.

We have secured the use of privately owned cabins. They are well furnished with all conveniences. In order that we may not be an imposition on the owners, please bring your bed linen and towels.

Meals will be served at the Kowaliga Inn and each person will pay for what he orders.

The cabins and boats will be available Monday afternoon for those who would like to come early and fish.

Come directly to Kowaliga Inn any time Monday and not later than 1:30 P. M. Tuesday where you will receive directions for reachings the cabins. Plan to stay through the noon meeting on Wednesday.

Enclosed you will find a list of others who will likely come. Try to share transportation and ease the car-pool expense.

Membership dues of $1.00 should be sent immediately to the Secretary whether you come or not (according to our previous agreement.)

Please return the enclosed postal card as soon as you can. This is a must.

The program will be as follows:

Tues., 2:00 P.M. -"Psychotherapy and the Christian Message", Duncan Hunter
Tues., 7:30 P.M. -"A Bible Study" - Francis Christie
Wed., 9:00 A.M. -Panel Discussion: "The Church Facing Its Responsibility in Race Relations", Dan Whitsett.

Sincerely yours,

Carl Tolleson, Sec'y.

P.S. Return the postal card. We must know how many to expect.

FILE COPY

June 15, 1955

Reverend Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

That which we had hoped for from the beginning is now possible -- an integrated, full-time staff in each of the twelve Southern states. As a consequence of the reallocation of certain funds (an additional $2,500 per state) we are now in position to assure you of assistance from SRC in the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1955, which would enable your state organization to cover the entire salary at $5,000 of an Associate Director for those twelve months.

In addition there is sufficient money to cover the salary of a full-time Associate Director by your state organization for the remaining months of the current fiscal year; thus you can assure prospective candidates of at least fifteen months employment.

It would be our requirement that the starting salary paid to the Associate Director be the same as was the starting salary of your Executive Director.

Your Executive Committee or Personnel Committee should seek qualified candidates for the position as quickly as possible. We do not mean to imply that speed is more important than quality. Before final commitments are made for employing an Associate Director the Central Office must give its approval according to our agreement with the state organizations.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
State Organizations

FBR/eab

cc: CHP
Mr. Robert Hughes
FBR

July 7, 1955

Reverend Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

The 1954 meeting of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council imposed a requirement that evidence be adduced as to the loyalty of all personnel employed in the Atlanta office of SRC, and in state programs assisted by SRC.

Procedurally, this worked out as a rule that state chairmen are asked to execute the enclosed certificate for personnel in the employ of their organizations. A similar arrangement is in use in this office.

For Mr. Hughes and Mr. Pierce certificates are on file over here. But the office does have a new secretary, and I would be most grateful for your aid in helping us complete the file by filling out a certificate on the new young lady and sending it on back to me.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.
cc: KS

September 7, 1955

MEMO

FROM: Mr. Frederick B. Routh

TO: Rev. Duncan Hunter

As you know, Irene Osborne's services have been made available to the Southern Regional Council for a six months period. Enclosed is a tentative or proposed schedule for her to travel in the various states.

You will note that a week is allowed for her to be in each state. If this proposed schedule grossly violates something you have planned, please let us know as soon as possible. But, we would like to hold to your schedule and group our proposal.

You will also note that we have grouped the states together to save on travel and have tried to have the states paired accordingi to your climate of relations which exist.

You should plan to have Irene visit the schools and community jobs and key places in your state. We would be particularly helpful in those states where some communities have already begun the job of desegregation, or as you know the intention to do so.

27 September 1955

Reverend Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Reverend Hunter:

On October 29, 1954, Dr. Mitchell wrote all state organization chairmen stating that the Southern Regional Council would require of each state organization a statement at the end of the fiscal year certifying that they had not engaged in political activity.

In compliance with the request, will you please fill in the enclosed memorandum, sign it, and mail it at your earliest convenience to Dr. Mitchell. These will be filed as part of the permanent record of the state organizations affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/ys

FILE COPY

October 4, 1955

Mr. Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

The Fund for the Republic has approved a grant to the Southern Regional Council for the second fiscal year, October 1, 1955 - September 30, 1956. The total grant for this second period is $150,000, of which we regard $25,000 as available for the central office in Atlanta. We will carry through on the commitment in Memo #1 to provide for your state $10,500. In addition to that, as notified to you in Fred Routh's letter of June 15, 1955, we can cover an extra $2,500 (by carry-over from last year's money) to enable the employment of an associate director on a full-time basis. The two sums together are $13,000.

Of the $13,000, $5,000 is payable for the basic salary of an executive director; $5,000 for the basic salary of an associate director; and $2,500 for secretarial help. Which is to say that $12,500 is committed to salaries. Of the remaining $500, approximately half must cover social security, bonding, and required insurance. Thus we can supply to you toward local operating expenses in this fiscal year only $250.

That is a considerable leap at one time we know toward self-sufficiency, but it is all we can do. And the obvious answer is a strong and effective finance committee for each state.

In order for SRC to meet its commitment to the Fund for the Republic, it will be necessary for your organization to raise, from sources other than SRC, in this fiscal year, a minimum of $3,500. As heretofore, unless this amount is independently raised, it will not be possible for SRC to aid your organization in the third grant period.

It was said above that we have available for your organization a total of $5,000 toward the basic salary of an associate director. We are willing to consider state by state the use of some part-time consultants for fulfilling this function if that should seem desirable.

Arrangements for salary checks, monthly reports, and other details will continue in this fiscal year as in last.

Let me know if you have questions as to these figures.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

FBR
GSM/eab

cc: FBR
CHP
RA

December 6, 1955

Rev. Duncan Hunter, Chairman
Alabama Council on Human Relations
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Rev. Hunter:

Just to remind you that we are still waiting for your Council to nominate a person to serve on the proposed SRC Finance Committee.

We are fully aware that this is not an easy job, however, we would appreciate your taking care of this matter at the earliest possible time. It is important that we get this Committee started as early as possible.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

c.c. Fred Routh

M E M O

February 28, 1956

TO: HCF, FBR, RHA, GSA

FROM: GSM

On February 27, Duncan Hunter, Alabama Chairman, telephoned George Mitchell.

Among those who have become members of the Alabama Council was a man from Boaz whose political opinions were deeply suspicioned. Man has a wife teaching at what I think he calls James College, who seems pleasant and stable enough. Emory Jackson tells the Alabama Council that the Boaz individual is the correspondent for Alabama for The Daily Worker. Hunter wishes SRC's views as to whether the man's membership should be returned to him or not. Mitchell made reference to his outgoing letter of yesterday touching on that point. Hunter said Alabama Council makes no requirement in belief of principles of Alabama Council for membership. Mitchell said that if it could be established that the man was in fact correspondent for The Daily Worker that would seem sufficient proof of his being a Communist and would seem to warrant a letter to him stating that the Alabama Council would not care to have as a member one in disagreement with its own methods of protecting American freedoms.

They had no luck in finding an Alabama person to be their Finance Committee representative. Had their own State organization's feeble Finance Committee, but no one on it of stature. Would continue to look.

Had not heard that Bob Hughes might be called back into his church slot soon.

As to Mr. Gray, who is their Associate, one-half time. Began in that status February 1. But has been so occupied with the boycott that he has given the Alabama Council only one day of actual service during February. They were concerned about suitable pay for Gray and were concerned about having as their Associate in half-time pay status one who was nearly full-time engaged in pushing the boycott. Suggested that by a conference with Mr. Gray they see if Mr. Gray would request that his status be altered to that of consultant for a temporary period retroactive to February 1. Then let Mr. Hunter write us that Mr. Gray worked a certain number of days in February. And successively thereafter. Or the letter to us could come from Bob Hughes.

THE N

REDS ACT TO JOIN CIVIL RIGHTS PUSH

Seek 'Full Role' in Struggle of Negroes in the South—N.A.A.C.P. Warns Units

The Communist party, which had been lying low dodging Congressional process-servers for several years, plans to inject itself into the civil rights struggles in the South.

This was disclosed by Claude Lightfood, Negro Communist leader, who heads the party in Illinois. Interviewed by The Worker, Communist newspaper, last Sunday, about civil rights cases, Lightfood said:

"I am certain that in these days and in many other struggles our party will resume its full role, justifying new levels of goodwill and confidence among the broadest sections of the Negro people."

Lightfoot has been sentenced to serve five years in prison and pay a fine of $5,000 under the Smith Act. That act makes membership in the Communist party, while knowing its aim is the violent overthrow of the Government, a crime. His conviction is being appealed.

Communist support or participation in the civil rights movement of non-Communist Negro groups will lend credence to the propaganda of the White Citizens' Councils in the South, Negro leaders believe. The councils picture the civil rights movement as being Communist-inspired.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People already has taken action to check the Communist party's maneuver. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the association, a week ago sent out a notice of caution to 1,300 branches and youth councils.

"Intensive efforts" are being made by Communists and left-wing groups and individuals to infiltrate the assembly of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights to be held in Washington March 4 to 6, Mr. Wilkins said in his letter.

If the left-wing should "capture" the rally, Mr. Wilkins warned, "the whole civil rights movement will receive a black eye."

GSM ✓
HCF ✓
FBR ✓
GSA
CHP
NET
~~RHA~~
JC
FI
YS
RH
RL
BF ✓

NEW YORK TIMES
February 22, 1956

March 7, 1956

Rev. Duncan Hunter, Chairman
Alabama Council on Human Relations
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

I have been puzzling about the matter raised in your telephone call of February 27 - the man from Boaz who showed Communist proclivities. I then said that whether you had or had not in your membership blank some clause about "agreeing with the principles of the Alabama Council on Human Relations," the ACHR might, on establishing that the individual was a correspondent for the Daily Worker, write him that you did not care to have as a member of the ACHR one in disagreement with the ACHR's methods of protecting American Freedom.

It now appears that you have in your By-laws the following:

Article III, Section 1. Members. Any person who is in accord with the purposes of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and residing in the State of Alabama may become a member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations upon payment of appropriate dues.

Under that it would obviously be within the power of the Executive Committee of the ACHR to refuse or withdraw membership from any individual held by that body to be not in accord with the purposes of the ACHR.

We do not think the ACHR is required to do more than write the individual that the ACHR has declined his membership under the provisions of Article III, Section 1 of the By-laws.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

August 7, 1956

Rev. Duncan Hunter, Chairman
Alabama Council on Human Relations
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, at its meeting July 20-21, approved a plan for tailor-made allocation of funds to state organizations for the third grant period. Central Office staff was authorized to modify, by not more than 25%, the allocation of funds proposed in Memo # 1. The Executive Committee's action was based on a desire to maintain presently employed professional staff.

The grant to the Alabama Council for the third grant period (October 1, 1956 - September 30, 1957) totals $7,500; of this amount $5,000 is set aside for the salary of the Executive Director. The remaining $2,500 may be used for additional professional staff or for clerical help. It may not be used for other than salary purposes.

Considering your actual expenditure of money thus far this fiscal year, and projecting likely expenditures for the remainder of it, the total spent will be less than the amount made available to you. We are, therefore, reducing on a proportionate basis the required minimum to be raised this fiscal year to $2,500; you will recall that the required minimum for the next fiscal year is $6,500. It may be a shade less on a pro-rata basis.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

cc: Rev. Robert E. Hughes

cc: RHA
FBR

December 7, 1956

Reverend Duncan Hunter
Chairman
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

In accordance with your telephone conversation today justifying the need of the Alabama Council on Human Relations for an emergency allocation, we send you $500. It is a condition of this supplementary grant to the Alabama Council on Human Relations that the ACHR raise an additional hundred dollars from normal sources. We spoke of no time limit, but I should think it would be reasonable for you to have fetched in the extra hundred by February 1, 1957, and we would be grateful for Mr. Hughes giving us a letter as of that date telling us what happened about the raising of the $100.

No decision is now taken that the raising of this $100 increases or diminishes the sum which the Alabama Council must raise in the fiscal year 1956-57.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Reverend Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Encl.

August 1, 1957

Mr. Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

We are sending you the enclosed list of the trustees of Wesley Memorial Building at the request of Harold Fleming who is on vacation.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - List of Trustees - Wesley Memorial Church.

January 30, 1958

Mr. Duncan Hunter
First Methodist Church
Semmes and Green Streets
Alexander City, Alabama

Dear Duncan:

Recalling that you expressed an interest in having a copy of our analysis of prospective income for 1958, I am sending the enclosed. It was intended to sound optimistic, and so it does.

I find that both Fred and I will be away on February 15. Therefore, I have asked Paul Anthony to represent the SRC staff at the Alabama Council's annual meeting. Paul is fully informed on our policies and activities and makes a very able presentation, if that should be called for. Talking with Bob Hughes this morning about another matter, I gave him this information.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Financial Analysis - 1958)

November 5, 1958

Dear Duncan:

Glad you can be here for the Executive Committee meeting. It will be held in the conference room of Atlanta University (223 Chestnut Street) beginning at 2:00 P. M. We will have an accommodation for you at Ware Hall. You should check in at Bumstead Hall, 50 Chestnut Street.

October 4, 1960

The Rev. Duncan Hunter
1009 Westmorland Avenue
Huntsville, Alabama

Dear Mr. Hunter:

Paul Rilling has just left town, but asked me to forward this copy of the letter Will Campbell is suggesting. I am enclosing also a copy of the background report which Paul drew up. He suggests that you write or call your changes or suggestions directly to Will, since he will not be in town again until next week.

In case you do not have his address, it is:

The Rev. Will Campbell
National Council of Churches
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee
Phone: ALpine 5-3842

Sincerely,

Mrs. Timothy Miller
secretary to Paul Rilling

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

FBR –

Is any sort of "alert" to state orgns indicated? Let's talk.

H.

H – yes –
F.

"*To Attain* . . .

THROUGH DISCUSSION, FACT-FINDING AND APPEAL THE IDEALS AND PRACTICES OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL PEOPLES IN STATE AND REGION"

THE ALABAMA DIVISION

OF

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

A STATEMENT . . .

OF PLATFORM AND CONVICTIONS
OF TECHNIQUES AND ACTIVITIES
OF ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP

FEBRUARY 1952

A. PLATFORM AND CONVICTION

THE ALABAMA DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL BELIEVES

1. That the expressed ideals of National and World Democracy, to which our State is committed, can be achieved.

2. That the improvement of economic, civic, political and educational conditions of ALL the people is necessary for the preservation of Democracy and for the progress of our State and of our Region.

3. That our State and the South can be FREED of POVERTY, of PREJUDICE, of FEAR and of IGNORANCE.

4. That in the name of DEMOCRACY, of CHRISTIANITY, and of HUMAN DECENCY, the Negro should have EQUAL OPPORTUNITY in the SCHOOL ROOM, on the JOB and at the POLLS.

5. That there is SERIOUS disadvantage to our State in any DOUBLE STANDARDS (on basis of race) in HEALTH, in HOUSING, in EDUCATION, in the COURTS and in any other of the PUBLIC SERVICES.

6. That Democracy is sound, safe and effective only when EVERYBODY contributes and EVERYBODY shares.

7. That it is to be the advantage and benefit of our State and of our Region to utilize and strengthen ALL ITS HUMAN RESOURCES through widened participation of Negroes in community activities and endeavors.

8. That better understanding between the races will lead to the lessening and elimination of violence, of injustice and of unwholesome humiliation.

9. That functioning inter-racial committees can be a CHANNEL of constructive progress as well as a HELPFUL RESOURCE in time of crisis and misunderstanding.

10. That SOUND INFORMATION, HONEST DISCUSSION and CHRISTIAN COOPERATION can be effective in the promotion of social progress.

B. TECHNIQUES AND ACTIVITIES

THE ALABAMA DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. Shares the annual meetings and utilizes the publications and services of The Southern Regional Council.

2. Sponsors an annual state meeting along with quarterly meetings of its Executive Committee and semi-annual meetings of its Advisory Council.

3. Encourages the organization and active functioning of inter-racial community committees.

4. Enlists the cooperation and associated activity of church groups, of women's groups and of other interested organizations.

5. Seeks to stimulate the interest and the study, by college student groups, of problems of community betterment and of equality in public services and in public benefits for ALL our citizens.

6. Stimulates survey and conference to find the facts and determine the possibilities of constructive action.

7. Advocates and seeks to implement projects of inter-group and inter-racial cooperation in behalf of problems of human relationships and of public betterment of ALL the people of our State.

8. Seeks to demonstrate that enlightened Southerners of all races can be associated as fellow-citizens in the civic life of their communities in a PRACTICAL APPROACH which emphasizes WORKABLE SOLUTIONS rather than SPECTACULAR PRONOUNCEMENTS.

9. Utilizes opportunity for dissemination of information through publications, through conferences and through personal contacts.

C. ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP

THE ALABAMA DIVISION OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Is the successor to The Alabama Inter-Racial Committee
Is Alabama's affiliate-sponsor of The Southern Regional Council
Is one of the twelve State Divisions of The Southern Regional Council

(The Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation was organized in 1918 and was merged with The Southern Regional Council in 1944.)

The membership of The Southern Regional Council and of its Alabama Division is open to all Southerners and to all citizens of the State of Alabama who are willing to seek GIVE OUR DEMOCRACY A REAL CHANCE.

The membership is composed of interested citizens of all races, occupations and religious persuasions
White and Negro – Men and Women – Urban and Rural
Business – Professional – Education – Labor
Church people of all faiths and denominations

The SUSTAINING member pays annual dues of TEN DOLLARS (or more)

The INDIVIDUAL member pays annual dues of THREE DOLLARS and receives all publications and reports, including THE NEW SOUTH

The HUSBAND-WIFE joint member pays annual dues of FOUR DOLLARS and JOINTLY receives all publications and reports

A CONTRIBUTOR makes NON-MEMBER contributions to the operation of the SRC

THE ALABAMA DIVISION

Chairman: Rev. Dan Whitsett, Sylacauga

Vice Chairman: President W. A. Bell, Miles College, Birmingham

Secretary: Mr. C. G. Gomillion, Box 31, Tuskegee Institute

Treasurer: Mr. J. T. Brooks, Alabama State College, Montgomery

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL:

There will be an important meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council at Campus Centre, Montgomery State Teachers' College, at 2:00 o'clock on Thursday, April 22, 1954. Transportation will be cared for by the Treasurer.

Thomas R. Thrasher, Secretary

RECEIVED
7 1954

RECEIVED
APR 20 1954
Southern Regional Council

Sam Rhuhane

This is to remind you of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council at Campus Centre, Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama, April 22, at 2:00 P.M.

Thomas R. Thrasher, (Sec'y)

O/P in

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL LEASES OFFICE SUITE HERE

The Southern Regional Council, an organization supported principally by funds from the North and dedicated, according to its literature, to improvement of relations between the races, has opened offices in Montgomery.

Known officially as the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council, the organization has leased a suite of two offices on the second floor of the Moore Building. The Moore Building, one of Montgomery's smaller but most modern office structures, is located in the heart of the downtown area, on South Court Street just across from the Greyhound Bus Depot.

The offices are in charge of the Rev. Robert Hughes, until recently a member of the North Alabama Methodist Conference with a pastorate at Rockford. Rev. Mr. Hughes has rented a residence on Magnolia Curve, but was not available either at his office or home today for a statement on his plans, or the plans of the organization. The offices were closed today.

It is understood from reliable sources that the management of several buildings refused to rent office space to the organization when Rev. Mr. Hughes stated his intention of employing a Negro secretary. The Moore Building management has assurance, however, that no Negroes will be on the staff using its offices.

Rev. Mr. Hughes and his organization, which has a grant from the Ford Foundation, claim a number of Montgomerians among the organization's supporters. lease for the Moore Building

office space was signed by the Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher, rector of the Episcopal Church of the Ascension who signed as secretary of the Southern Regional Council.

Montgomery, Alabama
Alabama Journal (page 1)
October 27, 1954

November 23, 1954

Alabama Division
Montgomery, Ala.

Executive Committee Meeting

FBR attending.

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council)

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

December 8, 1954

MEMORANDUM #1

TO: Members of the Executive Committee
FROM: Robert E. Hughes, State Director

The work of the Alabama Division is developing rapidly and the purpose of this communication is to bring you abreast of the situation we are now facing and to inform you of the plans by which our work can continue to progress.

Doubtless you are aware of the fact that the Alabama Division is now participating in the financial grant of the Ford Foundation's "Fund for the Republic" to the Southern Regional Council. This has enabled the Executive Committee meeting September 17, 1954, to acquire the services of Rev. Robert E. Hughes from the North Alabama Conference of the Methodist Church (on appointment by Bishop Clare Purcell) as our full-time state director. In addition it provides for the setting up of a state office in Montgomery with a secretary and the part-time services of several consultants.

The allotment to the Alabama Division is based upon an annual budget of $15,000 of which we must raise a minimum of $1,800 the first year which ends September 31, 1955. The three year period over which the grant is available is based upon a declining scale with our obligation rising accordingly. Our goal is to reach a self-sustaining status on this new high level of operations by October 1, 1957.

With these financial considerations in mind let us look at the present state of our resources. Most of us have been under the impression that we have a state membership of somewhere in the neighborhood of 200 persons. According to the tabulation of records made available to us this week from the Atlanta office we have 105 persons who have paid their dues for 1954. This year the Alabama Division has received approximately $202 toward our operating expenses from memberships and contributions. This figure corresponds with our average income for the past several years.

Obviously, to raise our income from $200 to $1,800 in the space of nine months requires that every member, especially our leadership, revise their whole concept of our undertaking. Simply, our efforts must be multiplied nine-fold.

Recognizing the necessity for the assumption of greater responsibility on the part of our membership to insure our financial status as

well as the development of an expanded program, the Executive Committee on November 23, adopted the following broad plan:

> The state is broken down into seven geographical districts according to population and racial attitudes. Each contains an average of approximately 450,000 people and 13 counties, generally covering these areas--District 1, North West Piedmont; District 2, North East Piedmont; District 3, Birmingham; District 4, West Black Belt; District 5, East Black Belt; District 6, The Wire Grass; District 7, Mobile.
>
> Each district will have its own organization centered around two co-chairmen (Negro and white) and at least three committees (membership, finance, and program).

The annual meeting will be coordinated with the development of this decentralizing process, by giving members who are attending from each district the opportunity to meet together for the purpose of organizing their districts. It is evident that this initial organization will be a failure if our representation at the annual meeting follows the same pattern as in previous years. All of us recognize the extreme importance of our having at this meeting as large a number of our members and perspective members as possible, and at the same time a representation that is balanced geographically and racially.

A special committee of the Executive Committee is now negotiating with Mr. Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, and Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College in Atlanta, to secure their services as our featured speakers. The date for the annual meeting is set for Tuesday, February 8, here in Montgomery. If you have any suggestions as to how the annual meeting can be made more interesting and vital to our membership, the director will be glad to forward them to the special committee.

Dr. Dan Whitsett has called a meeting of the Executive Committee for Thursday, January 6, 1955, at 2:00 p.m. in the state office at which time the general S. R. C. program and the annual meeting will be more fully discussed and final plans made.

In response to the recommendation of the Atlanta office each state division is in the process of changing its official name in order that the new autonomous status of each organization will be reflected in its title. A special committee meeting last Saturday made the final decision of the "Alabama Council on Human Relations" (affiliated with the Southern Regional Council), which will replace the "Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council" in all future references.

Should you be in Montgomery at any time prior to the next Executive Committee meeting the director will be happy to show you the new suite of offices which we have secured. We are located in the Moore Building on South Court Street, which is directly across the street from the Greyhound Bus Station.

REH/rmb

January 7, 1955

Report by Frederick B. Routh
Alabama Council on Human Relations

EXECUTIVE MEETING
January 6, 1955
Montgomery, Ala.

Those present were:

Mr. Brooks (N)	Mr. Hughes (W)
Mr. McCleod (W)	Fr. Thrasher (W)
Mr. Turnipseed (W)	Mr. Whitsett (W)
Mr. Hunter (W)	Dr. Trenham (N)
Dr. Pierce (N)	Dr. Gomillion (N)

The Executive Secretary reported to the Committee that he had participated in the following activities:

1. A trip to Fisk where he conferred with Dr. Charles Johnson and others on race relations across the South with particular emphasis on Alabama.

2. A trip out to the West Black Belt in Alabama where he attended a "Citizens Committee" meeting (economic Kluxism). This meeting he reported to the FBI.

3. He uncovered an interracial committee of the Tuscaloosa Religious Council.

4. A trip to Tuskegee where he was directed to a White, liberal banker.

5. Unofficially, he helped circulate to Methodist ministers throughout the state an editorial "A Letter to Methodists" (comparable to Corinthians) in which the "rebel" Methodists were chastized for not living up to their principles. Note: This has had noticeable effect among the Methodist ministry and has been smiled upon with favor by the Bishop.

6. A trip to Birmingham for a conference with NAACP leadership, particularly Mrs. Hurley, on what can be done in Alabama and how SRC and NAACP can cooperate.

7. Approached Dr. James Pierce to be chief consultant on instructions from the Board. Note: Dr. Pierce accepted and the Board approved a salary of $20.00 per day honorarium plus 6¢ a mile and expenses on travel.

The Board asked Mr. Hughes and Dr. Pierce for a list of suggested consultants and appointed Hughes, Brooks, Gomillion and Pierce to go over the list for further study. Among those mentioned were Mr. J.D. Thompson, Cottage Grove; D.B. Jamison, Dothan; Rev. Lawry, Mobile; Dr. Charles Hall, Huntsville; S.J. Whisenhunt, Atmore; Oran Frazier, Evergreen; O.W. Holmes, Talladega. Note: These men have not been finally chosen as consultants at this point but further investigation has been provided for by the Committee previously named.

The Board authorized the payment of some seven people to come to Montgomery to discuss promotion of the annual meeting (6¢ per mile and expenses only).

The Board appointed a Nominating Committee of Dr. Gomillion, Dr. Trenham and Mr. McCleod to look into the possibilities of broadening the Board and also to nominate a new slate of officers.

It was noted that the old Constitution was still in effect, that there was need for a Constitution Committee to consider the new proposed Constitution and then report to the annual meeting for the approval of whatever is decided by the Committee.

February 8th was set for the annual meeting and the Board noted that Dr. Dent of Dillard University (New Orleans) had accepted to be afternoon speaker who would deal with possible steps toward solving our interracial problems. FBR was asked to do a ten to fifteen minute summary on what the SRC is doing across the South. Note: A Program Committee was appointed to work with Mr. Hughes in working out the details of the program for that day.

There was a broader participation this time in the Alabama meeting by all concerned than at previous meetings. There is still a strong drive among the group to get through with the meeting so that very often rather complicated and complex problems are dealt with in only a surface way and the real decision making as to policy, as well as to the implementation of that policy, is left to the Executive Secretary. There is need for the group to sit down together and carefully talk through what they are trying to do in the state, how it can be done, what are the other resources they can count on for help and what are some of the stumbling blocks for which they should look. Only as this is done, only as there is a better understanding of process will it be possible for the Alabama organization to move forward as it properly should.

FBR/rnf

February 8, 1955 - Tuesday

Alabama Division
Montgomery, Ala.

Annual meeting

FBR attending

MEMORANDUM FOR FILES

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Tuesday, February 8,
1955

George Mitchell attended and spoke at the Annual 1955 meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Held in what is apparently a disused school building near the campus of Alabama State College. Attendance at its morning fullest probably in excess of 240, of which half anyway were State College students who crocodiled in and occasionally out! But the attendance of adult persons actively interested in the program was at least three times what I had ever seen before, and for the first time in my experience they had a large and representative body of white persons. I would suppose that the adult audience was composed forty per cent of white persons. I don't know how many new members they took in, but at lunch break I counted slips indicating the actual dues payments by twenty-five persons. Some were renewals. The girl at the literature table reported an active sale. Just before I left Hughes and Mr. Gomillion drew me aside and said that they were proposing to switch the Alabama Division's by-laws to the Kentucky form with non-voting members. Would we approve? Not then and there, I said. But we would not object to the principle, and they might send in their altered by-laws for review. I think they intended in the afternoon business meeting to take long steps toward this purpose.

Word reached me also that Whitsett,is about to retire as chairman, on the ground that he has done his stint. The mantle was hovering above the neck of Reverend Duncan Hunter, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Alexander city.

Hughes made a speechlet. And with no errors, no hits, no runs.

I talked so much myself that I heard very little conversation from others and have very little to report. I believe I do recall Hughes' saying that at his time of speaking they had 113 paid members, but that they are going to get many more -- that they are hoping to.

Observe that they were to break up in the afternoon and get acquainted as to district groups.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

(affiliated with the Southern Regional Council)

Tuesday, February 8, 1955 Tullibody Auditorium

"HUMAN RELATIONS IN ALABAMA - TODAY AND TOMORROW"

9:30- 10:00 REGISTRATION

10:00- 12:00 MORNING SESSION

(Presiding: The Reverend Dan C. Whitsett, Sylacauga, Alabama)

INVOCATION.....Dr. Blount F. Davidson, Superintendent of Missions, Montgomery Baptist Association

MUSIC.....Alabama State College Freshman Choir
Mr. Robert E. Williams, Director

GREETINGS.....Dr. Councill Trenholm, President
Alabama State College

MORNING ADDRESS.....'HUMAN RELATIONS TODAY"
Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

DISCUSSION PERIOD

REPORTS ON THE STATUS OF WORK...(1) SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director

(2) ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
The Rev. Robert Hughes, Director

ANNOUNCEMENTS

12:00 LUNCH

1:30- 2:00 REGISTRATION

2:00- 4:00 AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00 DISTRICT MEETINGS.....Counties composing districts listed below with room ASSIGNMENTS

2:45 AFTERNOON ADDRESS.....'HUMAN RELATIONS TOMORROW"
Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University, New Orleans, La.

DISCUSSION PERIOD

BRIEF REPORTS FROM DISTRICT GROUPS

4:00 ADJOURNMENT

District 1: Colbert, Cullman, Fayette, Franklin, Lamar, Lauderdale, Lawrence, Limestone, Marion Morgan, Pickens, Tuscaloosa, Walker, Winston.
District 2: Blount, Calhoun, Cherokee, Clay, Cleburne, DeKalb, Etowah, Jackson Madison, Marshall, Randolph, Shelby, St. Clair, Talladega.
District 3: Jefferson.
District 4: Bibb, Choctaw, Clarke, Dallas, Greene, Hale, Marengo, Monroe, Perry, Sumter, Washington, Wilcox.
District 5: Autauga, Barbour, Bullock, Chambers, Chilton, Coosa, Elmore, Lee, Macon, Lowndes, Montgomery, Pike, Russell, Tallapoosa.
District 6: Butler, Coffee, Conecuh, Covington, Crenshaw, Dale, Escambia, Geneva, Henry, Houston.
District 7: Baldwin, Mobile.

Alabama
Monday, Fe. 28, 1955

I met with an adult class taught by Fr. Foley, S.J., of Spring Hill College. The class was held in a parochial high school and community center. The class was integrated racially and religiously and has as one of its members a city architect. It also had several public school teachers. They are taking a workshop type course in community problems and this particular session was devoted to problems of public education in the South as a result of the Supreme Court decision. The group was interested in the topic and participated broadly in a discussion period which followed the brief introductory lecture on the historical background of the decision, what might be done in a given locality, namely, Mobile.

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organization

rnf
3/18/55

GSM
GTH
KS
MEF
HCF
JC

return to FBR

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama
April 15, 1955

Dear fellow member:

It is a pleasure to inform you of the progress that the Alabama Council has made during the past few weeks. Our preparation for building interracial understanding through establishing and strengthening lines of communication has been proceeding in a most encouraging way.

The annual state meeting held in Montgomery in February, was more successful than we dared dream. Accustomed to an attendance of about 75 persons primarily from the Montgomery and Birmingham areas, we were most gratified to have over 330 persons attending from every corner of the state this year. After hearing fine addresses from Dr. George Mitchell and Dr. Albert Dent temporary officers were elected for each of the seven newly established districts.

Since that time our work has been decentralized through our district organizations. The emphasis has been on gaining new memberships in an effort to broaden the basis of support for our program which will shortly get underway.

The results of these efforts are seen in the increase in Alabama Council membership. At the annual meeting we had 108 persons on our roles. At the present time we have 209, representing an increase of 94% in just two months. Congratulations!

A breakdown of the state picture is shown below:

District	District Meetings Held	Total No. of Persons Attending	No. of Active Members
1- N.E. Alabama	1	15	13
2- N.W. Alabama	2	45	25
3- Birmingham	2	95	37
4- W. Black Belt	0	--	14
5- E. Black Belt	1	34	82
6- Wiregrass	2	24	18
7- Mobile	3	40	20
TOTAL	11	331	209

Actually our memberships do not reflect the real amount of interest that is being generated over the state. Many persons have only recently been

DISTRICT 7: None.

Between now and the date of your district meeting for electing permanent officers and bringing the membership drive to a close it might be well to concentrate on these unrepresented counties. The problem is essentially one of democracy---should the representatives of a few counties determine the leadership and policy for the coming year for the entire district over which we expect to be working in in the future.

May I suggest that the chairman of each district get together with the co-chairman and secretary and discuss the best method for acquiring at least one white and one Negro member in each of these counties. Our Board of Directors has secured the release of limited funds which can cover the transportation and living expenses of anyone performing this type service. If your district desires to utilize these funds for membership cultivation, please communicate with us in the very near future.

If the selection of a nominating committee for permanent officers has not been made as yet it would be advisable to attend to this matter as well. We recommend at least the following officers---district chairman, district vice-chairman, secretary, and treasurer. Due to the size of several districts some sentiment in favor of electing these persons from the same general area so as to facilitate meetings for planning, etc., with a minimum of travel.

Perhaps you would like for the nominating committee to nominate chairmen of standing committees at the same time. We are recommending at least these permanent committees: membership (to make provision for increasing the membership of the district); finance (to set up a district budget, financial system, and to secure contributions); research (to give guidance to local counties in carrying out surveys); and community relations (to develop methods and coordinate activities in getting our ideas implemented in the various counties of the district). The District will probably desire to add other committees as time goes by. The Board of Directors is in the process of setting up these same four committees on the state level so as to assist these district committees.

The Board has also made provision for two representatives from each district to become members of the Board, thereby making it a more democratic body.

Please do not hesitate to use your own initiative in developing your activities along any line you feel appropriate for your district. Call upon the State Office if we can help you in any way.

Congratulations on the fine work you have done for the cause of human relations in Alabama.

PROGRAM REPORT

of the

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

October 1, 1954-April 1, 1955

I PRELIMINARY ACTIVITIES

The director spent the first three months in acquainting humself with the status of human relations in Alabama through personal investigations over the state. Also liaison was established with the regional and state N.A.A.C.P., Southern Educational Fund, the Jefferson County Coordinating Council's Race Relations Committee, and the Tuscaloosa Religious Council's Race Relations committee.

The agent in charge of subversive activities in the Montgomery office of the F. B. I. was informed of the opening of our work in the state and acquainted with the general program, and assurances were given for complete cooperation should they desire further information about us. In turn we requested any information they might have at any time in the future as to any attempt by Communist elements to infiltrate our organization. Since that time they have requested our assistance in looking into specific situations.

An effort was made to seek the services of a Negro secretary for the Alabama Council office, but this was given up when it was apparent that we would not be able to secure an acceptable office location with the Negro secretary. For the time being we are employing white secretarial help.

II PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

A. Preannual meeting

In December a group of seven Negro and white persons assembled at the state office towork out a tentative annual program for the coming year. The state was divided into five geographical and two urban districts which were utilized to decentralize our program.

In January sixteen persons were called into the state office with expenses paid from all sections of the state to discuss and plan for promotion of the annual meeting which in essence would mark the beginning of our state-wide program. These persons took responsibility for promotion in various geographic areas.

Over 1,000 mimeographed and personal letters of invitation to the annual meeting were sent out to various categories of persons---ministers, businessmen, labor officials, teachers, church women, present and former members of the Alabama Council.

B. Annual Meeting

The annual membership meeting of the Alabama Council was held at Alabama State College on February 8, 1955. Dr Albert Dent and Dr. George S. Mitchell were featured speakers. Persons in attendance met according to previously

designated geographical districts and elected a provisional slate of officers for their districts. Approximately three hundred and thirty (330) persons attended from all sections of the state and from all occupational categories. Previous attendance at annual meetings had averaged approximately seventy-five (75) persons with predominant representation from Tuskegee, Montgomery, and Birmingham.

C. Provisional District Organizations

During the period of February 15 through April 1, six districts have held a total of nine District-wide meetings, attendance being a total of 277 persons with an average attendance of 31 persons per district meeting. At these meetings as well as the annual meeting racial ratios have generally been 2/3 Negro and 1/3 white.

District 4 (see accompanying map, West Black Belt) as yet has not held a district meeting. The purpose of these meetings has been to explain the purpose and methods of the Alabama Council in detail, discussion of human relations within the district, and the provision for development of membership in the district. In each case membership needs were pointed up--- needs according to occupational groups, race, geographic distribution, etc.

Some local community meetings have been held for the purpose of membership expansion.

Two districts are drawing up proposed constitutions for the District. This office will furnish each district with a local constitution in the near future if they desire it.

D. Permanent District Organization

On April 8, the first district will organize on permanent basis with permanent officers. It is anticipated that all districts will have organized by June 1. As each district is permanently organized, each district is encouraged to transfer its emphasis from membership to program development.

III PRESS NOTICES

The Alabama Council has been mentioned in the following press media. Relatively favorable treatment was given the annual meeting by the Montgomery Advertiser, the Alabama Journal, and the Montgomery Examiner. An unfavorable treatment of the annual meeting was given by the Alabama magazine, a very conservative weekly periodical with a circulation of about 4,000 persons over the state. (See enclosed copies)

IV DIRECTORS ACTIVITIES

The Director has carried five investigations of incidents and organizations over the state including the White Citizen's Councils of which two meetings have been attended.

The Director has spoken on several occasions to church and school groups concerning race relations. One of these was the annual conference of the Alabama Methodist Student Movement on February 12. At this meeting some 300 Methodist students from fourteen white colleges in Alabama voted unanimously commending the Supreme Court's school segregation decree, called upon all Methodist students in Alabama to fact the decision and its implications with Christian understanding and courage, and set up a special committee to work out a race relations program for the local college campuses. The Director was asked to become a counselor for this group.

Conferences have been held between the Director and the Floor Leader of the House of Representatives of the Alabama Legislature, a member of the Executive Staff of Governor Folsom, the Alabama Attorney General, various county school superintendents, the President of the Russell County Betterment Association, ministers of all faiths, municipal officials, labor officials, college and university administration and faculty members, businessmen, and leaders of women's groups.

V EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee has met on four occasions. Attendance has averaged nine members out of a membership of fifteen. At its last meeting on March 29, it changed the name of the overall governing body from the Executive Committee to the Board of Directors with provision for expansion of Board membership to twenty-nine persons meeting semiannually. These additional members will be elected by each district organization---two from each district. The Executive Committee, composed of the officers and local (Montgomery) members, was set up as an interim body. Provision was made for the appointment of four standing committees of the Board, (Membership, Finance, Research, Community Relations). The action is necessitated by the expansion of our program and will be unofficial until such time as the general membership votes for constitutional amendments to provide for it.

To date the Executive Committee has received two memorandums from the Executive Director in addition to membership newsletters.

VI SERVICES TO MEMBERSHIP

Each person upon joining the Alabama Council receives a letter of welcome, a subscription to the New South and the Southern School News.

Membership newsletters are sent out more or less regularly. Upon the expiration of each membership a notification is rendered with a membership blank enclosed.

VII LITERATURE

490 pieces of literature have been sold to date.

A promotional pamphlet of the Alabama Council is being developed at the present time to be distributed free for promotional purposes. The first printing will be 3,000 copies.

Some districts have developed their own promotional material based primarily upon the Southern Regional Council's South of the Future to be used until the Alabama Council folder is available.

VII PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The provisional district meetings while heavily attended in the Mobile and Birmingham areas have been attended by representatives from no more than five out of an average of fourteen counties in the rural districts. The explanation is the long distance involved in travel which in some cases is over 100 hundred miles one way. However, once the districts have been permanently organized, members of a district board will be the only persons called upon to attend district meetings.

The expense of sending out notices of district meetings, mimeographing, etc., by district secretaries in some cases has been more than negligible. Therefore, it is hoped that funds can be made available for district administration out of some budgetary item.

The availability of promotional material of the Alabama Council has been a serious stumbling block, but this problem will be rectified in the near future.

District 4 has yet to hold any district-wide meeting. This can be explained by a fear on the part of luke warm officers of retaliation by the White Citizen's Councilswhich are very strong in that district.

IX STATUS OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL

There appears to be an excellent spirit among the members of the Alabama Council attending our district meetings. With the exception of District 4 members have exercised a large degree of initiative and free thinking upon the subject of our work. As yet there has been no internal dissention that has come to my attention.

At the present time our membership is 172 compared with 110 at the annual meeting. We have raised just over $900 of the required $1,800, the vast majority of this amount coming in during the last two months.

X STATUS OF RACE RELATIONS IN ALABAMA

Generally speaking at the present time people are relatively open minded on the subject of race relations, and it is anticipated that this condition will remain until some event or incident inflames public opinion or causes the people to be forced into a decision of yes or no in respect to segregation.

We have the highest hopes that the state of Alabama will not be faced with a private school bill amendment, due to the fact that tremendously popular Governor Folsom is opposed to it. For the most part, there has been general praise for former Governor Persons and Governor Folsom's policy of "wait and see". At least two anti-administration state Senators have prepared private school bills which will be submitted to the State Legislature after it convenes in regular session on May 3. We are confident that these bills will be sent to unfriendly committees and kept bottled up there. Should they be forced out of the committees the administration is confident that a majority vote can be mustered against them. As a last resort there is hope that Governor Folsom himself would veto a private school bill amendment.

The only organizations who have identified themselves as anti-Negro during the past year have been the White Citizen's Councils who set up shop in Alabama in December, 1954, The American States Rights Association organized in Birmingham and apparently restricted to this city, in January, 1954, and the Association of Methodist Ministers andlaymen, organized in Birmingham in December, 1954.

None of the three organizations enjoy wide spread support over the state at this time and apparently only the White Citizen's Councils have any unified following where they are located.

To date official White Citizen's Councils have been organized in the following counties: Green, Hale, Perry, Dallas, and Marengo. Councils which have not been publically announced, but probably organized by the forementioned Councils

are: Sumter, Wilcox, and Autauga. Spontaneously White Citizen's Councils apparently organized without the help of outside forces are: Macon, Randolph, and Lawrence. Some of these are very active, while others are dormant at the present time. I do not foresee any significant spread of the White Citizen's Councils outside of the Black Belt area within the next four or five months.

Robert E. Hughes

ALABAMA

The News Magazine of the Deep South

February 18, 1955-Vol. 20, No. 7

Campaign Caucus

Among this state's Methodist ministers hot for race integration is Alexander City's First Church pastor, the Rev. Duncan Hunter. Last week his blond ministerial head showed in sharp contrast to colored confreres at an unsegregated assembly in Montgomery, where he was named new chairman of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

The mixed body of some 500 (about half-and-half) in annual session at Alabama College for Negroes heard New Orleans' colored educator, Dr. Albert W. Dent, advise them on procedures for doing away with segregation (by voting intelligently, keeping their heads and pushing integration at local levels), elected officers, planned to decentralize into seven districts.

One of three local articles all of the same tenor.

The reporter attended only the aft. session when Dr. Dent spoke, hence did not mention Dr. Mitchell who spoke in the morning.

Montgomery Advertiser, Feb. 9, 1955

Negro Leader Sets Principles In Race Battle

A Negro educator from New Orleans, La., set forth four principles as the basis for the Negro's fight against racial segregation yesterday at the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard University, New Orleans, called on the mixed audience to exercise the right of voting, use good judgment in the choice of public officials, push racial integration at local levels, and maintain proper attitudes.

An estimated 500 persons from throughout the state attended the day-long session in the Tullibody Auditorium of the Alabama State College for Negroes.

The meeting on racial problems drew an almost evenly balanced audience of whites and Negroes.

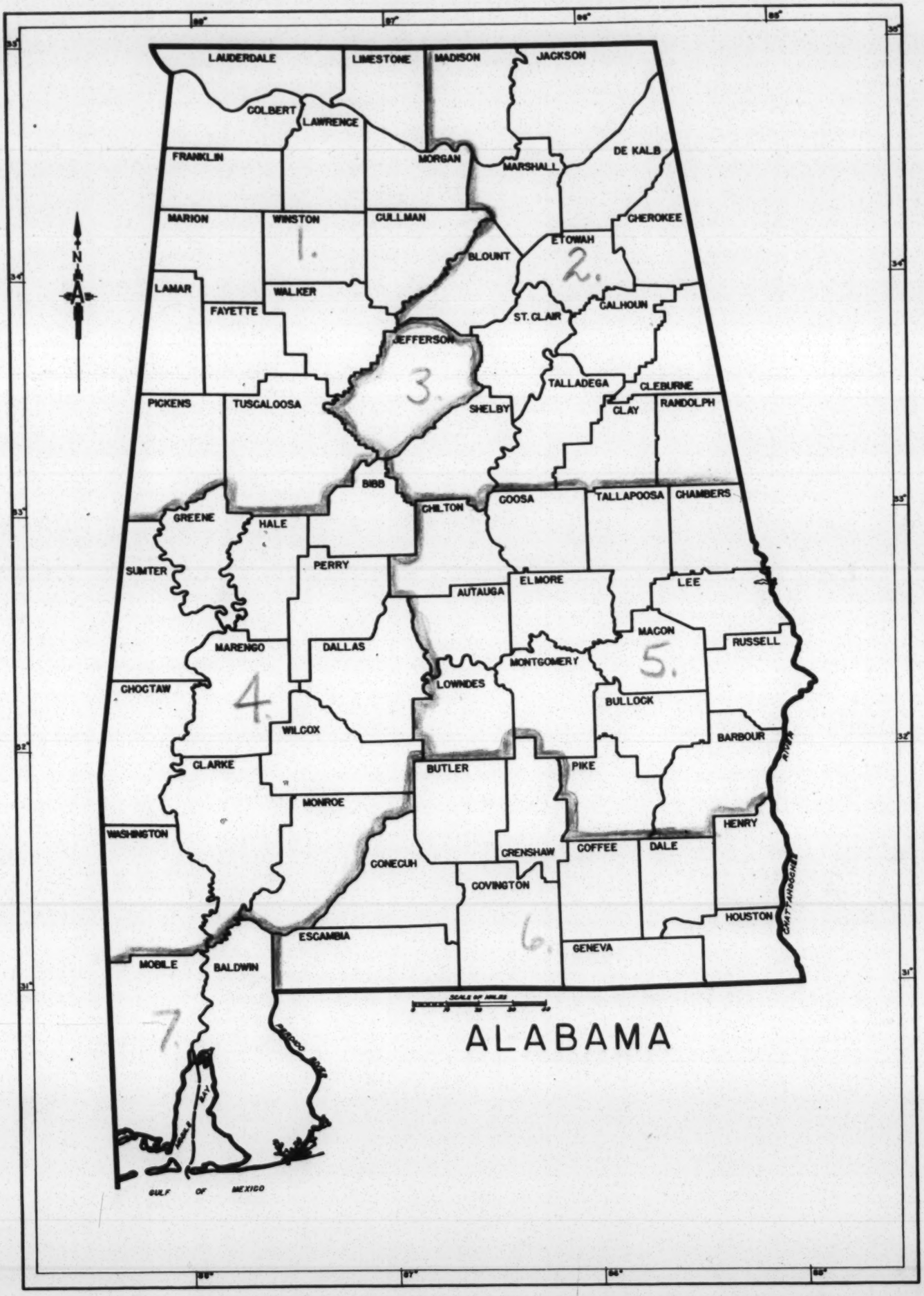
In afternoon elections, the Rev. Duncan Hunter of Alexander City was named chairman of the association, C. G. Gomillion, Negro, of Tuskegee, vice chairman; the Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher, of Montgomery, secretary; and J. T. Brooks, Montgomery, Negro, treasurer.

Named to the executive committee were Dr. J. F. Drake of Normal; the Rev. Griffin Lloyd, of Wetumpka; Mrs. I. B. Rutledge, of Montgomery; and Dr. H. C. Trenholm, state college president.

At the meeting, plans were laid for a decentralization of the state organization into seven districts. District five includes Montgomery county, Autauga, Barbour, Bullock, Chambers, Chilton, Coosa, Elmore, Lee, Macon, Lowndes, Pike, Russell and Tallapoosa.

Mrs. I. B. Rutledge of Montgomery and Dr. Gomillion were named as heads of district five.

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm president of the state college delivered a greeting to the assembly. Invocation was given by Dr. Blount F. Davidson, superintendent of missions, Montgomery, Baptist Association.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ETOWAH
BLOUNT
LAMAR
WALKER
FAYETTE
ST. CLAIR
CALHOUN
JEFFERSON
TALLADEGA
CLEBURNE
PICKENS
TUSCALOOSA
SHELBY
CLAY
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CHAMBERS
GREENE
HALE
SUMTER
PERRY
AUTAUGA
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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Memorandum Number 3

FILE COPY

To: Members of the Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations

From: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director

Re: Recent Decision of the Executive Committee

The Executive Committee of the Alabama Council On Human Relations has met on two recent occasions and taken the following action:

1. Revision of the Constitution and By Laws to reflect and provide for the expanded program of the Alabama Council On Human Relations as follows.

   A. Between the annual membership meetings a Board of Directors shall act in the name of the organization. This Board of Directors shall be composed of the original fifteen member Executive Committee, elected by the membership at its annual meeting, who shall become members at large from over the state. In addition, the Board of Directors shall have two representatives from each of the eight districts making sixteen district members. All told the Board of Directors shall have thirty-one members. If and when more districts are organized this number shall be increased. The Board of Directors shall meet at least semi-annually on call from the President (Reverend Duncan Hunter, pastor First Methodist Church, Alexander City, Alabama).

   B. The President shall appoint four permanent committees of the Board as follows: Membership, Finance, Survey, Community Relations (Program) which will give adivce to similar district committees who in turn will give guidance to local chapters. It is anticipated that the work of any local group will fall within these four broad areas and

the district and state level committees are designed to assist these local groups within these areas.

c. Between meetings of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee shall act in the name of the organization. The Executive Committee shall be composed of the officers of the organization and those members of the Board of Directors residing in or near the city of Montgomery, the state headquarters. There are presently eight members that fall into this category. This group can be summoned for policy decisions on short notice by telephone.

These revisions are subject to the approval of the Board of Directors and the membership at its annual meeting.

2. The promotional folder of which one copy is enclosed was approved.

3. The membership rate was revised as follows: single-from $5 to $3, joint-from $8 to $5, sustaining single or joint (new)-- $8, and the student fee of $1.50 was unchanged. This action was taken in response to numerous requests from over the state for a lower rate. It was felt that the increased number of memberships at this lower rate would largely compensate for the loss of income from the higher rate. However, it will be necessary to emphasize financila contributions which in a sense would "subsidize" the new lower rate.

4. A maximum of $50 was alloted to each district to cover administrative expenses for sending out notices of district and local meetings between February and October 1955, the latter date being the close of our financial year. This plan was adopted in preference to sending back to each district a specific amount out of each membership which would not have met the administrative expenses of districts with a small number of members which need funds to gain more members. The $50 rate should be adequate for those districts with the largest membership.

5. It was decided to have the Alabama Council On Human Relations to become incorporated as a non-profit eleemosynary institution under the laws of Alabama. Mr Arthur Shores, Board member in Birmingham, is in the process of drawing up and filing the required papers.

6. At the present time the Executive Director is seeking to build up sentiment among key figures in the Legislature and the Administration for a Human Relations Commission or Board appointed by the Governor composed of a cross-section of leadership of both races. The functions of such a group would be (1) through a full-time staff carry out research into all areas of the problem of human relations in every part of the state; (2) advise the Governor and Legislature on appropriate measures to take and (3) provide for a decentralized system of mediation with boards on district and state levels given the responsibility of bringing together both sides in any controversy in an attempt to arrive at an orderly solution.

Such a plan would constitute a step of "good faith" as required by the Supreme Court's implementation decree rather than overt evasion. As such this plan could become a substitute for the private school system or placement board plans presently under consideration in legislature committees.

Any suggestions as to the composition, function and methods of such a Board that you might have will be most welcome as well as the names of white and Negro citizens who might serve effectively on the Board. Time is of the utmost importance.

7. As of this date, we have just over 300 members affiliated with the Alabama Council. According to reports from the 12 Southern Regional Council state organizations, this represents the largest membership for any single state affiliate. Of the $1,800 we are required to raise by September 30th, we have secured $7,400.

Any member of the Board of Directors desiring copies of the revised constitution, the annual budget, district officers and meeting dates in your locality or any other information the state office may have, feel free to call upon us. We welcome any directions as well from you, our Directors.

June 13, 1955

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Mobile-Baldwin County District #7

Minutes of Meeting: June 14, 1955

1. Meeting called to order at 7:45 PM in the Library, McGill Institute, Mobile, with the Rev. Mr. J. Ecols Lowery, co-chairman, Pastor of the Warren St. Methodist Church, presiding in the absence of Fr. Albert S. Foley, S.J., Chairman.

2. The meeting got under way by having everyone intorduce himself to the council. After introductions the minutes of the May 10th meeting were read by the Secretary, Elbert LaLande, and adopted.

3. Rev. Lowery called for a report from the Nominating Committee. The Secretary read the Committee's report submitted by Mrs. Verda Horne, committee member. Rev. Lowery asked Rev. Robert E. Hughes, executive director of ACHR, to handle the proceedings. The Nominating Committee nominated Fr. Foley and Rev. Lowery as delegates to the state board of ACHR. No other nominations heard, the Committee's nominations constituted an election.

4. For the benefit of new members Rev. Lowery gave a brief sketch of the history and aims of ACHR. He said that ACHR was a new name for the Alabama Division of the Southern Regional Council. From a pamphlet put out by ACHR Rev. Lowery read the Statement of Purpose of the organization. He then went into an explanation of its methods, which consist in (1) discussions, (2) fact-finding surveys and (3) armed with facts, a method for action. Rev. Lowery concluded this phase of the discussion by saying that ACHR is a middle-of-the-road organization designed to establish a human relationship between all persons and organizations.

5. At this time Rev. Lowery presented Rev. Huges for a report of happenings on the state level. Rev. Hughes began his discussion by informing council members that ACHR has a goal of $1,800 to reach by October in order to be deserving of another Ford Foundation grant. The Council now has on hand $1,400. He then turned to a discussion of membership. Since last February membership has risen from 108 to 300 plus. Rev. Hughes credits district chairmen and secretaries with this large and speedy increase. With this increase in membership he suggested that local councils direct their activities more towards programs than membership drives. He said that we must not let Alabama become like Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi.

6. Rev. Huges referred to an article in Sothern School News by Dr. Murphy of the University of Alabama in which the writer recommends the formation of mediation groups composed of a cross section of the people for the purpose of settling peacefully any disputes that might rise up between the races. Rev. Hughes said he had an appointment with the Governor of Alabama to discuss the formation of such a group for this state. Rev. Lowery suggested that council members write letters to the Governor and their legistators in behalf of his bi-racial group movement.

7. Rev. Hughes ended his discussion by saying that ACHR does not have $50.00 available monthly to each district council as had been reported in the minutes of the May 10th meeting, but has $50.00 for

any councils to use as the need arises.

8. Rev. Lowery referred to letter-writing to the press. He spoke of letters written to the Mobile Press-Register by Dr. Charles Gibson and Mr. Lee. He then introduced these men who were present at this meeting. Dr. Gibson discussed two letters which he received in comment on the one which he wrote to the local paper. One of these letters was from Mr. Lee. Dr. Gibson thought both letters expressed to some degree the sentiments of ACHR and had the Secretary read them to the council.

9. It was brought out at this meeting that Southern School News is no longer free to members of ACHR, but available at a subscriptio rate (1 yr. - $2.00, 2 yrs. - $3.75, bulk subscriptions - $1.50 yr. each). Those wishing a subscription to SSN must write to the Southern Education Reporting Service, P.O.Box 6156, Acklen Static Nashville, Tenn.

10. At this point, Fr. Park, S.J., spoke to encourage council members to seek out new members. He expressed the opinion that many Negroes are satisfied with the status quo, and these are the ones who must be reached.

11. With reference to Fr. Park's remarks, Rev. Lowery recalled that Fr. Foley had appointed a Communications Committee. Mrs. Thul, who had been appointed to this Committee, said that it had not me and suggested that a new one be set up. It was decided that the original committee stand as appointed, and Mrs. Thul was named chairman. Mr. Alec Herman was made anew member to the committee. (Mr. LeFlore, Miss Flirt, Mr. Williams, Miss Cowan and Miss Ann Taylor were appointed along with Mrs. Thul to this Committee at the April 12th meeting.)

12. Reference was made to the Human Relations Workshop planned for t fall, and enough still expressed interest.

13. Rev. Lowery guided council members to a discussion of the recent Supreme Court decision on integration in public schools. Mr. Steele asked what was the policy of the local parochial school system. Fr. Park reported that Archbishop Toolen said no Negroes had applied for admission to McGill. Mr. Steele inquired further if the NAACP was going to offer test cases in Alabama. Rev. Lowery said yes, that all boards had been instructed to act. Dr. Johnson suggested a committee search out representative Negroes to apply to presently white schools. He related successful experience he and others had had in putting this plan into effect in Chicago.

14. Prompted by the subject of discussion at hand, Rev. Lowery called upon Rev. Fr. Smith, S.J., President of Spring Hill College, to speak. Fr. Smith said there had been no "explosions" at Spring Hill since putting integration into effect there. A few students expressed disfavor to this new policy,he said, but he knew of none who had withdrawn.

15. Rev. Hughes made brief mention of the four committee program of ACHR - (1) Membership, (2) Research, (3) Finance, and (4) Community Relations.

16. Dr. Gibson brought the discussion once again to the question of the Negroes' attitude toward integration. He said that many Mobile Negroes are satisfied with their present position and have a "fear of integration." Expanding this fear theory, Rev. Lowery said he was afraid the Negro for the most part would become apathetic and content to do nothing towards making complete integration a reality.

17. Meeting adjourned at 9:30 PM. The next meeting was set for July 19 with Fr. Lynette, S.J., to serve as chairman in the absence of Fr. Foley and Rev. Lowery.

Present at this meeting:

Mr. A.J. Cooper (Partial)	Accountant	P.O.Box 114, Mobile
Mr. Wm. H. Cowan	Attorney	Mobile
Dr. Chas. F. Gibson	Physician	623 Wilkerson, Mobile
Mr. Alec Herman		Mobile
Mrs. Thos. Horne	Entomologist	P.O.Box 357, Fairhope
Rev. Robt. E. Hughes	ACHR Executive Director	
Dr.&Mrs. Ellis Johnson	Physician	Chicago
Mr. Elbert LaLande	SHC Student	455 S. Washington, Mobile
Mr. Lee		
Fr. C.F. Lynette, S.J.	Dean of Men	Spring Hill College
Mr. Ed. Mitchell		Mobile
Mrs. Fannie Motley	SHC Student	Plateau, Ala.
Mr. Marvin Nichols	Municipal Official of Fairhope, Ala.	
Mr. and Mrs. Samples		
Fr. Andrew C. Smith, S.J.	President	Spring Hill College
Mr. Steele		Mobile
Mr. & Mrs. Steve Swain		Crichton, Ala.
Mrs. Ferdinand Thul		20 S. Catherine St., Mobile
Mrs. West		
Mr. A.B. Williams	Principal	Mobile County Training High School

Wilson Lake Shores
Sheffield, Alabama
July 2, 1955

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Our meeting is set for 7:30, Thursday at the Trinity Parish House of the Episcopal church in Florence, Rev. Hughes suggest that we allow him to play a more minor role in the meeting so that it may be possible to use him in another meeting in the future. I suggest therefore that you and Mr. Routh plan to take about twenty minutes each. I would like to hear Rev. Hughes discuss briefly the progress that has been made in Alabama in the last six months.

In our news letter to the people interested in SRC, we billed the meeting as one in which the activities of the SRC would be described and we would discuss what we could do locally as a chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. That will leave you plenty of room to select your topics as you see fit. Our situation here is that we had about 35 people out to our first meeting who expressed interest in the organization. We have a very fine group to start with, but we need more members and I believe we need more confidence that what we are doing is not being done entirely alone. I am sure that you are better able to judge our needs as to what should be covered much better than I. The enclosed news letter may give you some idea of our status of organization.

We are looking forward with great pleasure to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Walt

Walter E. Brown

Date: June 27, 1955

To: Those interested in the Alabama Council on Human Relations
From: Walter E. Brown

This letter is to inform you of the progress that hasbeen made since the meeting April 26 in the cafeteria of St. Joseph's School.

Organizational Activities: The committe that was nominated from the floor at the April meeting met and made the following recommendations.

1. We should continue to meet under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council and the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

2. A local organization should be formed which would be called the Muscle Shoals Chapter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

3. Temporary officers were selected as follows.

Chairman: Walter E. Brown
Vice Chairman: Samuel C. Watkins
Sec.-Treas.: Miss Bertha P. Klenova

4. Rather than have separate program and membership committees, these activities would be performed by a temporary board of directors comprising the following.

Rev. H. D. Anderson	Rev. Lambert Gattman
Dr. Leroy Brown	Dr. A. S. Johnston, Jr.
Mr. Robert M. Clarke	Mr. Leon J. Martin
Mr. E. L. Colebeck	Rev. Edward G. Mullen
Mr. Louis A. Eckl	Mr. Stanley Rosenbaum

Next Meeting: Our next meeting will be Thursday, July 7, at 7:30 in the Trinity Parish House. For the program we will have a panel of experts--Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Harold C. Fleming, and Fred B. Routh. Rev. Hughes is the Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. Mr. Fleming is Asst. Director for Information, and Mr. Routh is Asst. Director for State Organizations of the Southern Regional Council--both have their offices in Atlanta. They plan to describe the activities of the Southern Regional Council and to discuss with us what we as a local chapter can do in our communities. I believe we are very fortunate that we will have with us three men, eminently qualified and among the most active workers in the field of human relations. Please invite your friends.

The following night these men will attend a similar organizational meeting in Decatur. If you have friends in Decatur, Huntsville, Athens, Cullman or other surrounding communities who would be interested in attending such a meeting, please ask them to contact Father Horgan at St. Ann's Rectory or Rev. McMannis at the Episcopal Church in Decatur.

Membership: I am enclosing the statement of principles of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. In case you have not sent in your membership application, please note on the last page a new schedule of membership fees.

Reminder: Beginning July 1, a two dollars per year subscription fee will be charged for the Southern School News. The address is Southern Education Reporting Service, 1109 19th Ave., South, Nashville.

Walter E. Brown

A L A B A M A C O U N C I L O N H U M A N R E L A T I O N S

Mobile-Baldwin County District Seven

Minutes of Meeting, July 19, 1955

1. Meeting called to order at 7:50 P.M. at McGill Institute, Mobile, with Father C. Franklyn Lynette, S.J. presiding in the absence of Fr. Albert S. Foley, S.J., Chairman.

2. Following the usual procedure, Fr. Lynette had everyone introduce himself to the council. After introductions the minutes of the June 14th meeting were read by the Secretary, Elbert LaLande. Dr. Gibson suggested that Fr. Smith's statement made at the previous meeting that he did not know the number of Negroes attending Spring Hill College be admitted to the records. There being no further corrections, additions, or subtractions, the minutes were adopted.

3. Reference was made to a proposed mediation group for the state of Alabama discussed somewhat at length at the previous meeting. Rev. Hughes said the Governor seemed to express interest in and approval of such a group and politicians had voiced no disapproval.

4. At this point Fr. Lynette called for a report from the Communications Committee by Mrs. F.C. Thul, Committee Chairman. Mrs. Thul said a meeting of the Committee had been planned for half an hour before the evening's council meeting, but their plans did not meet with success.

5. Turning once again to issues discussed at the June 14th meeting, reference was made to Dr. Johnson's plan of sending representative Negroes to formerly white schools. Dr. Gibson suggested a committee be appointed to search out qualified students, check into records of elementary school students to find those most capable of filling the role.

6. Fr. Lynette now called upon Rev. Robt. E. Hughes, executive director of ACHR for a state level report. Rev. Hughes referred to the Placement Bill which was then before the State Legislature. He said it was known that three legislators had objected to the bill, and we should write to encourage these men who are "on our side."

7. Rev. Hughes then toldcouncil members of the "Wadley incident." At Wadley, Alabama, in late June, a bi-racial meeting at Southern Union College was broken up by a mob of whites. The uproar was successfully quelled, he reported, and he and Dr. Flannery, Southern Union President and Alabama Council district officer, were successful in getting a bi-racial human relations council set up by the Wadley City Council. Rev. Hughes cited this new council as a big movement for ACHR since it is the first council of its kind to be established by ACHR in this state.

8. Concluding his remarks, Rev. Hughes said that there is much open-mindedness about school integration throughout the state. School superintendents, he said, have expressed the opinion that it can't be put off forever.

9. Next in order was a report of an extensive study of the local Mobile County school system made by members of Fr. Foley's Evening Division course in Community Relations. The report was read by Mrs. Elba Wheeler of the Adult Education Extension Course at Brookley AF Base, Mobile, and a member of the Community Relations course. Mrs. Wheeler read only those parts of the report which she thought of prime interest to council members. The report which she presented covered exclusively a comparison of educational opportunities for white and colored in the Mobile County area. The physical scene of buildings and equipment was outlined and a comparison of teachers with regards to qualifications was made. The report showed a wide margin of differences--generally poorer facilities and more crowded classrooms for Negro students. Negro teachers were shown more qualified degree wise, but Dr. Gibson said degree qualifications were lower in Negro state schools than white. It was brought out that the same text books were used in both schools and the pay scale for teachers was the same. To supplement her reading report, Mrs. Wheeler had with her maps showing the distribution of Negro-white population throughout the county and the location of schools for each group.

10. As a means of showing how far short of white students Negro students fall, Mrs. Kay suggested that some type of grade level tests be made up and administered to all students throughout the Mobile County public schools. Dr. Gibson, fearing that many whites would attribute any short coming of Negro students to "biological inferiority did not think this would serve the point. However, a considerable number of council members felt this biological inferiority theory would not hold out when the facts were presented.

11. Fr. Lynette read a newspaper clipping which reported that Bryant Bowles had resigned his position as head of the NAAWP (National Association for the Advancement of White People).

12. The question of a meeting in August was discussed. It was decided that the next meeting would be held on August 16th with the Rev. Mr. J. Echols Lowery acting chairman.

13. Seeking into the cause of race hatred and discrimination, Mr. Leary said he believed it was all fostered in the home, placing the blame heavily upon parents who refuse to accept the fact that God created all men equal and intended for them to live as brothers. Dr. Gibson took up this point and, quoting the late Walter White, said Negro and white students got along well together in school, but it was the parents who constantly tried to engender ill-will. Mrs. Thul said she thought general workshops necessary before real success will be met with in the integration program.

14. Asked what he thought a solution to local Mobile race relation problems, Rev. Hughes said that communities differed and he wasn't in

a position to speak for Mobile. He asked what was the program of the Mobile unit of the NAACP. He was told that it had petitions and requests for integration before the school board. Explaining the different approaches to the race issue of ACHR &NAACP, he said that NAACP attacked the problem from the legal aspects and ACHR from the educational aspects.

15. The discussion turned at this point to the role of the church in race relations. Rev. Hughes, speaking of the Methodist group, said there were many outstanding leaders and many outstanding draggers. Dr. Gibson suggested writing and inviting pastors to attend our meetings. Mr. Lee suggested we let pastorsand ministers know our feelings on the race issue and then perhaps they will be encouraged to speak out in behalf of our cause.

16. Meeting adjourned at 10:00 P.M. The following present:

(partial list)

Mr. Wm. R. Andrews	Brick Layer	2762 Lecren St. Crichton
Mr. D.B. Barlow	Nurseryman	121 Bay Short Ave. Crichton
Mrs. Sophia Barlow	Insurance Agent	121 Bay Shore Ave. Crichton
Mr. M.L. Brown		1461 Davis Ave., Mobile
Mr. A.J. Cooper	Accountant	P.O. Box 114, Mobile
Mr. Samoual Creiggs	Presser	2759 Lecren St., Crichton
Mr. Albert Edwards		2756 Lecren St., Crichton
Mrs. May J. Edwards	Brookley Field	2756 Lecren St., Crichton
Mr. Abe Flanagan	Post Office	2517 St. Stephens Rd. Mobile
Mrs. Juanita Flanagan	Housewife	2517 St. Stephens Rd. Mobile
Mrs. C.A. Gaston	Housewife	Fairhope, Ala.
Dr. Charles F. Gibson	Physician	623 Wilkerson St., Mobile
Mrs. Charles F. Gibson	Teacher	131 E. Federal St., Burlington, N.J.
Mrs. Annie Grace	House Maid	213 Abram St., Crichton
Mr. Joe Harris		505 Hickory St., Mobile
Mr. Alex. L. Herman	Executive	506 St. Michael St., Mobile
Rev. Robt. E. Hughes	ACHR St. Director	Room 206, Moore Bldg., Montgomery, Ala.
Mrs. Estelle Kay	Housewife	2581-B Skylark Blvd., Mobile
Mr. Elbert J. LaLande	Student	455 S. Washington Ave., Mobile
Mr. Philip Lee	Electronics Instr. Brookley AF Base	Invington, Ala.
Mr. Carl Leary	Student	Spring Hill College
Fr. C.F. Lynette, S.J.	Dean of Men	Spring Hill College
Mr. Wilfred Madison	Warehouseman	1753 Dublin St., Mobile
Mr. Harvey Moffett	Brick Layer	2768 Lecren St., Crichton
Mr. Marvin Nichols	Municipal Employee	Fairhope, Ala.
Mrs. Marvin Nichols	Ex. Sec'y A.R.C.	Fairhope, Ala.
Mrs. Margaret Sisco	Housewife	450 McCarley St., Crichton
Mr. & Mrs. Steve Swain		Crichton, Ala.
Mrs. James Talbert	Housewife	321 Smith, Crichton
Mrs. Ruby Watson	Office Clerk	2716 St. Stephens Rd.
Mrs. Elba Wheeler	Education Counselor	207 Lambert, Mobile

August 10, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: FBR

FROM: GSM

RE: MINUTES OF ALABAMA COUNCIL July 29th.

I note Gomillion's name misspelled.

The language as to the constitution and the by-laws shows no evidence of their awareness of a duty to let us approve proposed changes in their by-laws. Perhaps the legal commitment is that changes in the by-laws are valid only when approved by us. But, obviously, when they have until February, 1956 to work them over, this office should be given an opportunity to agree in advance.

Under the head of Associate Director, particularly at the top of page 2, I cannot agree with the obvious interpretation of the language "The reimbursement of travel expenses incurred by Alabama Council members in program development would come from this fund to be alloted to the districts by the Executive Committee." I think we could agree to an arrangement under which consultants as such had their expenses paid from "this fund." But I do not think that we are prepared to authorize use of that money for payment of travel expenses of any Alabama Council members who may submit expense accounts for their work in program development.

After conference, if need be, I hope you will wish to correspond with Hughes on some or all of these points.

AUG 9 1955

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
July 29, 1955

MEMORANDUM NO. 4

TO: Members of the Board of Directors of the A.C.H.R.

FROM: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director

RE: Transactions of the Board at its first meeting on July 12.

Members present for the morning and afternoon sessions were: Rev. Duncan Hunter (pres.), Mr. C. G. Coumillion (vice pres. and acting sec.), Mr. J. T. Brooks (treas.) Dr. Arthur Gray, Rev. J. E. Lowery, Rev. Powers McLeod, Mr. L. J. Martin, Mr. J. E. Pierce, Mrs. I. B. Rutledge, and Rev. R. E. Hughes. Also attending was Dr. C. H. Parrish of the Southern Regional Council staff.

Trustees - The following persons were elected as trustees of the organization: Rev. Duncan Hunter, Mrs. J. F. McLeod, Mr. J. E. Pierce, Rev. T. R. Thrasher, and Dr. H. C. Trenholm. The purpose of the appointment of trustees was to meet a requirement for incorporation of the organization under Alabama laws.

Constitution and By-Laws - The new constitution and By-Laws were approved after minor changes in wording had been made. This instrument will be submitted to the membership of the council at its next annual meeting in February 1956 for final adoption.

Associate Director - Dr. Parrish informed the Board that the Southern Regional Council is now in a position to furnish $5,000 during the coming year for the salary of an Associate Director of the A.C.H.R. The S.R.C., Dr. Parrish added, is willing to consider any modification of this arrangement which the Alabama Council might propose. Board members expressed themselves as being in opposition to a division of authority and responsibility between the director and an associate director feeling that it would not result in good administration. The Board then adopted a resolution to hire a half-time associate director and that the remaining $2,500 be used to employ consultants. It was further suggested that approximately five

consultants would be adequate during the coming year. The reimbursement of travel expenses incurred by Alabama Council members in program development would come from this fund to be alloted to the districts by the Executive Committee.

Rev. Hunter appointed Messrs. Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, C. D. Goumillion of Tuskegee and Rev. Dan Whitsett of Sylacauga to serve as a temporary personnel committee to locate and nominate an associate director to the Executive Committee. (It would assist the personnel committee for Board members to send the names of possible candidates for consideration - R.E.H.)

Waddey Incident - Rev. Hughes reported upon the incident at Wadley, Alabama in late June when a bi-racial meeting at Southern Union College was broken up by a mob of whites. He and Dr. Flannery, college president and Alabama Council district officer, were successful in getting a bi-racial human relations council set up by the Wadley City Council.

Program Planning - It was suggested that major emphasis should now be turned from acquiring of memberships and building organization toward program development in local communities.

Note: Within the next few days you will receive a copy of the revised By-Laws of the Alabama Council which is the set of By-Laws adopted by the Executive Committee meeting on May 5, 1955 plus minor revisions in wording as specified by the Board of Directors meeting on July 12, 1955

Meetings of regions

GSM ✓
HCF ✓
MET
JC 9/1/55
RA ✓

return to 78R

PROGRAM REPORT

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

APRIL 1, 1955 to AUGUST 15, 1955

I ORGANIZATION

DISTRICTS - At the end of the period covered by this report four of our eight district organizations have elected pernament officers and four have elected temporary officers. One new district has been set up in the extreme north of Alabama and is expected to elect pernament officers in the near future. Activities have largely been carried on by a district chairman and secretary while the other elected officers generally are not involved in the district program.

LOCALS - Local Chapters of the Alabama Council have been set up in the Tri-Cities, Decatur, Andalusia and Mobile and are reasonably active in each case. Eighteen local meetings have been held during this period (Birmingham and Mobile district meetings are counted as local and thus appear twice) - in all 24 different meetings have been held on both district and local levels.

II PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT - The activities of the various district and local organizations of the Alabama Council as far as program development is concerned is almost nil. Each local group has planned on preparing for program development but at this time almost nothing has actually been executed. The activities of district and local groups have been almost exclusively concerned with membership cultivation and education of the group itself. Program development has actually occured in only two isolated cases - the formation of a bi-racial human relations council in the town of Wadley after a near race riot occured by a Alabama Council member working with the state director; the bringing in of outside resourced persons for a series of conferences with local school superintendents by the Tri-Cities chapter.

III BOARD OF DIRECTORS - The Board of Directors has met on one occasion (July 12th) and was attended by 12 members. The board has authorized four committees to be set up (Membership, Finance, Research and Community Relations) and a chairman for each has been appointed. No members for these committees have been appointed however and only one committee chairman can be considered actively serving as chairman.

IV EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE - The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors has met on two occasions during the period covered by this report with an average attendance of about six persons. The only active committee of this group is concerning itself with the finding of a suitable person to serve as Associate Executive Director of the council.

V ACTIVITIES OF THE CHIEF CONSULTANT - MR. JAMES PIERCE - In addition to attending the State Executives Retreat in North Carolina and the Race Relations Institute at Fisk University, Mr. Pierce has made three field trips over the state to meet with local Alabama Council units. Mr. Pierce has been extremely valuable as a source of advice, guidance and information to the state director on numerous occasions. He has been very active with the local Montgomery group

in stimulating them during their organization.

VI ACTIVITIES OF THE STATE DIRECTOR

STATE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION - The State Director has had numerous conferences with three legislators, the governor's Press Secretary and Advisor on Human Relations, State Superintendent of Education, State Supervisor of Negro Education, Director of the Alabama Department of Industrial Relations and a deputy attorney general concerning a proposed state human relations council appointed by the governor to study, advise and mediate problems involving race relations. At the present time the idea is lying dormant waiting for the present legislature session to adjourn at which time it is hoped that such a body can be set up by executive proclamation. Continuous connumication has been maintained with Dr. Jay Murphy, Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Alabama.

CHURCH GROUPS - The State Director assisted in the preparation of resolutions to be presented to the annual Methodist Alabama Conference in June calling for local churches to take the initiative in bringing a cross section of Negro and white leadership in local communities fulfilling the role of peace making. Resolutions were voted down. A meeting of the Methodist Ministers and Laymens association was held in Birmingham in May for the purpose of strengthening the central jurisdiction of the Methodist church. It was attended by the State Director who reported to Bishop Purcell and district superintendents who opposed the groups activities.

The State Director has taught numerous Sunday School classes, spoken to student groups and helped to arrange a program on race relations to be presented to the Methodist Youth of Montgomery County. This program included a frank discussion of all areas of the race problem by a seven member by-racial panel. A southwide conference of the Congregational Church Young was held at Southern Union College, Wadley, Alabama in August and the State Director lead discussions on the subject of race relations. The same was done for a state Negro Hi-Y Conference in Montgomery.

RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS - Communication has been maintained between the Alabama Council state office and the state NAACP executive secretary's office and much useful information exchanged. State Director has attended a Area NAACP Workshop and interpreted the Alabama Council for the group

F.B.I. - Two conferences have been held at the local F.B.I. office in charge of subversive activities and useful information exchanged.

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL - A mass rally of the White Citizens Council was held in Selma in late June and addressed by Governor Talmadge. It was attended by the State Director. The only new White Citizens Council that has been formed in the state during this period was set up in Wilcox County during July. Approximately 300 persons were present.

STATE CORDINATING COMMITTEE - At a state meeting of this Negro voters league the State Director presented the purposes and methods of the Alabama Council. Some 200 persons were present.

PUBLIC RELATIONS - Each Alabama Council member has received a single copy of the promotion pamphlet prepared by the State Director and each local and district organization has received them in bulk. Two editions of the membership newsletter have been prepared and distributed to members and prospective members. Two memorandums have been sent to members of the state Board of Directors and one memorandum to district officers giving them pertinent information. The story of the Human Relations Council at Wadley was given to the Associated Press and Time magazine correspondents along with a Camden, Pa. reported and Homer Bigart of the New York Herald Tribune. Excellent relationships exist between the council and the local press. Sympathetic coverage of council meetings has been received in Birmingham, Decatur and the Tri-Cities. No other mention of the council has been made to our knowledge in the public press. Upon the anouncement of the Supreme Court decision on May 31st a press release was prepared in consultation with the state president and went to A.P., U.P. and three local newspapers. Telegrams were sent to all Alabama Congressmen respectfully suggesting that they point out the need for a bi-racial approach to the problem in any press releases that they might make. On three different occasions material has been prepared, submitted to and used by the Southern School News in its coverage of the state of Alabama

VII STATISTICS - Present Alabama Council membership is 330 persons. Cumulative income as of August 1st, $1800. One hundred and fifty-one pieces of literature has been sold throughout the state during this period. A very large percentage of persons whose memberships has expired during this period have renewed. The bulk of new memberships come from local Alabama Council units with only a small number coming from over the state in general. Contributions likewise have been largely restricted to areas where local units have been set up.

VIII MAJOR PROBLEMS FACED -

1 - Lack of any real program anywhere in the state.

2 - Motivating district officers in three of our districts to continue the start they have made after our annual meeting.

3 - Motivating the Board of Directors to assume state level responsibility by serving upon committees.

XI RACE AND LEGISLATION - On July 12th the state legislature passed a school placement act designed to continue public school segregation without specifically mentioning race as a criterion for assignments. This bill received only three negative votes and was allowed to become law without the governors signature. The legislature overrode a vetoe by Governor Folsom by a very narror margin on a local bill impowering Wilcox County to require a prohibitive fee upon any undesirable organization soliciting members in the county. Aimed at the NAACP it could easily by applied against labor and the Alabama Council. Labor is preparing to test its validy in court. A series of nine amendments to the state constitution which have provided for the abolition of the public school system along with a triple school system (white, Negro and mixed) has been quietly passed by the senate and two weeks ago a house committee gave it a favorable report. It is on the agenda of the house and if passed would go directly to the people for approval within three months (December at the latest). The governor has no power of vetoe over proposed constitutional amendments. A brief check by the State Director among house members on this

date revealed divided opinions as to whether or not the bill would pass. There is a minimum of press coverage attached to the progress of this bill and ninety-eight per cent of the people of Alabama probably do not know of its existance.

Robert E. Hughes, State Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Montgomery, Alabama
August 19, 1955

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

August 24, 1955

MEMORANDUM NO. 2

TO: District Officers of the Alabama Council of Human Relations

FROM: Rev. R. E. Hughes, Executive Director

RE: Funds Available for District and Local Work

Meeting earlier this summer the state Executive Committee has rearranged items in our state budget which makes provision for certain district and local expenses between now and October 1st.

(1) Administrative Expenses - A maximum of $50 is available for such expenses as paper, envelopes, postage, etc. involved in sending out of meeting notices and other information to members and prospective members residing in each district. Long distance telephone calls and such expenses are included. The chairman of each district has the responsibility of informing appropriate persons in each local chapter or group of members within his district that these funds are available and should apportion each group its share of the total amount.

(2) Travel Expenses - A maximum of $285 is available to each district for travel expenses incurred in program promotion or organizational activities within each district. The bringing in of outside speakers and resource persons are provided for under this item. The usual rate of reimbursement is 6¢ per mile for auto travel or the price of bus, train, taxi or car-fare trips; hotel accomodations; meals; phone calls, etc. The chairman of each district should inform local chapters or membership groups that these funds are available and should see that they are utilized. It could easily fall upon the district officers to initiate or coordinate this field work within each district.

These funds will be available until Oct. 1, 1955 when a new budget will be drawn up. The funds should be used wisely and in the event they are not exhausted by Oct. 1 they will revert to a general fund and will be added to the budget for 1955-56. There is every reason to believe that items for these same expenses will be added to these items.

These funds are available on a retro-active basis to include administrative and travel expenses from the time of our annual meeting.

Vouchers for reimbursement should state the purpose of reimbursement and be signed by either the district chairman, vice-chairman or treasurer and forwarded to the state office.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 206, Moore Building
Court Street
Montgomery, Alabama

December 14, 1955

Memorandum No. 4

TO: A.C.H.R. District Officers
FROM: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director

RE: Appointment of District representatives to new State Committees

The A.C.H.R. Board of Directors at its recent meeting in Montgomery passed a resolution requesting each District Chairman to appoint:

(1) One person from his District to serve on the State Finance Committee, such a person preferably one who is acquainted with fund raising techniques, or who is in a position to solicit a position to "lead off" with a sizeable contribution;

(2) One person from his District to serve on the State Program Committee, such a person preferably being one who is familiar with community organization and activities, or who has some insight into an educational approach to local relations problems.

These two persons from each district are to meet at the State Office in Montgomery on Wednesday, January 4, 1956, at 10:30 A.M. President Duncan Hunter and Vice-President C. G. Goumillion will preside over the Finance and Program Committees, respectively.

In the event that there is not an appropriate A.C.H.R. member in the district for either position, the Chairman might consider non-members (who are in sympathy with our work and who will affiliate) in order to get the best possible person for these important positions.

The Finance Committee will be charged with securing financial support for the Council's work. The Program Committee will be charged with developing a coordinated long-term suggested program to chart the work of the Council on state, district and local levels. Both will be responsible to the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee .

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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THE ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

December 16, 1955

COPY

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President
Gammon Theological Seminary
Atlanta, Georgia

IN RE: February 10

Dear Dr. Richardson:

I appreciate your letter of December 14 in which you advise that you can accept the invitation to participate here at Alabama State College on Saturday, February 10 on the Program of the Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

We have now had similarly favorable responses to our invitations to Dr. L. H. Foster of Tuskegee Institute and Rabbi Martinband of Hattiesburg, Mississippi. The additional program contributors will include Mrs. Conley of Montgomery and Dr. F. B. Routh of the Atlanta Office.

We will now anticipate a program planning conference very early in the month of January and will submit the more detailed proposals.

Pleased to extend the Season's greetings to you and Mrs. Richardson, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:wjj

cc: Rev. Robert E. Hughes
Rev. Thrasher
Mr. J. T. Brooks
Dr. F. B. Routh

THE ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

December 16, 1955

COPY

Dr. L. H. Foster, President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

IN RE: February 10

Dear Dr. Foster:

I appreciate your letter in which you advise that you can accept the invitation to participate here at Alabama State College on Saturday, February 10 on the program of the Annual Meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

We have had similarly favorable responses to our invitations to Dr. H. V. Richardson of Gammon Theological Seminary and Rabbi Martinband of Hattiesburg, Mississippi. The additional program contributors will include Mrs. Cousy of Montgomery and Dr. F. B. Routh of the Atlanta Office.

We will now anticipate a program planning conference very early in the month of January and will submit more detailed proposals.

Pleased to extend the Season's greetings to you and Mrs. Foster, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:wjj

cc: Rev. R. E. Hughes
Rev. Mr. T. R. Thrasher
Mr. J. T. Brooks
Dr. F. B. Routh

THE ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

December 16, 1955

COPY

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
Kallah of Southern Rabbis
P. O. Box 1326
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

IN RE: February 11-12-13

Dear Rabbi Mantinband:

I apologize for this delay in reply to your gracious letter of December 5 which was received in time for report to the meeting of the Executive Board here on Wednesday, December 7.

The members of the Board made very enthusiastic expressions of appreciation of your response with the associated proposal that you will arrive by Delta Airlines at 12:12 noon on Saturday, February 11. We will anticipate your availability for the Luncheon and afternoon sessions. We will develop the program accordingly when our Program Committee has its next planning session here in January.

We now have the confirmation of anticipated participation by Dr. Harry B. Richardson of Gammon Theological Seminary, by Dr. Luther H. Foster of Tuskegee Institute, by Dr. F. B. Routh of the Atlanta Office and by Mrs. Cousy of Montgomery.

We shall want to anticipate that you will serve the college on Sunday, February 12 and on Monday, February 13. I am now addressing the request to the Jewish Chautauqua Society. We shall go forward with additional details for communication with you early next month.

With kind regards for the Christmas Season, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:wjj

cc: Rev. R. E. Hughes
Rev. Mr. T. R. Thrasher
Dr. F. B. Routh
Mr. J. T. Brooks

RECEIVED JUN 7 1956

Press release to WSFA-TV
Montgomery Advertiser
Alabama Journal
A.P.

The Alabama Council on Human Relations, through its Executive Director, the Rev. Robert E. Hughes, submits the following statement
1 to the press for release at 10:00 P.M., Tuesday, June 5, 1956.

The situation with which we are confronted in the wake of the Federal District Court ruling on Montgomery transportation laws calls
2 for both realism and sober wisdom. We must face the fact that regardless of personal feelings our laws have been changed by judges born and reared in Alabama. The expression of dire predictions of racial strife and confusion actually sets the stage for such to occur, and lends support to those who might be tempted to mold the law in their own hands.

Now is not the time for shortness of temper, of patience or of
3 vision. It is the time for calmness, mature reflection on justice and sincere effort to receive that guidance that comes only from the Father of all men.

The A.C.H.R. is a statewide organization composed of whites and
4 Negroes with headquarters in Montgomery. The organization seeks to build understanding and mutual consideration across racial lines.

Wed. a.m.

Fred,
I cleared this with Dave & he agreed with me that use of his name and "methodist minister ~~from~~ in Alex City" would appear ~~to~~ be an outsider speaking on local problems in Montgomery.

Release was used by:
WSFA-TV last nite – Par. 2, 3.
Montgomery Advertiser this morning, June 6 – Par. 1, 2, 3 edited.
Alab. Journal – complete statement – BDT

Harold -

I wonder if we got our wires crossed. I understood that the Thrasher reprints would be sent to A.C.H.R. mem. by S.R.C. + that A.C.H.R. would send additional reprints to non-members of our choosing. Our members haven't received anything from S.R.C. on it so:

(1) the reprints I have here are to be sent to members + others as far as they will go,

(2) or you still plan distribution to our members later on.

Which one ?? Thanks for this help. Just received N.Y. Times supplement. Will send to Dist. Chrm. + Bd. members.

— Bob

PLEASE READ THOROUGHLY

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

August 12, 1957

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director

RE: Report on Board of Directors meeting.

Meeting on Friday, Aug. 2 in Montgomery the Board of Directors transacted the following business with nine members present:

I. PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE ORGANIZATION FOR 1957-1958

The Executive Director presented a proposed comprehensive program outline which was discussed extensively and adopted.

A. Emphasis on North Alabama Area: Because of moderate prevailing attitudes and weakness of pro-segregation organizations this area offers the prospect of significant precedents in comparison with Central and South Alabama.

1. Workshop: To be held in Birmingham in Oct. for leadership of local chapters in Tenn. Valley Dst., Dst. 1, 2 and 3 with additional selected individuals. The S.R.C. Consultant Service Program will provide consultants for guidance.
2. Expansion of Work: The Exec. Dir. will work to stimulate affiliates in the area to more expanded and meaningful program development by existing affiliates and work with district officers to eatablish new local chapters.
3. Field Representative for the Tenn. Valley Dst.: One or two persons will be secured to work without pay with travel expenses provided. This area has had no resistance groups to date and the Tri-Cities, Decatur and Huntsville offer relatively large potentiality.

B. Provision for Central and South Alabama: The State Office and Exec. Dir. will continue to service existing affiliates in these areas. One or two Field Representatives will be secured for work of opportunity with the Exec. Dir. undertaking new work only in crisis situations such as Tuskegee.

C. Stimulation of the Clergy: Recognizing the great potentiality of the clergy as compared with labor, business forces, etc. the State Office will work indirectly in:

1. Assisting in the planning, promotion and execution of a two-day workshop in October where 100 white and Negro ministers are expected to set up a state-wide bi-racial interdenominational clergy organization.
2. Assisting in a follow-up program of regional meetings of this organization in the Fall and Winter.
3. Assisting local ministerial associations in opening their membership or in the formation of new bi-racial clergy groups as was recently done in Birmingham.

D. Stimulation of Voter Expansion: In recognition of the new emphasis on voting the State Office will encourage local affiliates throughout the state in developing effective programs in this social area along lines of fact-finding, negotiation, publicity and assisting Negro Voters Leagues.

II. FINAL REPORT ON FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN (March 15 - July 15)

	QUOTA	AMT. RAISED	BALANCE
Non-Membership Drive	$ 4,500.00	$ 1,571.58	$ 2,828.47
Membership Drive	1,596.00	1,028.44	855.42
Totals	$ 6.096.00	$ 2,600.02	$ 3,683.89

Pledged But Not Received

Central Ala. Conf. (Meth. Ch., Central Juris.)	$ 250
S.R.C.	1,000
Birmingham individuals	1,000
Total	$ 2,250

Net

Required	$ 6,096.00
Paid and Pledged	4,850.02
Needed	$ 1,245.98

Note: The amount pledged and the amount needed will not come in of its own accord. The campaign is over. The only provision for the balance is your individual interest and concern. To you who worked and gave so sacrificially to make this campaign a success we are deeply grateful. The State Office will earnestly seek to fulfill the trust and hopes you have placed in it.

III. BUDGETARY REPORT (For the first half of the fiscal year - Feb. 1 - July 31)

RECEIPTS

Memberships (Profits)	$ 426.00
Contributions	2,750.92
Re-imbursements	79.51
Sale of Literature	29.05
Total	$ 3,285.48

DISBURSEMENTS

Item	Budget	Disbursed	Balance in Budget
* Salaries	$ 2,500.00	$ 00.00	$ 2,500.00
Exec. Dir - $1666.67			
Off. Sec. - 833.33			
Off. rent	750.00	375.00	375.00
Electricity	36.00	26.00	10.00
Telephone	540.00	256.41	283.59
Off. Sup.	870.00	313.08	556.92
Travel	1,325.00	741.64	583.56
Miscellaneous	100.00	6.12	93.88
Total	$ 6.121.00	$ 1,718.25	$ 4,402.75

No obligations outstanding.

Total Receipts	$ 3,285.48
Total Disbursements	1,718.25
Receipts ober Disbursements	$ 1,567.23
Balance in the Bank July 31	$ 1,842.64
Cash on hand July 31	00.00
Total	$ 1,842.64

* Through Sept. 30 salaries are paid by the Southern Regional Council. After that date through Jan. 31, 1956 the Ala. Council pays its own salaries ($2,500 for this period).

NOTE : Not included in receipts above is the amount received from memberships which automatically go to the S.R.C. for New South subscriptions. Likewise disbursements to the S.R.C. for these subscriptions are not included in the budget because they are varia

IV. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL GRANT-IN-AIDE

In June the S.R.C. received funds for the eleven active state affiliates which if divided equally amount to $ 3, 500 per year. These funds have now been apportioned on a basis of applications from each affiliate which discribed proposed program development.

On the basis of the Alabama application, Dr. C. H. Parrish of the S.R.C. reported, we have been apportioned $ 4, 000 for the S. R. C. fiscal year (Oct. 1, 1957 - Sept. 30, 1958) to be paid in quarterly allotments, each allotment subject to cancellation if program performance during the previous quarter is not satisfactory. Therefore it is definite that we will recive $ 1,000 for the first quarter which will fall into the Ala. Council's current fiscal year.

V. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR TO RESIGN

The Executive Director reported that on or soon after Jan. 1, 1958 he will not be available for further work with the Alabama Council. Two factors seem to indicate this period as logical for his departure -- the financial future of the Ala. Council and the désire of the Methodist Board of Missions to acquire the services of him and his wife at as early a date as possible. The prospect of the Council's ability to support a full-time staff after the first of the year is questionable and the Board of Missions has been put off repeatedly during the past two years. Apparently the period around January meets the needs of both bodies.

VI. MINIMUM OPERATIONS OUTLINED

Committee chairman A. C. Winn of Tuscaloosa submitted a report which outlined the minimum level of operations for the State Office which would justify its maintenance. Its features are a half-time Executive Director who would maintain his office in his own home and do his own secretarial work. Travel would be kept to a minimum and his primary role would be correspondence with all areas of the state and publishing a brief monthly newsletter, maintenance of membership records, organizing new chapters with as little travel as possible, serving as a source of information and counsel, and projecting the Aunual Meeting and Board meetings.

Such a program could be maintained on an income of $ 4,500 per year. During the 1958-1959 fiscal year the State Office operations will be somewhere between this $ 4,500 level and the current $ 11,100 level according to the income available.

No personnel have been considered as yet for a successor to the present Executive Director on a full or half-time basis, but President Hunter requests that members of the Board be alert for qualified persons.

VII. RESIGNATION OF VICE-PRESIDENT REFUSED

Dean C. G. Gomillion offered his resignation as Vice-President of the Council in view of what he termed the possibility of the Council being "embarassed" by his current activities in Tuskegee and possible indictment and conviction under the state's boycott law. President Hunter introduced the following resolution: "In view of Mr. Gomillion's tendered resignation the Board of Directors refuses to accept this resignation in light of his many years of faithful service to the organization and further affirm our confidence in his integrity, loyalty and Christian character." The resolution was adopted unanimously.

VIII. PUBLIC RELATIONS CLARIFIED

In view of an indefinite policy on public relations the Exec. Dir. requested clarification. It was determined that the State Office should endeavor to get appropriate material into the mass media organs but not for attribution to the Council. The importance of the Newsletter as a channel was recognized as was the need for public expression from local affiliates which is a reflection of the basic nature of the organization.

M C H R N E W S L E T T E R

Montgomery Council on Human Relations
Montgomery, Alabama

An Organization to Attain through Research and Action, Equal Opportunities for All the People of Montgomery

---

OUR NEXT MEETING - JULY 25

A DIRECT REPORT FROM TUSKEGEE

The newspapers tell us little more than what the white resistance leaders are saying. They miss the story behind the scenes.

Come out Thursday at 7:30 and hear the full story from one who has been on the scene. Don't rely on rumors. Get the facts for yourself.

OUR PURPOSE

"Why was I born?" asked a popular song of a few years ago. More recently that same question has been asked about our Montgomery Council.

The June meeting of the MCHR wrestled with the problem of finding our purpose in life. And with finding what methods we should use to achieve it.

Our goal is clear: "Equal opportunities for all the people of Montgomery." But what should be included in the words "research and action" is not so clear. At least not to us.

The group at the June meeting came up with a four-fold program. First, fellowship--getting people acquainted with each other, across racial lines.

Second, study and research--in order to inform ourselves about current happenings and about conditions in our community.

Third, personal "evangelism"--each member using his influence to disseminate the truth in as large a circle as he is able to reach.

Fourth, publicity--to propagandize in the best sense of the word. To keep the facts before the public.

Sounds like a mighty energetic program. All we need is plenty of good energetic people to put it over.

EACH ONE BRING ONE

The Membership Committee is drafting all of us to assist in its campaign to gain more members.

Their plan is simple. Each member has the responsibility of bringing only one other person into our organization.

Why not begin now. Bring one person with you to the meeting on Thursday. They could not ask for a more timely program. None of the local theatres, nor the television has anything more exciting to offer.

A lady told me the other day, "You would be surprised to know how many people there are who feel the same way that I do." (She is a silent "liberal")

I'm not surprised. I know those people are around--somewhere. But they ought to be with us. We have the kind of fellowship that could fill them with strength and courage.

No one will come to a meeting without an invitation. And you are the only ones who can give them that invitation. We're counting on you.

MONTGOMERY NOW A DISTRICT

In case you have not heard the news, Montgomery has been elevated to a district of the Alabama Council. Now we'll have to prove ourselves worthy.

A TRIBUTE TO A MARTYR

We have all been saddened by the sudden death of our dear friend, Miss Juliette Morgan. We can only thank God that, in His infinite wisdom, He has spared her from any further suffering. Miss Morgan paid the supreme price for the principles which she lived by. We can honor her by remaining faithful to those same principles.

Birmingham Post-Herald
8-9-57

State Authorities React To Charge Of 'Peonage'

MONTGOMERY, Aug. 8 (AP)—A state senator's disclosure that Negro farm tenants reportedly are being held in "peonage" with the use of welfare funds brought quick reaction today from state authorities.

Sen. George Little of rural Barbour County said he has "reliable" information that some white plantation owners are encouraging Negroes to have illegitimate children and collect welfare money for their support.

At the same time, Little said he is informed, the landowners pay the Negroes "little or no wages" and threaten to have the welfare payments cut off if the Negroes try to leave.

It's "peonage, pure and simple," the legislator protested in an interview.

Dr. J. S. Snoddy, head of the State Pensions and Security Dept., which handles welfare funds, said "I have heard of" the reported practice, "but I don't know that it is true."

Little said one way to stop it is to limit welfare aid to one illegitimate child in a family. Bills to do that are pending in the House and Senate.

An aroused Gov. James E. Folsom promised to "do everything I can" to enact the legislation into law. Other legislators pledged their support.

The House bill is on the calendar and an effort will be made tomorrow to bring it up out of order. A companion measure will be on the Senate calendar next Tuesday.

U. S. Dist. Atty. Hartwell Davis said he had no information on the reported "peonage" practice, and withheld further comment. He said, "I cannot pass on any case until it is presented to me."

Little, who represents a county where Negroes outnumber white residents, also said many white farmers are unable to get Negroes to work because unwed Negro mothers are drawing monthly checks for illegitimate children, some of them four and five.

Little's House colleagues from Barbour County, Reps. Sim Thomas and McDowell Lee, said they, too, have received complaints of farm labor shortages because of the availability of welfare funds to support illegitimate children.

Welfare authorities explained that children are eligible for relief on several grounds, including the "continuous absence" of a parent from the home. Illegtimate children qualify because of the "continuous absence" of the father.

The average monthly payment per child in Alabama is $10.66.

Newsletter

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 211 S. IZARD, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

Vol. 3 September, 1957 No. 4

ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of members will be October 28, beginning with a dinner. The executive committee is trying to secure a "name" person as speaker, not in hope of luring the timid, but of reinforcing the courageous. Reserve the date. Details later.

SIGNS OF THE TIME

The Schools Move

Four large and two smaller school districts are taking first gradual steps toward school desegregation in September: Little Rock, North Little Rock, Fort Smith, Hot Springs, Van Buren (under court order), and Ozarks.

The organized segregationists have been active. Robert E. Brown, president of Capitol Citizens Council, and Amis Guthridge, made speeches in Tulsa, Oklahoma. As reported by the newspapers, Mr. Guthridge indicated there would be "hell on the border" if Little Rock followed its plan for gradual desegregation in September. The Council also called on Governor Faubus to order Little Rock not to desegregate through a letter and newspaper ads. Members of the Council presented certain demands and fear-inspiring questions to the School Board. Mr. Guthridge is reportedly bringing a libel suit against the Arkansas Gazette.

These efforts in Little Rock seem to have no adverse effect on the Board's plans or on the climate of opinion. Standing firmly on law, the Board gave unequivocal answers to demands and questions. Significantly, the Arkansas Democrat in an editorial, July 31, 1957, supported the School Board in its plans for gradual desegregation.

Postscript to the Above

Events since the above was written late in August, by now have been "heard 'round the world" and are well known to all. On September 19 in Little Rock, a three-judge federal court hears the case brought by ten Negro ministers who attack the constitutionality of the so-called "segregation" measures passed by the last General Assembly. On the following day the federal court will hear the case in which the District Attorney asks the court for temporary injunction against the Governor and two State Guard officers. Our best understanding leads us to believe desegregation will go forward in Little Rock as planned by the School Board. Our concern is that the community be strong enough after all the artificial provocations and stimulated tensions to move forward with a minimum of discord and hurt to students.

A Judge Speaks

Judge Lee Ward of Paragould, in his Commencement Address to Arkansas State on August 9, warned that the South must accept racial desegregation as "the law of the land". Chancellor Ward, said the South has to make a choice between democratic principles or the abandoning of these principles to retain segregation. "The South has lost its battle against integregation on every democratic front." This means, he said, that the concept of integration is fully supported by the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government. He asked his listeners, "Shall we abandon democratic processes in our National Government just so we can retain segregation?" Good citizens will want to give words of encouragement to Judge Ward for this reasonable yet courageous

statement of the case for democratic methods and institutions.

Sovereignty Commission

Membership completed. Act Number 83 of the 1957 Legislature, creating the State Sovereignty Commission became effective June 13. It was not until August 1 that Governor Orval Faubus completed the personnel of the commission by naming three members. The members are Governor Faubus, Attorney General Bruce Bennett, Lt. Gov. Nathan Gordon, Speaker of the House Glenn F. Walther (Little Rock), Representative Rodgers of Crittenden County, Senators Smith of West Memphis and Hurst of Hot Springs, Connie Fields of Shirley, Dr. Joe Rushton of Magnolia, and J. L. Shaver of Wynne.

Report on Fayetteville

Activities of members of ACHR in Fayetteville may well be emulated by those in other towns. A committee plotted plans to raise funds needed for State activities. The results: A Sunday afternoon tea attended by more than seventy in the beautiful home of Dr. and Mrs. LeMon Clark with contribution and membership fees totaling more than $200.00; a concert by Rosa Page Welch at First Christian Church which netted $40.00 in spite of adverse circumstances; plans for a $5.00 a plate dinner to be held later. Aside from money raised, which is greatly needed, these activities have intrinsic worth in human fellowship and understanding of ACHR.

STAFF ACTIVITIES

Since a meeting of staffs of southern states in Atlanta last May, members of the staff have been vigorously involved in two different phases of activities: Plans for continuing ACHR and intense program activities. Of course, loyal members and officers have been engaged seriously in these activities too.

Next Year

The period for the original grant from SRC in 1955 ends on September 30th. This has necessitated applications for continued help from SRC and for new grants from other sources. Three applications with supporting exhibits and data were prepared in as many weeks.

Final decision on the request for the largest sum will not be made until "this Fall". As a result, the Executive Committee has made plans to operate on a minimum budget for the first quarter beginning October 1st. A favorable decision means a full program would be resumed immediately after the effective date of such decision.

Arkansas friends may note that grants from all foundations depend on the amount of financial support from the State. Financial support from our friends over the State immediately may be decisive in getting support from outside the State.

Some Significant Activities

Chris Mercer has given time to directing Day Work Camps promoted by Church leaders in Little Rock as organized by the Community Services Department of the Urban League. Each Tuesday in July and August, Senior-High young people from the various Churches have engaged in helpful work in the community, relieved by periods of worship and rest together. Work has been done at Aldersgate Camp, Gillam Park, and the Child Development Center.

Nat R. Griswold has had some new opportunities for consultation in small school districts which have kept him travelling North, West and East.

Both directors have had the usual engagements to speak, including a week for Chris Mercer in a regional camp for the United Christian Youth Movement near Nashville, Tennessee, and for Nat Griswold an appearance in the Annual Convention of the Christian Churches and the meeting of the Auxiliary of the National Dental Association in Hot Springs. (Mrs. J. E. Burke arranged this last engagement.)

Below is a description of the film, Face of the South. The directors with the help of a loyal member in North Little Rock have had some

effective showings of this feature of George Mitchell. One showing was for the membership in Little Rock.

YOU SHOULD KNOW THESE

Face of the South - a 16 mm color filming of George Mitchell's famous chalk talk on the Southern region and its problems, full of facts, spiced with George's sly good humour and hardly understandable Virginian accent. The copy now available is imperfect as to sound. (That's why we have it!) But it is usuable in small groups under good circumstances. It is quite a film! Any Santa want to buy a perfect copy? Price - $125.00.

A City Decides - a documentary film of the St. Louis Story of desegregation, to be nominated for an Oscar in its class; 37 minutes, black and white, 16 mm, sound. Contempory Films, 13 East 37th St., New York 16, N. Y. Rental fee $7.50.

The Louisville Story - Carmichal and James. A 169 page account of what happened in Louisville, Kentucky, told by the Superintendent of Schools, paper back, $1.00, ACHR office.

Assault Upon Freedom of Association - American Jewish Congress. A study of Southern attack on the NAACP and what it means in terms of the principle of voluntary associations in a democracy, 47 pages, $.50.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Life Magazine, The States' Rights Issue, an Editorial from the September 23 issue:

"But that issue (real states' rights) has nothing to do with Negro rights. .... The Civil War amendments, especially the Fourteenth, changed the nature of our constitution in a fundamental way. They made all Americans, including ex-slaves, citizens not only of their states but of the U.S., and established rights of national citizenship that no state might infringe. Among these rights is equal treatment under the laws. No state, however "sovereign", can be the final judge of this right, any more than it can coin money, make treaties, grant titles of nobility, or do any of the other sovereign things it once could."

Life Magazine, A Fifth Column of Decency, an Editorial, from the September 23 issue:

"In his Segregation, Robert Penn Warren quotes a Tennessee editor as saying; 'There's a fifth column of decency here, and it will, in the end, betray the extremists, when the politicians get through'. In a week when the decent people of Nashvill restored law and order and integration continued in once troubled places like Clinton and Sturgis, it would seem the fifth column is already at work. In time it may even demonstrate that it was a majority."

Arkansas Methodist, Conviction and Courage, an Editorial, from the September 12 issue:

"Equally as courageous have been the nine Negro high school seniors who have sought admittance to Central High School in Little Rock. They wanted that which the nation's constitution and its interpretations guaranteed them. They calmly faced a hostile crowd at the high school, endured jeers and insults only to be turned back by armed guardsmen who surrounded the school property. The courage of any one of these students was more than the combined courage of the crowd and those responsible for the guardsmen being there."

FYI
Ala Council file

THE BULLETIN
GREATER BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
November 1957

P.O. Box 9054, Birmingham 9

OCTOBER MEETING

We were glad to have for this meeting some representatives from the Koinonia community in Americus, Georgia, who shared experinces with us, If anyone is interested in helping this community and themselves at the same time, Koinonia is now packaging and shipping top quality pecans and peanuts, both shelled and unshelled, at reasonable prices. If you will drop a note to the above address or directly to Koinonia Farm, you will be sent a price schedule. These nuts make good Christmas gifts.

The meeting was somewhat disrupted because of the arrival of detective from the Birmingham Police Department who had received a complaint that we were holding and unsegregated meeting. Of course, our understanding was that the administration then in power interpreted the ordinance in such a way that our meeting was perfectly legal, since we met by invitation, registred guests and met on private property. However, the interpretation evidently had been changed without our knowledge it, and we were considered to be in technical violation of the law. By the time all the conferences were finished, the program was over anyway, so the group present finally voted to comply with their request that we give our names and addresses and depart in peace, which was done.

Since that time, the Executive Committee and Board has been meeting. It is obvious that nothing effective can be done in the interracial field as long as the ordinance is in force, so the problem develops of what to do about it. We would like to go ahead and hold our regular November meeting, but this would almost certainly mean forcing a test of the law without careful planning. It is not the function of our group to go about testing and invalidating laws, but we do feel that we are within our rights in sitting down together to discuss mutual problems in a private meeting. There are several unknown factors in the situation right now, which we hope will soon become clarified. Once this has been done, we will have a better basis for a decision. Therefore, at a meeting of Board members, it was decided to postpone this meeting until we have more information on which to work. We will keep you members informed by subsequent bulletins.

NEWS

We are sorry to hear that Rev. Hughes, our state director, has been in the hospital for a week or so, trying, not too successfully, to get rid of a troublesome ulcer condition. He is at home now, but is still on a strict regimen of diet and rest. We has all our best wishes for a speedy recovery.

Another cause for regret is the resignation of Rev. Hobart as chairman of our group. His term was supposed to be up at the end of August and he has been holding over while we attempted to find a suitable successor. Now, however, he feels that his physcial condition is not rugged enough to enable him to continue with this and still give the necessary energy to strengthering his church. His relinquishing the chair does not mean any lack of interest in this work of the group, merely that other things demand his attention more. We are deeply regretful and do appreciate the time he has been able to give us in the past.

Al 2-2722

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

December 3, 1958

MEMORANDUM

TO : Members of the Board of Directors
FROM: Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
RE : Report on Board Meeting

The following members attended the meeting of the Board of Directors in Montgomery on November 20: from Montgomery - Thomas R. Thrasher, J. T. Brooks, R. D. Crockett, Mrs. A. W. West; from Birmingham - J. C. Wilson, Mrs. John Fuller, R. E. Hughes; from Sylacauga - J. M. Ridgeway, W. G. Irby; from Tuscaloosa - Mrs. O. D. Thomas, A. E. Harris; from Decatur - Newton Maloney.

1. Nominating Committee: The president appointed Mrs. Thomas, chairman, Wilson and Mrs. Fuller to report nominations for seven officers and four board vacancies at the Annual Membership Meeting in February.

2. Annual Meeting Committee: Dr. H. C. Trenholm was appointed chairman with Brooks and Crockett to plan the Annual Meeting. The date was set for Saturday, February 7, preceded by the Board of Directors meeting the previous evening, Friday, February 6. Stillman College will be unable to entertain the state meeting this year, therefore the committee was asked to approach Talledega College as a perspective site.

This committee was also asked to secure the documentary film, "Segregation and the South" for showing at the Annual Meeting and to investigate the possibility of renting or purchasing a copy for purposes of promoting the A.C.H.R. with groups in Alabama and in the North. This Fund For the Republic film portrays the whole spectrum of activities in the South and has considerable footage from Alabama and several Alabama Council scenes ending with the implication that our approach may be the ultimate answer.

3. Program Progress: Reports were made on Alabama Council activity, plans, and local conditions in Decatur, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa (90 people attended their October meeting), East Piedmont District, Montgomery and Mobile. Reports

were also made on the recent state ministers and church womens meetings.

4. Finances:

(a) Reports were made on the progress of current fund raising efforts. At the October Board Meeting members attending committed themselves to raising approximately $3,000 which ammounted to the budgetary requirements for the balance of the fiscal year ending Jan. 31, 1959. These reports updated to the present show the following overall progress:

Amount Committed	Received	Balance
$2,933	$955	$1,978

Concern was expressed that the needed funds wouldnt be on hand for obligations such as salaries which come due twice a month.

* *(At the present, December 4, the Council has $36.00 in its bank account and $30 cash on hand. Salaries totaling $280 and a loan of $115 from Rev. Hughes is due on December 15.)

(b) Mr. Irby, Finance Committee Chairman, was asked to write each of the 34 Board members asking them to remit $20 by Dec. 1 from whatever sources they might have access to, in order to meet Dec. 1 obligations.

(c) A financial plan for the next fiscal year which was drawn up by Dr. Winn was adopted. It is based upon a system of underwriters designed to eliminate continual crises and urgent drives. This plan calls for the securing of approximately 75 persons willing to give $5 per month for 12 months producing $4,500; and approximately 12 organizations, which would probably have to be Negro or white non-Southern, which would give $10 per month for 12 months producing $1,440. It was announced that the Southern Regional Council had given the Alabama Council a grant of $4,200, the largest given any state organization, in recognition of its strategic work and hardships. From all three sources an income of $10,140 would be expected with memberships making up the balance of the proposed $12,150 minimum budget.

The names of thirteen Negro organizations in Alabama were listed with various Board members agreeing to make approaches to them. Progress on

this phase is to be reported to Mr. Irby (Box 871, Sylacauga) before the Annual Meeting. They were encouraged to get the organizations to invite Rev. Hughes to speak to meetings for the purpose of explaining the Council's work and needs.

All Board members are asked to begin immediately securing as many of the 75 individual underwriters as soon as possible reporting progress to Mr. Irby. It is hoped that the entire budget can be underwritten by the time of the Annual Meeting on February 7 enabling the membership to gain confidence in our stability.

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

December 29, 1958

MEMORANDUM:

TO : Members of the Board of Directors
FROM : Robert E. Hughes, Executive Director
RE : Annual Meeting, Report on Financial Situation and Plans

1. Annual Meeting: Dr. H.C. Tronhelm, chairman of the Annual Meeting Committee, reports that Dr. A.D. Gray has invited the Alabama Council to hold its Annual Membership Meeting at Talledega College on Saturday, February 7. This will be coupled with the regular semi-annual Board of Directors meeting the previous evening, Friday, February 6. We are indebted to Dr. Gray for his generosity this year and look foreward to the comfort and peaceful isolation which we enjoyed last year.

2. Financial Situation: The following constitutes a progress report as of December 29 on the Financial Drive by fourteen Board members which began October 8, and will end January 31.

AMOUNT COMMITTED	RECEIVED	BALANCE
$2,933	$1,515.50	$1,417.50

As reported in our December 3 memo we hope to underwrite our 1959-1960 budget by securing 75 individuals who will contribute $5.00 per month and 12 organizations which will contribute $10.00 per month along with Southern Regional Council funds. All Board members are asked to exercise all possible efforts to secure underwriters of both types by the Annual Meeting on February 7. If we can face the future with the assurance of stability and without the prospect of continual crises, the spirit of the organization will be boosted tremendously. All progress is to be reported to Bill Irby, Finance Committee chairman, Box 871, Sylacauga, Alabama.

FOR YOUR CALENDAR

ANNUAL MEETING - February 7, Talledega College

BOARD MEETING - February 6, (evening), Talledega College

December 29, 1958

Board Members	Amount Committed	Amount Received	Balance
Winn, Harris, (Dst. 1)	$ 217.00	$ 190.00	$ 27.00
Irby, (Dst. 2)	480.00	296.50	183.50
Fuller	100.00	51.00	49.00
Robinson	100.00	47.00	53.00
Wilson	100.00	33.00	67.00
Vann	250.00	80.00	170.00
Foster	200.00	68.00	132.00
Brooks, West, Thrasher, Andrews, (Mont. Dst.)	486.00	112.50	373.50
Foley, Lowery	500.00	139.50	360.50
Hughes	500.00	498.00	2.00
TOTALS	$ 2,933.00	$ 1,515.50	$ 1,417.50

NOTE: This report submitted only to above named persons.

Ala Council

QUARTERLY FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Date March 27, 1959

THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FOR THE QUARTER ENDING FEBRUARY, 1959

INCOME		
From SRC	$4,550.00	
Memberships	312.00	
New South Subscriptions	(in memberships)	
Contributions	4,211.02	
Other (specify)		
Sale of literature	30.75	
TOTAL INCOME	$9,103.77	$9,103.77
EXPENDITURES		
Salaries	$2,082.80	
Travel	280.68	
Rent	250.00	
Utilities	11.58	
Phone & Telegraph	218.59	
Postage	155.81	
Office Supplies		
New South subscriptions to SRC	149.50	
Other (specify)		
Literature	37.43	
Housing Allowance	83.33	
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	$3,421.28	$3,421.28

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MONTGOMERY COUNCIL NEWSLETTER

LB
S.M.

Montgomery Council on Human Relations
Montgomery, Alabama

"An Organization to Attain through Research and Education
Equal Opportunities for All the People of Montgomery"

****

OUR NEXT MEETING - November 19, 1959

Our speaker will be Mr. Douglas Brown, Mayor of Ozark, who is Chairman of the Alabama State Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Since the meeting will be at the usual place, and Mayor Brown is likely to draw an unusually large number of our members, it is requested that members bring no more than one or two guests. The time - 7:30 p.m.

****

THE UNADVERTISED

Since the local papers did not carry a very full account of the findings of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, especially as pertained to their findings in Alabama, we thought it might be of interest to report, even though still in abridged form, the county-by-county "Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law in Alabama Voting Hearing," as found in the Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1959, pp. 90-95:

1. Macon County

a. Separate facilities were utilized by the Macon County Board of Registrars in receiving and examining applicants for registration. . . .

b. Negro applicants were delayed for long periods before being admitted to the waiting room. . . .

c. Not more than two applicants for registration were permitted in the examination room at any one time. The examination consisted of the completion of the application, oath, and questionnaire; the copying verbatim of portions of the U.S. Constitution and, in some cases, oral examination.

d. Many Negroes were forced to return two or three times on different days before being admitted to the registration room. . . .

e. On several occasions the Board of Registrars failed to convene and function on scheduled registration dates. . . .

f. On other scheduled registration days, the Board of Registrars met, but at irregular hours. . . .

g. In reviewing applications the Board of Registrars applied different and more rigid standards to Negro applications than to white applications. . . .

h. The Board of Registrars failed to register Negro applicants ostensibly possessing statutory qualifications, including a number of well-educated Negroes previously registered in one or more other states. .

i. In the period 1951 through November 15, 1958, a total of 1,585 Negroes made application to register. Of this number 510, or 32 percent, became registered.

j. The 1950 Negro population of Macon County exceeded 27,000 of whom about 14,000 were of voting age. In 1958 there were 1,218 Negroes registered to vote. White population in Macon County in 1950 was 3,177. Whites registered to vote in 1958 numbered 3,102.

2. Dallas County

a. The board of registrars allows Negroes to complete application forms, but does not require oral or written examination. . . .

b. Some Negro applicants ostensibly possessing statutory qualifications to register have each filed several applications, and one individual filed 30 applications. Of that group, none has heard from the board with respect to any application filed.

c. Although the board of registrars accepts applications from Negroes, it has registered but 2 out of approximately 800 Negro applicants in the past 5 years.

d. Estimated county population, 52,000, of whom about 40,000 are Negroes; Negroes of voting age, about 18,000. Negroes registered to vote, 163. White population, about 12,000. Whites registered, 8,800.

3. Barbour County

a. Negro applicants for registration were required to wait in the hallway until white applicants had been examined.

b. Applicants were not required to read or write any part of the Constitution. Negro applicants were asked a number of specific questions with respect to the identity of National, State, and local officials. . . .

c. (1) Rejected applications were destroyed approximately 30 days after being rejected, which fact made accurate statistical review of the records impossible. . . .

(2) The board of registrars has no rules and regulations covering registration.

d. White applications contained significant errors. . . .

e. A substantial number of applications of white registered applicants reflected the presence of handwriting of a person other than the applicant. In the majority of such instances the second handwriting was identifiable as that of one of the members of the board.

f. Total 1950 population, 28892. Negro population, 15, 427. White population of voting age, 8012. Whites registered, 6,521. Negro population of voting age,

7,158. Negroes registered, 200.

4. Bullock County

a. The board of registrars did not function for about 18 months in the period 1954-56 because of resignations from the board. . . .

b. The Board did not function from approximately July 1957 until the time of the hearing.

c. The rules and regulations of the board of registrars provide that a qualified elector can vouch for no more than three applicants during the term of the board of registrars. The term of the board is 4 years. A voucher card index is maintained by the board. The 1956-57 index showed the number of times each registered voter vouched for an applicant. The index establishes that the board considers that a voucher has vouched for an applicant even though the application vouched for is rejected by the board.

d. There are five registered Negroes in Bullock County. One of the five has already vouched for three Negro applicants, none of whom was registered. . . .

e. The voucher card index includes cards for white vouchers. . . .

f. Examination of application forms for white applicants disclosed that approximately 15 white applicants were afforded a second chance. . . . Our examination disclosed no Negro applicants who had been afforded this opportunity.

g. Total 1950 population of the county, 16,054. Negro population, 11, 185. Negro population of voting age, 5,425. Negroes registered, 5. White population of voting age, 2,633. Whites registered, 2,400.

5. Lowndes County

a. For many years no Negro has attempted to register. Not a single Negro is in fact registered.

b. Fear of physical harm combined with economic pressure, including threats to call loans, failure to grant loans, and economic pressure leveled upon Negro businessmen, comprise the basic reasons why Negroes have not attempted to register. . . .

d. From 1954 to 1958, no white applicant seeking registration was rejected.

d. Estimated population, 13,000, of whom about 15,000 are Negroes and about 3,200 are whites. Whites registered, 2,100. No Negroes are registered. . . .

6. Wilcox County

a. Only one Negro has attempted to register in Wilcox County in recent history. He was unsuccessful in his attempt.

b. Other Negroes intending to attempt registration were thwarted by conflicting instructions from officials as to where and how applications should be procured and submitted.

c. Substantial fears among the Negro population, including fear of economic reprisal and extending to fears of physical violence have deterred potential Negro applicants from attempting registration.

d. Total 1950 population, 23,476. Negro population, 18,564. White population of voting age, 3,056. Negro population of voting age, 8,218. Whites registered, 3,183. Negroes registered, 0.

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ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
January 20, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: Robert E. Hughes

RE: Report on Dec. 5 meeting, matters pending.

Report on Dec. 5 Meeting: Ten members attended the Dec. 5 board meeting in Montgomery called for the purpose of examining our program work. Both because of the nature of the subject and the discussion itself, it is difficult to convey specifics and conclusions. It was noted that local groups throughout the state are questing for their purpose and role and in most cases frustrated without finding satisfactory answers. A possible reason advanced is the difficulty of finding a level of involvement that is both effective and "safe" within the prevailing racial climate. A consensus of thought indicated that imagination, ideas and less caution were needed at all levels at which time Father Foley proposed a two phase "communications" program.

This program would present pertinent information on saving education, voting democracy, economic expansion, etc. through utilization of mass media advertising to the general public and direct mailings to special interest and occupational groups. This project would be staffed, supervised by an appropriate policy board, could be under A.C.H.R. or ad hoc auspices and financed by a foundation grant of from $35,000 - $75,000 over four years.

After considerable discussion the project was approved and assigned to a committee for preparation. Father Foley has distributed to board members a copy of the draft proposal. In the light of responses on the part of several key leaders absent from the meeting, Rev. Gregory has placed the proposal on the agenda of the Feb. 5 board meeting for more thorough consideration of the program's implications and S. R. C. appraisal, to be followed by submission to the membership meeting on Feb. 6. This program represents a dramatic departure from past policy and it is felt that Annual Meeting consideration is in order.

Matters Pending

Next Meeting: The next board meeting is set for Friday evening, Feb. 5 at Talladega College in Talladega to be followed by the Annual Membership Meeting 10:30 A.M. - 3:00 P.M. the following day, Saturday Feb. 6 (Oct. 22, 1959 Board Memo). Overnight accommodations will be provided by the college. The exact opening hour of the board meeting and reservation cards will be distributed shortly.

Committee Appointments: Rev. Gregory has made the following committee appointments.

1. Annual Meeting Committee - H. C. Trenholm, chrm,, Gregory, Brooks, Thrasher, Hughes. The program is now complete and features an address by the minister-chairman of the H.O.P.E. organization in Norfolk, Va. and the immediate past executive director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. Reports will be made from all chapters on their work during the past year.

2. Nominating Committee - J. C. Wilson, chrm., David Vann.

3. Audit Committee - David Vann, chrm. J. C. Wilson

4. Constitutional Revision Committee - R. D. Crockett, chrm. Mrs. Frank Anderson. No revision or amendments are necessarily anticipated, but as a routine matter this committee will study the document, consider any suggestions from board members (a copy for your use is attached), and report at the board meeting.

5. Information Project Committee - Father Albert Foley, chrm. Gregory, Hughes. Should you need a copy of the proposal or desire to make suggestions write Father Foley at Springhill College, Mobile.

Encls: 2

(Including Amendments
Approved on Fev. 15, 1958)

BY-LAWS OF THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

ARTICLE I

NAME

The name of this organization is the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

ARTICLE II

PURPOSE

This organization shall endeavor to promote in the state of Alabama the aims and purposes following, that is to say: to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to maintain a program for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the state of Alabama through education in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the state in all efforts toward state-wide and racial development; to attain through research and education programs, the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the state, to reduce race tension, the basis of race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust, to develop and unify leadership in Alabama on new levels of fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state and regional agencies in the attainment of these objectives.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Members. Any person who is in accord with the purposes of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and residing in the state of Alabama may become a member of the Alabama Council on Human Relations upon payment of appropriate dues.

Section 2. Dues. Annual dues of members shall be the amount set by the Board of Directors. Such dues shall be paid to the State Office of the organization and shall include a subscription to the publication of the Southern Regional Council.

ARTICLE IV

MEETINGS

Section 1. There shall be a meeting of members annually for the transaction of business at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Notice of the meeting shall be given not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Executive Committee at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of meeting, the business to be transacted, and it shall be sent to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3. Quorum. Those present shall constitute a quorum at membership meetings of the organization.

ARTICLE V

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Section 1. Powers. The affairs of the organization between membership meetings shall be in charge of a Board of Directors.

Section 2. Membership. The Board shall consist of not less than 15 nor more than 45 members which shall be composed of members at large and district members.

The membership shall elect the members at large for a three year term. They shall be eligible for re-election except that they may not serve more than two consecutive full terms. Vacancies may be filled by the Board of Directors subject to the approval of the Annual Meeting.

Each distruct organization of the Alabama Council on Human Relations shall elect annually two district members to serve no more than three seccessive years.

The Executive Director, any professional staff members and the officers of the Council shall be ex-officio members of the Board.

Section 3. Meetings. The Board shall meet semi-annually to review the work of the organization and to conduct its affairs. Special meetings may be called by the President and shall be called upon written request of any five members of the Board.

Section 4. Quorum. The presence of any eight members shall constitute a quorum of the Board.

Section 5. The Executive Committee. The affairs of the organization between membership meetings and meetings of the Board of Directors shall be in charge of an Executive Committee. The Committee shall consist of five to ten members of the Board and appointed by the President for one year terms.

Section 6. Committees. Upon authorization of the Board of Directors, the President shall appoint the following committees: A Finance Committee whose duty shall be to aid the Board in fund-raising for the support of the organization and to exercise supervision over all fiscal matters; a Membership Committee whose duty it shall be to aid the Board of Directors in maintaining an adequate number of members of the organization; a Community Relations Committee which shall aid the Board in promoting appropriate human relations programs on the state level and in the several districts; and a Research Committee whose duty it shall be to aid the Board in compiling and analyzing factual information concerning human relations and making such information available to appropriate agencies, organizations and individuals.

ARTICLE VI

OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Third Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer. These officers shall be nominated by the Board of Directors and elected annually by the membership, and shall perform duties usually performed by such officers. Nominations shall be received from the membership if offered. Any vacancy in any of these offices may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Board of Directors.

Section 2. No person may serve more than three seccessive years in the same office with the exception of the Treasurer.

ARTICLE VIII

EXECUTIVE STAFF

The Executive Director and other staff members shall be selected by the Board of Directors. The executive staff shall carry out the program of the organization, interpret the program to the communities of the state and assume other normal functions. They shall keep all records and present such reports as are required by the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VIII

FINANCES

Section 1. Checks and Drafts. All checks, drafts, or orders for the payment of money in the name of the Alabama Council on Human Relations shall be signed by the Treasurer or Executive Director.

Section 2. Fiscal Year. The fiscal year shall be February 1, to the following January 31.

Section 3. Financial Report. The Treasurer shall submit a financial report at each meeting of the Board of Directors, and at each annual meeting of members.

ARTICLE IX

AMENDMENTS

These by-laws may be amended at any meeting of the membership, by a majority of the members present.

ARTICLE X

POLITICAL ACTIVITY

No substantial part of the activities of the organization shall be involved in the dissemination of propaganda, attempting to influence legislation or otherwise engaging in any form of political activity.

CONFIDENTIAL

Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

REV. THOMAS THRASHER, President
MR. J. T. BROOKS, Vice President
FATHER A. S. FOLEY, Vice President

DR. A. D. GRAY, Vice President
MR. W. G. IRBY, Secretary
REV. J. C. WILSON, Treasurer

REV. ROBERT E. HUGHES, Executive Director

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

May 19, 1960

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors

FROM: R. E. Hughes

RE: Progress report on financial drive, address change.

In our last memo we reported that $2,342 had been raised by Apr. 30. Here is the compilation of funds received at the State Office as of May 15:

Tenn. Valley Dst.	$ 33
West Piedmont	141
East Piedmont	394
Birmingham	683
West Black Belt	0
East Black Belt	55
Montgomery	245
Wiregrass	0
Mobile	1,810
Out of State	355
Total	$ 3,717
June 1 goal	$ 4,000
Raised to date	3,717
Goal for last of month	$ 283

This represents excellent progress on our goal, especially during the past two weeks. President and Finance Committee Chairman Father Foley continues to set the example in Mobile while the leadership of Rev. Herbert Oliver in Birmingham and Rev. Carl Landes in the Gadsden-Talladega-Sylacauga area is most commendable. Where has this come from? From our leadership itself, plain members at meetings, Negro organizations in Alabama, and individuals and organizations inside and outside of the South who board members have contacted personally or by letters.

We are within sight of our $4,000, but the remaining amount of almost $300 with less than two weeks to go will come only through renewed effort. It is especially hoped that districts which have not made a significant effort will initiate such without delay. Good luck!

Change of Address: Today the State Office moved to slightly larger quarters across the hall in the Comer Bldg. Henceforth our address will be "Room 1224 Comer Bldg." The phone number remains the same. Come to see us the next time you're in Birmingham!

ALA - MOBILE

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Organization Manual

Contents

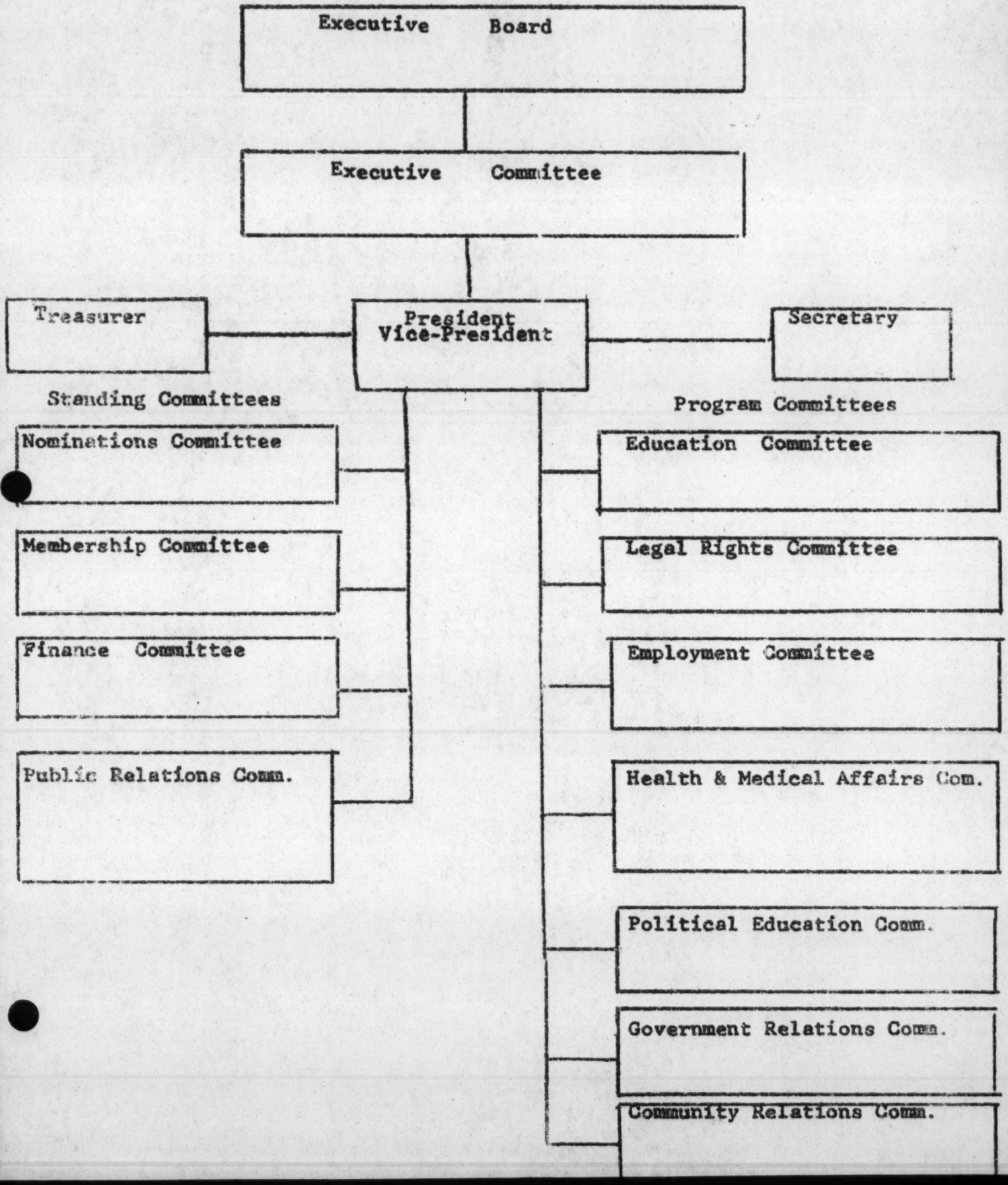
1. Organizational Chart
2. Proposed By-Laws
3. Program Committee Functions
4. Miscellaneous Documents

1962

Confidential:
Not For Release

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Organization Chart



MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

PROPOSED BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of this organization is the Mobile Council on Human Relations, formerly the Mobile-Baldwin section of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

ARTICLE II: PURPOSE

This organization shall endeavor to promote in the city and county of Mobile as well as in the surrounding metropolitan area, the following aims and purposes:

1) To promote the ideals of democracy, human dignity and human rights as expressed in the Constitution of the United States and in Section 2, Article 1 of the Constitution of the State of Alabama in its 36 provisions for "great general and essential principles of liberty and free government;"

2) To maintain a program for the improvement of economic civic and racial conditions in the Mobile area through educational endeavors that promote greater unity in the community and greater development of community cooperation;

3) To attain through research and communications programs a wider distribution of knowledge and understanding between the peoples in the community in order to reduce racial tension, to lessen intergroup prejudice, racial misunderstanding and interracial distrust;

4) To cooperate with local, state, regional and national organizations in the attainment of these objectives.

ARTICLE III: MEMBERSHIP

Section I: Members.

Any person who is in accord with the purposes of the Mobile Council on Human Relations and its affiliated organization, the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and residing in the State of Alabama and in the metropolitan area of Mobile may become a member of both the Alabama Council on Human Relatoins and the Mobile Council upon the payment of appropriate dues and approval by the membership committee.

Section II: Dues.

Annual dues of members shall be $5.00 per person as set by the State Board of Directors of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. These dues shall be paid to the State office of the State organization and shall include a subscription to the NEW SOUTH, a publication of the Southern Regional Council, the parent organization.

ARTICLE IV: MEETINGS

Section I

Regular meetings shall be held each month for the transaction of business and for the conducting of programs designed to carry out the objectives of the organization. Notices of these meetings shall be sent to the membership and to interested community particpants.

Section 2: Special Meetings

Special meetings may be called by the President or Executive Committee at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of the meeting and the business to be transacted. It shall be sent to the members at least five days before each meeting.

Section 3: Quorum

Those present shall constitute a quorum of membership at the meetings of the organization.

ARTICLE V: EXECUTIVE BOARD

Section 1: Powers

The financial and executive conduct of the organization between membership meetings shall be in charge of the Executive Board.

Section 2: Board Membership

The Board shall consist of not less than five and not more than ten members who will be elected by the general membership. Board members shall be elected for a two year term. They shall be eligible for re-election except in cases where they would, by re-election, serve more than three consecutive full terms. Vacancies may be filled by the Board of Directors subject to the approval of the general membership at its annual election meeting.

Section 3: Board Meetings

The Board shall meet monthly in order to plan the work of the organization and conduct its affairs. Special meetings of the Board may be called by the President and must be called upon written request of any five members of the Board, especially in an emergency situation or where critical changes of policy are needed.

Section 4: Quorum

The presence of any six members shall constitute a quorum of the Board.

Section 5: The Executive Committee

To expedite the conduct of affairs the Board may elect an Executive Committee made up of the officers of the organization who are ex officio members of the Board to transact routine business without

necessiatating special meetings of the entire board.

ARTICLE VI: OFFICERS

Section 1

The officers of the Mobile Council on Human Relations shall be a President, a President Elect, a Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. These officers shall be nominated by the Board of Directors and elected annually at the election meeting in May. They shall perform duties such as are usually performed by these officers. Nominations shall be received from membership if offered. Any vacancy in these officers may be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Board of Directors at thier regular monthly meetings.

Section 2

No person may serve more than three successive years in the same office, with the exception of the Treasurer and the Secretary.

Section 3

The President of the Mobile Council on Human Relations is ex officio the chairman of the Board, the chairman of the Executive Committee and the chief executive administrator and administrative officer of the organization. He is empowered to preside at the meetings of the Board, Executive Committee and the general membership. He has the responsibility of presenting the agenda of these meetings in advance to those who attend and he is authorized to appoint the committees necessary to carry out the work of the organization. The president also is empowered to cast a deciding vote in case of a tie in any of the actions of the Board, the Executive Committee and the general membership.

Section 4

The Vice-President of the organization has the same powers as the President in his absence or illness. The Vice-President shall ordinarily conduct the affairs of the organization in accordance with the mind of the Presidant and in consultation with him.

Section 5

The Secretary of the organization along with the assistant secretary for correspondence and recording of minutes, shall be responsible for the official correspondence of the organization and the official records of its actions. The Secretary or one of the assistant secretaries shall be present at each of the meetings of the Board, the Exewutive Committee and the general membership and shall make a record of the business and transactions occurring at these meetings. In the absence of one of these secretaries, the President shall appoint, pro tem, an acting secretary.

Section 6

The Treasurer of the organization is the chief financial officer charged with keeping the funds of the organization in its bank account and dispersing them for legitimate expenses. The Treaserer shall also be a member of the Finance Committee and assist in the raising of funds, the acknowledging of contributions to the organization, and the careful

maintaining of record books. The Treasurer shall also carry out the transmission to the State Office of memberships in the parent organization and shall keep an accurate record of the paid up memberships, giving notice of deficiencies and delinquencies in membership payments. The Treasuer shall not make out any checks to himself if and when the organization secures a checking account.

Section 7

Board members of the organization whether officers or simple members of the Board are charged with the planning and conducting of the affairs of the organization between membership meetings. The Board is the principal policy making unit of the organization and is responsible for the developing of policy and program, for overseeing the conduct of the financial and administrative affairs of the organization and also for presneting to the general membership any amendments to the by-laws or specific changes in policy necessitated by new developments. The Board will follow for its norm for guidance in its decisions the policy manual of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

ARTICLE VII: COMMITTEES

Section 1

The President in consultation with the other officers and Board, shall appoint permanent committees for the conduct of the work of the organization. The standing committees shall be a Nominations Committee, a Membership Committee, a Finance Committee, and a Public Relations Committee. The program committees shal be an Education Committee, a Legal Rights Committee, an Employment Committee, a Health and Medical Affairs Committee, a Political Education Committee, and a Governmental Relations Committee, also a Community Relations Committee, as well as other ad hoc committees.

Section 2: Committee Functions

The following are the functions for each of these Committees:

1) Nominations Committee. This group shall have the responsibility of nominating the slate of officers for the annual election in May and also for the filling of vacancies by the Board of Directors as they occur.

2) Membership Committee. This committee shall have the responsibility of promoting the recruitment of membership for the organization and the screening of applicants as to suitability for membership in the organization.

3) Finance Committee. The finance committee, headed ex officio by the President of the organizaton, shall have the responsibility of raising funds for the work of the organization and for its support of the State organization.

4) Public Relations Committee. This committee shall be charged with the communications program of the Council and shall cooperate with other committees in the proper channelling of their materials and communications to the mass media.

Section 3: Program Committee Functions

1) Education Committee. This committee will be responsible for gathering data on educational opportunities and provisions in the local community, and for devising and staging educational programs for the betterment of human relations and the lessening of intergroup tensions in the area.

2) Legal Rights Committee. This committee will be charged with the investigation of the many aspects of the administration of justice and the defense of human rights in the local community. It will also devise and stage programs for the improving of the law enforcement processes, the police-community relations, and the other legal aspects of the Council's activities.

3) The Employment Committee. This group shall investigate the facts about equal employment opportunity for workers in the local area, in accordance with the provisions for non-discriminatory employment by Federal and Federally linked enterprises. It shall also devise and stage programs for promoting the cause of fair and merit employment of American citizens according to ability and training.

4) Health and Medical Affairs Committee. This committee has the responsibility of gathering data about the availability of health services andmmedical care in the local community. It shall also investigate discriminatory practices that interfere with the meeting of medical needs of American minorities. It shall devise and stage programs and projects to aid in the resolving of problems in this field.

5) Political Education Committee. This committee is responsible for investigating the actual state of affairs concerning basic citizenship rights in thellocal community. It shall devise and stage educational programs looking toward maximum participation of American citizens in the processes of American democracy.

6) Gomernmental Relations Committee. It will be the responsibility of this committee to gather data on the workings of other-than-police and law-enforcement agencies, institutions, bureaus, and boards serving the local community as city, county, state, and federal governmental agencies. This group will also devise and develop means for the betterment of relationships between these bodies and the citizenry, especially in cases of malfunctioning of communications or faulty administrative practices and procedures.

7) Community Relations Committee. This group will be charged with the exploration of facts about the non-governmental agencies, civic associations, welfare institutions, and other social, business, or service institutions inthe local community. It will also develop means for improving the community spirit of cooperation and service locally so that all American citizens will have free and equal access to community services and public accommodations.

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Education Committee

OFFICERS: Chairman: _____ Co-Chairman: _____

Secretary: _____ Consultant: _____

MEMBERS: _____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

FUNCTION: (General) "This Committee will be responsible for gathering data on educational opportunities and provisions in the local community, and for devising and staging educational programs for the betterment of human relations and the lessening of intergroup tensions in the area."

FUNCTIONS: (Detailed)

I. RESEARCH AND DATA GATHERING

1) Community Self-Survey on Public Education Opportunities
2) Self-Survey on Private Educational Opportunities
3) Survey of Discriminatory Practices in Teacher Employment &c
4) Survey of Adult Education Opportunities in Mobile
5) Survey of Vocational Training and Trade School Opportunities
6) Survey of Educational Adequacy of Community's Overall Education Program
7) Special Study of Education for Democracy and Citizenship in the Community's Educational Systems
8) Study of Progress in Educational Development of Community since 1955
9) Study of Detailed Plans for Resistance to Desegregation Efforts in foreseeable Future
10) Study of Present Plans for Handling Civil Disasters centering on School Problems in the future
11) Other:
12) Other:

II PROGRAMMING FOR BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS

1) Administrators' Conferences on Human Relations and related Problems
2) Teacher Training Institutes (In-Service Training within school system)
3) Teacher Training Programs (Outside School System)
4) Workshops in Human Relations for School Personnel
5) Seminars for Community Leaders concerned with School Problems
6) Developing Civic Organizations parallel to H.O.P.E. (Help Our Public Education),
7) Youth Conferences for Teenagers interested in Better Human Relations
8) Child Development Clinics for Mothers of young children: "Rearing Children of Good Will"
9) Mental Health Clinics on Problems of Preventing Prejudice and Emotional Disturbance over Human Relations Issues
10) Special Adult Education Courses for Parents, School Personnel and Community Leaders
11) Police-Community Relations Institutes
12) Other:

MATERIALS AND RESOURCES:

CRC REPORT ON EDUCATION, 1961
SRC YOUR COMMUNITY LOOKS AT ITSELF &c
HOPE Program Materials
Record, LITTLE ROCK, U.S.A.
Reif, CRISIS IN NORFOLK
SRC, CAN WE AFFORD TO CLOSE OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS
VCPS, ORGANIZING TO SAVE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Campbell, WHEN A CITY CLOSES ITS SCHOOLS

A L A B A M A ' S T I M E O F D E C I S I O N I S N O W!

DON'T LET A FEW DECIDE FOR THE MANY!

SAVE IS

* A nonprofit organization of concerned parents and citizens to further by all proper and legitimate means, the continuation of a state-wide system of free public education."

* A rallying point of moderate opinion on the school crisis.

* Supported voluntarily by any citizen who wants to invest in the maintenance and improvement of free education.

SAVE asserts that public education is necessary if popular government is to function effectively; if Alabama children are to have a decent opportunity in life; and if our society is to continue to achieve economic progress. For these reasons, SAVE opposes the closing of the public schools of Alabama and calls on all Alabamians to unite in opposition to the closing of the schools.

SAVE DOES NOT

* Argue the relative merits of segregation and desegregation.

* Discuss whether the 1954 Supreme Court decision was right or wrong.

* Debate states rights vs. federal rights.

* Advocate any one method of compliance.

* And will not at any time participate in action or litigation aimed at closing a public school in Alabama.

SAVE DOES

* Give wide distribution to the facts on the school crisis.

* Point out the high cost of private schooling and its consequent unavailability to the majority of parents.

* Warn that our state will suffer drastic economic losses unless our schools remain open.

* Work with individuals and groups by furnishing factual material and speakers.

* Conduct public meetings.

* Offer support to public officials who work to continue free education.

* Stand ready to support any reasonable plan, acceptable to the courts, that will keep the public schools open.

* Hold that Boards of Education, legislators, the Governor, and all citizens owe allegiance to the Constitution of the United States.

* Assert the right and necessity of free and open discussion of the school crisis and opposes the use or encouragement of violence or intimidation by persons or groups of any shade of opinion.

* Believe that each of us has an individual responsibility to let official local leadership, and our fellow citizens know now where each of us stands; on the side of law, order, and public schools.

EXERCISE YOUR RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP NOW

S A V E A L A B A M A ' S V I T A L E D U C A T I O N

HERE'S HOW YOU CAN HELP SAVE !

YOU CAN know the facts: the facts of previous school crises in the South, in Little Rock, in Virginia, in New Orleans, in Georgia; the enormous penalties to the entire community or state when public education is ceased or converted to makeshift "private" schools. You can show how one way or another these consequences affect every segment of the community and that the effects are long range as well as short range. SAVE meetings will discuss many of these facts. SAVE literature will present more information. Armed with thse facts, you can fight the apathy and unwillingness to acknowledge that there is truly a school crisis; these are the real enemies of contined public education.

2. YOU CAN organize and participate in the discussion groups. Get small groups of your friends together; invite neighbors in to talk about the school crisis; gather a group of parents whom you know through the PTA or through you children. SAVE will donate materials that will make these sessions interesting and informative. And SAVE will offer a means of corporate voice for thousands of Alabamans who want public schools.

3. YOU CAN talk SAVE to any or all of the established groups to which you already belong-in church groups, in business men's luncheons, clubs, in the Chamber of C ommerce, in PTO's, in social and charitable organizations. Once again, SAVE will provide material for further discuasion or, upon request, will provide a speaker.

4. YOU CAN help save for SAVE. The very fact that materials are provided will make people realize that SAVE meeds money to provide the material, to maintain its mailings, and to perform the research and publication of additional material. Ask these groups or ask individuals to ivest in SAVE amd thereby invest in the future of their community and of their children. In some cases Save for SAVE parties can be combined with teas or bridge parties or other functions.

5. YOU CAN send SAVE literature to friends and relatives throughout the state. Get them interested so they will start SAVE organizations in their own towns.

6. YOU CAN give personal financial support-as much as you can spare- to help SAVE Alabama's public schools. Remember, whatever you give will be a lot cheaper than private schools.

7. YOU CAN insist at every opportunity upon a calm, reasonable, open approach to the school problem, in the belief that this approach is the only one suited to such a serious crisis and the only way we can replace emotionalism with logic.

8. YOU CAN express your opinions: talk to anyone who will listen; write letters to the editor of your local paper; write to all political levels in the state from the Governor to the legislators to the mayor to the school board, Point out to them that we must SAVE our public schools.

Literature you will want to use in urging others to SAVE is available at SAVE, Montgomery, Inc., P.O. Box 1643, Montgomery, Alabama.

Please report any action you take to SAVE. If you wish to contribute, please make checks payable to the address immediately above.

MOBILE'S EDUCATIONAL ADEQUACY: 1955 SUMMARY

The picture of pre-1950 education is not too bright. Of the 74,425 persons in the community (roughly 50,000 whites, 25,000 Negroes) who were over 25 years of age in 1950, the census of 1950 reported that 2.5% had no schooling whatever. Eleven point five percent had one to four years. Twelve percent had five to six years; 8.6% had sevenyyears, 10.4% had eight years of schooling. Less than one in five of the people had one to three years of high school, Slightly more than one in five had high school education. Six point nine percent had one to three years of college education and only four point two percent were college graduates. (A city like Washington had 11% college grads, others even more)

Among the nonwhites, sixty-five percent of the population had less than a high school education. Eighty percent had less than three years high school. Specifically: 5.9% had no education whatever; 25.4% had only one to four years of grammar school; 19% had five to six years of grammar school; 9.6% had seven years of elementary, and 10.2 had eight years of elementary schooling. Fifty percent had less than a sixth grade education. The median number ofyears education for the nonwhite was 6.7. For the whites it was 12.5 years--slightly more than a high school level.

In terms therefore of educational adequacy for domestic, economic, and civic life, the nonwhite population was roughly eighty-percent substandard.

What of the younger generation? Have things improved? What are the actual conditions today? (1955)

The only public figures available showed, that as of February 1955, there were 23,022 pupils enrolled in the public elementary schools of Mobile city. Of these, sixty-five percent (14,988) were whites; thirty-five percent (8,084) were nonwhites. The 65% white children had 70% of the available classrooms. The 35% Negro children were crowded into 29% of the available classrooms.

Seven percent of the white classrooms were emergency or temporary ones. Eleven point three percent of the nonwhite classrooms were of this type.

Other differentials were also obvious in the school-by-school figures. Ninety-three percent of the school libraries were located in white schools. Seven percent of the available libraries were in nonwhite schools. Eighty-seven percent of the total library books were in these white libraries. Only thirteen percent of the total number of books were available to the 35% Negro minority.

Instead of the 65-35- percent distribution, there was a 75%-25% distribution of school health units.

The differentials are also observed in size of class. In the white schools the average was 26 per class in elementary level; 32 per class on junior high level; and 27 per class in elementary level; 32 per class on junior high level; and 27 per class in senior high schools. In nonwhite schools, the average number of pupils in elementary grades was forty; 36 per class in junior and 51 per class in senior high school.

These are but samplings of the problems of inadequate education facilities for the community's children. With the continuing bumper baby crop of the post war years now reaching school age, the problem will be accentuated and aggravated unless some emergency action is taken by the community this year. Large bond issues appear to be the least that could be done. Much more than that will be required to raise the school facilities to minimum standards. The school superintendent's report foresees, on the basis of children now in pre-school ages, that the school system will have an increase of 2,500 more pupils each year for the next five years: this involves at least 100 more classrooms each year, 100 more teachers.

Every serious-minded citizen should give serious thought to the re-thinking of this community problem.

MOBILE COUNTY SCHOOL BOARD STATEMENT OF POLICY
1955-1956

"It is the purpose of this board to attempt in good faith to perform its important public function of educating the youth of Mobile County, in such fashion as to comply with the provisions of applicable law as contained in the Constitution and statuss of Alabama and in the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the segregation cases.

"The rapid and continuing increase in the pupil-load has outstripped the existing school facilities in Mobile County. Notwithstanding the board's earnest and continuing efforts, difficulty is encountered now in meeting the educational needs of the county with the facilities presently exisiting and as now administered. Any integration now is impossible without a disruption of our school system to such an extent as to substantially impair its efficiency for an indefinite period.

Majority Oppose

"It must be recognized that integration is not acceptable to the major portion of our people. This is a factor that cannot be ignored, as was recognized by the Supreme Court in its decree implementing its decisions. The accomplishment of a full and complete result which the bulk of our people feel is imposed upon them by a superior power that, as they see it, was without adequate appreciation of the sociological, factual and psychological conditions of our people, may not be had at one blow. The traditions of two centuries can be altered by degrees only. This board recognizes that these traditions must be altered under the law as decided by the Supreme Court; and that court recognized, by its decree, that such alteration will require time.

"Upon mature consideration of the matter, this board has determined that:

"(1) The interests of the public education of the youth in Mobile County of both races can be best served by a continuation of the present set-up unchanged during the scholastic year 1955-56.

"(2) To work toward a compliance with the Supreme Court's decision, this board has already begun a study of attendance areas, the propriety of which is recognized by the Supreme Court. Such areas have always existed. With the rapid growth of population in Mobile County in the last decade, and the consequent building of new schools, frequent changes in these areas have been necessary. The board will continue its efforts to work out attendance areas so as to best comply with the law and the interest of public education in Mobile County.

Act Under Study

"(3) The board, with the assistance of its administrative staff and its attorneys, is now making a study of the Alabama Placement Act, which became law on Aug. 3, 1955, together with other pertinent provisions of constitutional and statutory law in Alabama not invalidated by the Supreme Court's decision in the segregation cases. The detailed action of the board, pursuant to the provisions of the said act of Aug. 3rd, will be determined and announced before the scholastic year which will begin in September, 1956. It has not been possible yet to digest the provisions of the Aug. 3rd act, and determine just how the board will attempt to put it into effect.

"(4) It should be understood that this board does not seek either to defy or to ignore the decision of the Supreme Court; but it does intend, within the law, to exercise the judgment and discretion reposed in it by the people, and recognized in

in the Supreme Court's decree, so to perform its functions as at the same time to comply with the law and to achieve the best results in the education of the youth of Mobile County, maintaining scholastic standards and harmony with the minimum of potential violence, disorder or friction that would greatly lessen the efficiency of public education in the county and would be of detriment alike to both races."

MOBILE COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS - 1955

	City			County			
	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total	Grand Total
Total Enrollment Feb 1955	14,988	8,034	23,022	18,096	8,535	26,631	49,653
Total Schools	22	10	32	29	17	46	78
Classrooms- Regular	505	204	709	564	178	742	1,451
Classrooms- Emergency	40	26	66	23	13	36	102
Average Students Per Room	29	39	34	29.	48	40	37
Home Economics	7	6	13	8	3	11	24
Shop	7	2	9	7	3	10	19
Music	7	2	9	2	3	5	14
Band	3	1	4	1	1	2	6
Library	13	1	14	10	8	18	32
Auditorium	8	3	11	4	0	4	15
Gyms	1	2	3	2	2	4	7
Lunch Rooms	21	8	29	27	5	32	61
Teacher Lounge	13	2	15	5	1	6	21
Health	3	1	4	2	2	4	8
Prin. Office	21	7	28	21	10	31	59
Secretary's Office	11	4	15	12	5	17	32
Ass't Prin. Office	2	1	3	2	1	3	6
Total No. Teachers	1,088 White and 498 Colored in county and city combined						1,587

TEACHERS IN MOBILE COUNTY SCHOOLS
(including city)

WHITE			COLORED		
Elementary	Jr. High	High	Elementary	Jr. High	High
667	235	207	320	114	76

Total White Men: 139
Total White Women: 949
Total 1,088

Total Colored Men: 64
Total Colored Women: 435
Total 499

	White	Colored	Total
Total County Schools (including city)	51	27	78
Total City Schools	22	10	32
Total Enrollment County (including city)	33,084	16,569	49,653
Total City Enrollment	14,988	8,034	23,022

TOTAL CLASSROOMS, STUDENTS AND AVERAGE STUDENT PER CLASSROOM IN CITY OF MOBILE

White Classrooms	White Students	White Average	Colored Classrooms	Colored Students	Colored Average
Elementary 361	9,375	26	117	4,600	40
Jr. High 98	3,126	32	69	2,509	36
Sr. High 105	2,887	27	18	925	51

Total Enrollment:

White	Colored
14,988	8,034

Average Student per classroom

White	Colored
28	42

LUNCHROOM PROGRAM IN THE MOBILE COUNTY SCHOOLS
May 1955

$1,520,604.34 spent last year in all the lunch rooms

204,641.00 donated to the schools by the Federal Government

1,600,990.91 spent operating the lunch rooms.

Approximately 7% of the total number of lunches served were served free. The luch rooms are limited to notm ore than 10% as free. In 1953 there were 55 lunchrooms in the school system. Today there are:

48 white schools serving type A lunches
15 colored schools serving type A lunches
6 colored schools serving type C lunches

The state reimburses the local school board 5¢ for each type A lunch served and 2¢ for each type C lunch served. The remained is paid by the students and local school funds.
Type "A" lunch: standard plate lunch, plus milk
Type "B" lunch: standard plate, no milk
Type "C" lunch: milk only.

Type A lunches must meet the following specifications for every child:

½ pint of whole milk as a beverage
2 ounces lean meat, poultry, fish or cheese; or one egg; or ½ cup dried bean or peas; or four tablespoons of peanur butter
3/4 cup of vegetables or fruit or a combination of both
1 or more portions of bread or muffins or other hot bread made of whole grain or enriched flour-plus 2 tablespoons butter or fortified margarine.

These are the basic patterns and minimum needs for any lunch no matter what the source of funds. Participation in the Federal program makes it possible to reduce lunch prices to the child and insures that the lunch comes nearer being an adequate one.

SCHOOL BUSES OPERATED BY MOBILE COUNTY

Total Number of Buses: 138

Total Number of White children riding school buses: 7,079

Total Number of Colored children riding school buses: 1,818

Total Buses: 138 Total Children: 8,897

PERCENTAGE OF FUNDS APPROPRIATED FOR THE MOBILE SCHOOLS
1955

54% Provided by the State of Alabama and the Federal Government

39% Provided by local funds

LIBRARY FACILITIES- MOBILE COUNTY SCHOOLS

	Elementary		High Schools		Total	
	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
Central Libraries:	9	10	5	3	14	13
Classroom Libraries:	15	9		1	15	10
Combined or other facilities	10	1			10	1
Total Number of volumes in:	71,145	10,478	30,488	11,044	102,150	21,552

Total volumes in combined elementary and high schools: 10,517

This report is for the county of Mobile which includes the City of Mobile. Our schools are under one superintendent and no difference in operation is made between urban and rural. The report does not include books in the Instructional Materials Center, which is a library for the benefit of all educational personnel.

The Materials Center added 646 volumes last year making a total of 3,062 volumes now in the Center. Expenditures for the Materials Center

Books and pamphlets	$1,113.81
Periodicals and newspapers	170.39
Audi-visual materials	3,521.23
Binding and rebinding	none
TOTAL	$4,825.43

The following was contained in a peport to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. This report was made on April 26, 1955, by Miss Lenore Jones, Supervisor of Materials Center at Barton Academy. The report contained the statistics of public schools libraries 1953-54 in Mobile county.

With an enrollment of 44,000 students and an allowance of 75¢ per student for library books, there should have been an expenditure of $33,000.00 for library books for Mobile County. The statistics show an expenditure of $28,994.27 which is a loss of $4,005.73 which would have enriched the instructional program. Eighteen schools did not report any books purchased. Of the 18, 8 were white schools and 10 colored.

Statistics of Public Schools Libraries- 1953-1954

ITEAM	Elem.	High School	Combined	Total
Number of Librarians (No person counted more than once) (More than half time)				
Professionally trained	0	9	1	10
Little or no such training	0	0	1	1

TEACHER'S SALARY SCHEDULE

Mobile, Ala.

Step	Yrs. Taught	A Masters	Yrs. Taught-	B Bachelors
(a)	0 - 1	2,500	0 - 1	2,300
(b)	2	2,600	2	2,400
(c)	3	2,700	3	2,500
(d)	4	2,800	4	2,600
(e)	5	2,900	5	2,700
(f)	6	3,000	6	2,800
(g)	7	3,100	7	2,900
(h)	8	3,200	8	3,000
(i)	9	3,300	9	3,100
(j)	10	3,400	10	3,200
(k)	11	3,500	10	3,300
(l)	12	3,600	11	3,400
(m)		3,700*		3,500*

Step	Yrs. Taught	C 3 yrs.	D 2 yrs.	E F 1 yr-less
(a)	0	1,850	1,700	1,400
(b)	1	1,900	1,750	1,450
(c)	2	1,950	1,800	1,500
(d)	3	2,000	1,850	1,550
(e)	4	2,050	1,900	1,600
(f)	5	2,100	1,950	1,650
(g)	6	2,150	2,000	1,700
(h)	7	2,200	2,050	1,750
(i)	8	2,250	2,100	1,800
(j)	9	2,300	2,150	1,850
(k)	10	2,350	2,200	1,900
(l)	11	2,400	2,250	1,950
(m)	12	2,450	2,300	2,000
(n)	13	2,500	2,350	2,050
(o)	14	2,550	2,400	2,100
(p)	15	2,600	(D III)**	
(q)	16	2,700	(earned C)***	

* Maximum payment

** Teachers with less than 3 years college, but on higher salary because of experience.

*** Maximum salary for "C" certificate

MOBILE COUNTY SCHOOL SYSTEM

TEACHER CERTIFICATES
1954-55

	White		Colored	
TYPE	Number	%	Number	%
A	107	9.3	51	9.4
Def. 1	6	.5	0	0
B	580	50.5	482	88.9
Def. 2	119	10.4	1	.2
C	68	5.9	7	1.3
Def. 3	24	2.1	0	0
D	48	4.2	1	.2
Def. 4	72	6.3	0	0
E F	13	1.1	0	0
Def. 5	112	9.7	0	0
TOTAL	1,149		542	

The basis for placement on the salary schedule is determined by the type of certificate issued to the employee by the State Department of Education of Alabama. The state bases all certificates upon the amount of academic and professional preparation the teacher has completed.

RANKS OF CERTIFICATES

I. Includes certificates issued to a person who has graduated with a Master's degree from a standard institution in a curriculum approved for the training of teachers.

II. Includes certificates issued to a person who has graduated with a Bachelor's degree from a standard institution

III. Includes certificates issued to a person who has completed in a standard institution a 3 year program approved for the training of teachers

IV. Includes certificates issued to a person who has the equivalent of two years in an Alabama institution that is approved for offering work of this type of certificate

V. Includes those certificates issued to a person with less qualifications than that of Rank IV

MOBILE COUNTY SCHOOL SYSTEM
PERSONNEL DESIGNATION

Administration

	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
Superintendent	1				1	
Administrative Supt	1				1	
Assistant Supt	4				4	
Supervisors	4		5	3	9	3
Attendance and Welfare			4	1	4	1
Business Assistant	1				1	
Secretary & Treasurer	1				1	
Forester	1				1	
Public Relations			1		1	
Clerical	3		26	1	29	1
TOTALS	16	0	36	5	52	5

Schools:

Supervising Prin.	26	15	18	4	44	19
Teaching Principals	1	4	4	4	5	8
Teachers	139	64	949	435	1088	499
Clericals			52	22	52	22
TOTALS	166	83	1023	465	1189	548

Miscellaneous Total:

	Total
Bus Drivers	127
Carpenters and Mechanics	32
Bus Mechanics	17
Janitors, Maids, Watchmen and custodians	233
Lunchroom Managers and Workers	317
TOTAL	726

Retired Teachers:

MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
White	Colored	White	Colored	White	Colored
1		4	1	5	1

Grand Totals:

Administration	57
Schools	1737
Retired Teachers	6
Miscellaneous	726
Total Personnel	2526

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Legal Rights Committee

OFFICERS: Chairman: _____ Co-Chairman: _____

Secretary: _____ Consultant: _____

MEMBERS: _____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

FUNCTION: (General) "This Committee will be charged with the investigation of the many aspects of the administration of justice and the defense of human rights in the local community. It will also devise and stage programs for the improving of the law enforcement processes, the police-community relations, and the other legal aspects of the Council's activities."

FUNCTIONS: (Detailed)

I. RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION:

1) Community Self-Survey on the Administration of Justice (See Questionnaire)
2) Self-Survey on Law Enforcement and Crime Statistics
3) Survey of Crime Prevention Activities
4) Delinquency Control Survey: The Juvenile Division of the PD
5) Treatment of Juvenile Offenders in the Juvenile Court
6) Survey of Prison Practices at City and County Jails
7) Survey of the Handling of Juveniles at Detention Homes
8) Survey of Probation and Parole Practices in Community
9) Study of the Control of Mob-Violence and Private Intimidation Practices in the Community
10) Study of the Enforcement of unconstitutional Segregation Laws, Ordinances, and Customs
11) Case Investigation of Instances of Rights Violations
12) Other:

II. PROGRAMMING AND ACTIVITIES:

1) Planning for and Promoting the Development of Municipal Commission on Human Relations
2) Police Training Programs in Human Relations
3) Mediation Conferences with City and County Officials
4) Distribution of Information about Human Rights as defined in Alabama State Constitution (q.v.)
5) Special Community Workshop in Juvenile Delinquency (as in 1954)
6) Joint Programs with Other Organizations interested in better government: Leggue of Women Voters, Legislative Council, Voters' League, etc.
7) Promoting Police Participation in Michigan State Univ. Police-Community Relations Institutes; Texas A & M Police-Community Relations Institute, Louisville Police Training Academy &c;
8) Legal Aid Volunteer Organization for defense of victims of injustices
9) Other:
10) Other:

MATERIALS AND RESOURCES:
SRC: RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT
CRC: REPORT ON JUSTICE, 1961
CRC: 50 STATE REPORT: ALABAMA
HEW TRAINING PERSONNEL FOR WORK WITH JUVENILE DELINQUENTS

THE CHALLENGE OF DESEGREGATION FOR THE AMERICAN POLICE EXECUTIVE.

It is the obligation of the law enforcement officer to lawfully protect life and property, peace and order in his community. He should extend to all a consistent interpretation of the law and equal treatment and protection under the law. Every person acting in the community has an obligation to assist in this function and to shape his conduct so as to minimize unnecessary interference with the achievement of this obligation.

GUIDE LINES FOR POLICE EXECUTIVE CONDUCT REGARDING DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS.

1. In matters relating to desegregation the police executive should assert leadership towards and accept responsibility for a consistent and proper policy and its execution.

2. The police executive should attempt to maintain full and honest communication with the leaders of organizations acting for or against segregation in his community. Complaints of improper police conduct from any group should be freely accepted and fully investigated.

3. Non-violent demonstrators should be expected to establish communication with law enforcement to determine what are the pertinent laws and administrative regulations and to clearly state their immediate anticipated course of action. They should follow agreements mutually made with the police and at least those police regulations which would be considered reasonable for any group engaging in similar though not desegregation-related activity.

4. Mass demonstrations have long been held as subject to reasonable police regulation. When there is a rejection of such regulations, as would be considered proper for any other group using the same roadways, it should be recognized that there is an element of illegality not present in many desegregation tactics which may or may not be illegal on other grounds.

5. The public and public information media should be given the maximum possible information about desegregation-related events with particular emphasis on clarifying police policy and action.

6. Police personnel should be of high quality, well trained, adequately directed and supervised strictly to enable them to carry out actions consistent with the general provisions previously enumerated.

7. Police executives should within the bounds of proper police conduct, cooperate with the lawful and reputable agencies and institutions working to maintain or establish the peace of the community and should expect similar cooperation in return.

8. Unlawful force or violence by any person or group is seriously prejudicial to the welfare of the community and the professional reputation of the law enforcement agencies. It should be clearly and unequivocally forbidden and if it does arise met with all proper force.

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA

As Adopted by the Constitutional Convention, September 3, 1901, and in Effect November 28, 1901

We, the people of the State of Alabama, in order to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God, do ordain and establish the following Constitution and form of government for the State of Alabama:

ARTICLE I
Declaration of Rights

That the great, general and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and established, we declare:

1. That all men are equally free and independent; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

2. That all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their benefit; and that, therefore, they have at all times an inalienable and indefensible right to change their form of government in such manner as they may deem expedient.

3. That no religion shall be established by law; that no preference shall be given by law to any religious sect, society, denomination or mode of worship; that no one shall be compelled by law to attend any place of worship; nor to pay any tithes, taxes, or other rate for building or repairing any place of worship, or for maintaining any minister or ministry; that no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this State; and that the civil rights, privileges and capacities of any citizen shall not be in any manner affected by his religious principles.

4. That no law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press; and any person may speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

5. That the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers and possessions from unreasonable seizure or searches, and that no warrants shall issue to search any place or to seize any person or thing without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation.

6. That in all criminal prosecutions, the accused has a right to be heard by himself and counsel or either; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation, and to have a copy thereof; to be confronted by the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; to testify in all cases, in his own behalf, if he elects so to do; and, in all prosecutions by indictment, a speedy, public trial, by an impartial jury of the county or district in which the offense was committed; and he shall not be compelled to give evidence against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, except by due process of law; but the Legislature may, by a general law, provide for a change of venue at the instance of the defendant in all prosecutions by indictment, and such change of venue on application of the defendant, may be heard and determined without the personal presence of the defendant so applying therefor; provided, that at the time of the application for the change of venue, the defendant is imprisoned in jail or some legal place of confinement.

That no person shall be accused or arrested, or detained except in cases ascertained by law, and according to the form which the same has prescribed; and no person shall be punished but by virtue of a law established and promulgated prior to the offense and legally applied.

8. That no person shall, for any indictable offense, be proceeded against criminally by information, except in cases arising in the militia and volunteer forces when in actual service, or when assembled under arms as a military organization, or, by leave of the court, for misfeasance, misdemeanor, extortion and oppression in office, otherwise than is provided in the Constitution: provided that in cases of misdemeanor, the Legislature may by law dispense with a Grand Jury and authorize such prosecutions and proceedings before justices of the peace or such other inferior courts as may be by law established.

9. That no person shall, for the same offense, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; but courts may, for reasons fixed by law, discharge juries from the consideration of any case, and no person shall gain in advantage by reason of such discharge of the jury.

10. That no person shall be barred from prosecuting or defending before any tribunal in this State, by himself or counsel, any civil case to which he is a party.

11. That the right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

12. That in all prosecutions for libel or for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers or men in public capacity, or when the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence; and that in all indictments for libel, the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the facts under the direction of the court.

13. That all courts shall be open; and that every person, for any injury done him, in his lands, goods, person or reputation, shall have a remedy by due process of law; and right and justice shall be administered without sale, denial or delay.

14. That the State of Alabama shall never be made a defendant in any court of law or equity.

15. That excessive fines shall not be imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishment inflicted.

16. That all persons shall, before conviction, be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses, when the proof is evident or the presumption great; and that excessive bail shall not in any case be required.

17. That the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended by the authorities of this State.

18. That treason against the State shall consist only in levying war against it, or adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort; and that no person shall be convicted of treason, except on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or his own confession in open court.

19. That no person shall be attainted of treason by the Legislature; and no conviction shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture of estate.

20. That no person shall be imprisoned for debt.

21. That no power of suspending laws shall be exercised except by the Legislature.

22. That no ex post facto law, nor any law, impairing the obligation of contracts, or making any irrevocable or exclusive grants of special privileges or immunities, shall be passed by the Legislature; and every grant or franchise, privilege or immunity, shall forever remain subject to revocation, alteration or amendment.

23. That the exercise of the right of eminent domain shall never be abridged nor so construed as to prevent the Legislature from taking the property and franchises of incorporated companies, and subjecting them to public use in the same manner in which the property and franchises of individuals are taken and subjected; but private property shall not be taken for, or applied to public use, unless just compensation be first made therefor; nor shall private property be taken for private use, or for the use of corporations, other than municipal, without the consent of the owner; provided, however, the Legislature may by law secure to persons or corporations the right of way over the lands of other persons or corporations, and by general laws provide for and regulate the exercise by persons and corporations of the rights herein reserved; but just compensations shall, in all cases, be first made to the owner; and, provided, that the right of eminent domain shall not be so construed as to allow taxation or forced subscription for the benefit of railroads or any other kind of corporations, other than municipal, or for the benefit of any individual or association.

24. That all navigable waters shall remain forever public highways, free to the citizens of the State and the United States, without tax, impost or toll; and that no tax, toll, impost or wharfage shall be demanded or received from the owner of any merchandise or commodity for the use of the shores or any wharf erected on the shores, or in or over the waters, of any navigable stream, unless the same be expressly authorized by law.

25. That the citizens have a right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for the common good and to apply to those invested with the power of government for redress or grievances or other purposes, by petition, address or remonstrance.

26. That every citizen has a right to bear arms in defense of himself and the State.

27. That no standing army shall be kept up without the consent of the Legislature, and, in that case, no appropriation for its support shall be made for a longer term than one year; and the military shall, in all cases, and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power.

28. That no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor, in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

29. That no title of nobility or hereditary distinction, privilege, honor or emolument shall ever be granted or conferred in this State; and that no office shall be created, the appointment to which shall be for a longer time than during good behavior.

30. That immigration shall be encouraged; emigration shall not be prohibited, and no citizen shall be exiled.

31. The temporary absence from the State shall not cause a forfeiture of residence once obtained.

32. That no form of slavery shall exist in this State; and there shall not be any involuntary servitude, otherwise than for the punishment of crime, of which the party shall have been duly convicted.

33. The privilege of suffrage shall be protected by laws regulating elections, and prohibiting, under adequate penalties, all undue influences from power, bribery, tumult or other improper conduct.

34. Foreigners who are, or may hereafter become, bona fide residents of this State, shall enjoy the same rights in respect to the possession, enjoyment and inheritance of property as native-born citizens.

35. That the sole object and only legitimate end of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property, and when the government assumes other functions it is usurpation and oppression.

36. That this enumeration of certain rights shall not impair or deny others retained by the people; and, to guard against any encroachments on the rights herein retained, we declare that everything in this Declaration of Rights is excepted out of the general powers of government and shall forever remain inviolate.

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Employment Committee

OFFICERS: Chairman: _____ Co-Chairman: _____

Secretary: _____ Consultant: _____

MEMBERS: _____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

FUNCTION: (General): "This group shall investigate the facts about equal employment opportunity for workers in the local area, in accordance with the provisions for non-discriminatory employment by Federal and Federally-linked enterprises. It shall also devise and stage programs for promoting the cause of fair and merit employment of American citizens according to ability and training."

FUNCTIONS: (Detailed)

I. RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION

1) Survey of Employment Patterns and Practices at Defense Department Installations in the area.
2) Survey o. Employment and Hiring Patterns and Practices at the U.S. Army Engineers, Mobile Division
3) Survey of Employment Patterns and Practices at the U.S. Post Office and branches
4) Survey of Employment Patterns and Practices at the Major Contractors for Federal supplies and work in the local community, e.g. the bank located on BAFB property etc
5) Survey of Employment Patterns and Practices at the Federal Building and the Federal Agencies housed there and elsewhere in city.
6) Survey of Employment Patterns and Practices by major contractors in Federally financed highway program e.g. Belt-line (98% Federal Funds)
7) Study of Employment Practices in County and City agencies operating with Federally-matched funds
8) Survey of Hiring Practices in Public buildings built with Hill-Burton or other Federal funds.
9) Other: Labor Union Practices that impede Merit Employment

II. PROGRAMMING AND ACTIVITIES

1) Conference on Employment and Job Opportunity, with aid from President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
2) Consultive Conferences with Employment Officers at Federal Installations charged with supervising observance of non-discriminatory hiring policies
3) Distribution of Information and Literature on Federal Merit Employment Orders, Policies, and Processes for handling Complaints
4) Joint Meetings with Mobile Personnell Association, centering program on the Employment Opportunity Problem
5) Mailings to Members of the Gulf Coast Federal Personnel Association; joint meetings with local and area members
6) Promoting Liaison with Civil Service Commission's area representatives for information bulletins about available jobs, opportunities for examinations &c
7) Scheduling and sponsoring the showing of FILMS on Merit Employment at meetings of civic organizations, service clubs, Chamber of Commerce, Jaycees etc.
8) Other:
9) Other:
10) Other:

MATERIALS AND RESOURCES:

CRC: REPORT ON EMPLOYMENT, 1961 SRC: YOUR COMMUNITY LOOKSAT ITSELF,

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Health and Medical Affairs Committee

OFFICERS: Chairman: _____ Co-Chairman: _____

Secretary: _____ Consultant: _____

MEMBERS: _____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

FUNCTION: (General): "This Committee has the responsibility of gathering data about the availability of health services and medical care in the local community. It shall also investigate discriminatory practices that interfere with the meeting of medical needs of American minorities. It shall devise and stage programs and projects to aid in the resolving of problems in this field."

FUNCTIONS: (Detailed)

I. RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION

1) Gathering of Available Data on the Community's Health Indices: Causes of Death, Communicable Reportable Diseases; Infant and Maternal Mortality; Medical Attention at Birth;

2) Survey of Hospital and Clinic Facilities for Whites and Negroes

3) Survey of Practices by Non-Hospital Institutions, Agencies, Associations &c Rendering Health and Medical Services

4) Survey of Health and Medical Services in Industrial and Business Institutions employing Whites & Negroes

5) Racial Patterns of Service by the Health and Medical Service Occupations and Professions in the community

6) Survey of Ambulance and Emergency Ward Practices for Accident Cases involving Whites and Negroes

7) Survey of Safety and Sanitation Provisions in the Community's White and Negro Neighborhoods, Schools, &c

8) Special Study of Mobile's Garbage Disposal Practices

II. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

1) Special Conferences with County Board of Health and Its Departments concerning Long-Range Planning for Community-wide Health Programs

2) Conferences with U.S. Public Health Service Officials and other Federal Health Officers concerning findings in surveys

3) Joint Meetings with Council of Social Agencies-United Fund Planning Committees in the health field

4) Mailings to Mobile County Medical Society Membership to present findings and ask for and make recommendations

5) Conferences with Hospital Administrators concerning extension of services and meeting of needs of community

6) Other:

7) Other:

8) Other:

RESOURCES AND MATERIALS:

Community Chest & Council, HANDBOOK OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES IN THE FIELDS OF HEALTH, WELFARE, RECREATION IN MOBILE COUNTY, 1961

MOBILE HOSPITAL DATA

	TOTAL	WHITE	COLORED
MOBILE COUNTY HOSPITAL, 850 ST. Anthony St.			
Beds for Adult Patients----------	263	131	95
Holcombe Mental Unit Beds----------	20	?	
Isolation Ward Beds----------	37		
Baby Bassinets----------	40	20	20
Toatl Beds----------	303	?	
Beds Per 1,000 Population----------		0.81	1.25
Doctors on Staff----------	150c	150	0
Nurses. Graduate----------	57c	49	8
Toatl Patients Treated per Year-----	9,456	40%	60%
MOBILE INFIRAMRY, End of Louiselle Street.			
Total Number of Beds----------	400	400	00
Maternity Ward----------	60	60	
Children's Ward----------	40	40	
Bassinets----------	60	60	
Doctors on Staff----------	175c	175	
PROVIDENCE HOSPITAL (Catholic Sisters of Charity) Spring Hill Avenue & Catherine St.			
Total Number of Beds----------	222	204	18
Children's Ward----------	26	?	
Bassinets----------	38	?	
Doctors on Staff----------	179	179	00
Graduate Nurses----------	74	70	4
Patients Handled during 1954--------	8,923	7,996	927
BLESSED MARTIN DE PORRES HOSPITAL, (Catholic Srs. of Mercy), Virginia & Washington			
Total Number of Beds----------	45	0*	45
Bassinets----------	10	0	10
Doctors on Staff----------	108	97	11
Graduate Nurses on Staff----------			
CHICKASAW INFIRMARY, Craft Highway			
Total Number of Beds----------	23	23	00
Bassinets----------	8	8	00
6th DISTRICT TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL, 800 St. Anthony St.			
Total Number of Beds----------	170	85	85c?
Doctors on Staff----------			
Graduate Nurses on Staff----------			

MOBILE HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES IN INDUSTRIAL AND BUSINESS INSTITUTIONS &C

Institutions	Number of Employees				Provision of Health Service								Group Health Insurance			
					Medical Care Company Doctor				Nursing Care In Plant RN							
	White Men	Negro Men	White Women	Negro Women	WM	NM	WW	NW	WM	NM	WW	NW	WM	NM	WW	NW
Ala. Power Company																
Aluminum Ore Co																
Arkell-Smith																
Bay Towing & Dredge																
Bemis Bag Co																
Coca-Cola Bottling Co																
Gulf Lumber Co																
Haas-Davis Packing Co																
Hallett Mfg Co																
Scott Paper Co																
Ideal Cement Co																
International Paper Co																
Kahn Mfg Co																
Lerio Corporation																
McPhillips Mfg Co																
Meyercord Lumber Co																
Mobile Gas Co																
Mobile Paint Mfg Co																
Mobile Press Register																
Mobile Pulley and Machine																
Mobile Steel Co																
National Gypsum Co																
American Cyanamid Co																
Republic Creosoting Co																
Ruberoid Co																
Radcliff Gravel Co																
Peyton-Higginson Co																
Southern Bell Tel Co																
Southern Gulf Lumber Co																
Stone-Mann Paper Co																
Warrior Gulf Navigation																
Waterman SS Co																
Ala Drydocks & Ship Bl.																
Olin Co																

MOBILE HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES IN NON-HOSPITAL INSTITUTIONS &c

Agency	Doctors for Whites	Doctors for Negroes	Nurses for Whites	Nurses for Negroes	Non-Professionals for Whites	Non-Professionals for Negroes	
Brookley AFB Dispensary							
American Red Cross							
Mobile Co.Board of Health							
Visiting Nurse Assn.							
Mobile Co Mental Health Center							
Ala.Society for Crippled Children & Adults							
Ala.State Crippled Children's Service							
Mobile Rehabilitation Service							
Alcoholics Anonymous							
Mobile Assn for the Blind							
Ala.State Vocational Rehabilitation Service							
Am.Heart Assn.Mobile Co Chapter							
American Cancer Society, Mobile Chapter							
Diabetic Clinic of Mobile							
Mobile Paraplegic Club							
Mutherin Custodial Home							
Natl.Cystic Fibrosis Research Foundation:							
United Cerebral Palsy of Mobile, Inc.							
Cogburn's Nursing Home							
Ideal Nursing Home							
Brown's Nursing Home							
Belle Aire Nursing Home							
Whaley's Nursing Home							
Group Aid for Retarded Children							
Children's Dental Clinic							
American Hearing Society							

MOBILE HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	Total Number in Area	Number Serving Whites Only		Number Serving Both W & N		Number Serving Negroes Only		Number with Federal Clientel or Govt-Linked
		No.	%	No	%	No.	%	
1. Physicians								
General Practicioners								
Pediatricians								
Gynecologists								
Cardiologists								
Orthopedic Surgeons								
Internists								
Anaestheticists								
Radiologists								
Urologists								
Neurologists								
Obstetricians								
Pathologists								
Endocrinologists								
Other								
2. Psychiatrists								
Psychologists-- Clinical								
Psychotherapists								
3. Registered Prof. Nurses								
Practical Nurses								
Pharmacists								
5. Dentists								
6. X-Ray Technicians								
7. Med Lab Technicians								
8. Physical Therapists								
9. Optometrists								
10. Chiropractors								

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Political Education Committee

OFFICERS: Chairman: _____ Co-Chairman: _____

Secretary: _____ Consultant: _____

MEMBERS:

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

FUNCTION: (General) " This committee is responsible for investigating the actual state of affairs concerning basic citizenship rights in the local community. It shall devise and stage educational programs looking toward maximum participation of American citizens in the processes of American Democracy."

FUNCTIONS: (Detailed):

I. RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION

1) Survey of the Voter-Registration Problem, along with current practices in the education and training of prospective voters for the registration process

2) Study of the "Bloc-Voting" Problem, as charged in recent elections.

3) Statistical Study of Non-Voting Behavior and Factors in Voter Apathy

4) Special Study of Negro Candidates Filing for Office in Mobile in recent years: Difficulties, Unfair Campaign Practices used against them, Threats and Intimidation Tactics etc.

5) A Study of the Districting, Gerrymandering, Malapproportionment and Reapportionment Problems.

6) An Analysis of Arbitrary, Private Interference with the Right to Vote at the polling Places in the County

7) A Study of Office-Holders' Attitudes of Responsibility for Representing ALL Citizens in his voting public.

II. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

1) Publication and Dissemination of Reports and Findings in the surveys and studies

2) Co-Sponsoring of Educational Ventures in Voter and Citizenship Behavior

3) Cooperative Projects with Voter Leagues and Legislative Council in their educational programs

4) Gathering of Affidavits and Complaints about violation of voting rights, for filing with the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and the U.S. Departmentof Justice's Civil Rights Division

5) Sponsoring of Fair Campaign Practices Pledges to be signed by all candidates for office in the area

6) Other:

7: Other:

8) Other:

MATERIALS AND RESOURCES:

Dr. Don Strong, VOTER REGISTRATION IN ALABAMA (U. of Ala. Press)

CRC: REPORT ON VOTING, 1961

Fair Campaign Practices Committee Publications, e.g. CODE OF FAIR CAMPAIGN PRACTICES (q.v.)

C O D E O F F A I R C A M P A I G N P R A C T I C E S

THERE ARE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF DECENCY, HONESTY, AND FAIR PLAY WHICH EVERY CANDIDATE FOR PUBLIC OFFICE IN THE UNITED STATES HAS A MORAL OBLIGATION TO OBSERVE AND UPHOLD, IN ORDER THAT, AFTER VIGOROUSLY CONTESTED BUT FAIRLY CONDUCTED CAMPAIGNS, OUR CITIZENS MAY EXERCISE THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO A FREE AND UNTRAMMELED CHOICE AND THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE MAY BE FULLY AND CLEARLY EXPRESSED ON THE ISSUES BEFORE THE COMMUNITY:

T H E R E F O R E:

I SHALL CONDUCT MY CAMPAIGN IN THE BEST AMERICAN TRADITION, DISCUSSING THE ISSUES AS I SEE THEM, PRESENTING MY RECORD AND POLICIES WITH SINCERITY AND FRANKNESS, AND CRITICIZING WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR THE RECORD AND POLICIES OF MY OPPONENT OR OPPONENTS WHICH MERIT SUCH CRITICISM.

I SHALL DEFEND AND UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF EVERY QUALIFIED AMERICAN VOTER TO FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

I SHALL CONDEMN THE USE OF PERSONAL VILIFICATION, CHARACTER DEFAMATION, WHISPERING CAMPAIGNS, LIBEL, SLANDER, AND SCURRILOUS ATTACKS ON ANY CANDIDATE OR HIS PERSONAL OR FAMILY LIFE.

I SHALL CONDEMN THE USE OF CAMPAIGN MATERIAL OF ANY SORT WHICH MISREPRESENTS, DISTORTS, OR OTHERWISE FALSIFIES THE FACTS REGARDING ANY CANDIDATE, AS WELL AS THE USE OF MALICIOUS OR UNFOUNDED ACCUSATIONS AGAINST ANY CANDIDATE WHICH AIM AT CREATING OR EXPLOITING DOUBTS, WITHOUT JUSTIFICATION, AS TO HIS LOYALTY AND PATRIOTISM.

I SHALL CONDEMN ANY APPEAL TO PREJUDICE BASED ON RACE, CREED, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN

I SHALL CONDEMN ANY DISHONEST OR UNETHICAL PRACTICE WHICH TENDS TO CORRUPT OR UNDERMINE OUR AMERICAN SYSTEM OF FREE ELECTIONS, OR WHICH HAMPERS OR PRESENTS THE FULL FREE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE VOTERS.

I SHALL IMMEDIATELY AND PUBLICLY REPUDIATE THE SUPPORT OF ANY INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP WHICH RESORTS, ON BEHALF OF MY CANDIDACY, TO THE METHODS AND TACTICS WHICH I CONDEMN.

I the undersigned caddidate for election to public ofice in the United States of America, hereby endorse, subscribe to, and solemnly pledge myself to conduct my campaign in accordance with the above principles and practices, so help me God.

Date _____ Signature _____

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Governmental Relations Committee

OFFICERS: Chairman: _____ Co-Chairman: _____

Secretary: _____ Consultant: _____

MEMBERS:

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

FUNCTION: (General) "It will be the responsibility of this committee to gather data on the workings of other-than-police-and-law-enforcement agencies, institutions, bureaus, and boards serving the local community as city, county, state, and federal governmental agencies. This group will also also devise and develop means for the betterment of relationships between these bodies and the citizenry, especially in cases of malfunctioning of communications or faulty administrative practices and procedures."

FUNCTIONS: (Detailed):

I. RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATIONS

1) Survey of Patterns and Practices of Public Service, including service to minorities, one the partof Municipal Departments, Boards, Commissions, and Agencies (E.G. Inspection, Engineering, Safety, Sanitation, Health, Planning, Housing, Recreation, Urban Renewal, Airport, etc)

2) Survey of Patterns and Practices of Public service, including service to minorities, on the part of County Commission, Boards, Examiners, Licensing Bureaus, Tax Assessors and Collectors,

3) Analysis of the Patterns and Practices of Public Service on the part of Alabama State offices, Agencies, Departments and Branches located in the community (e.g., Dept of Labor, Conservation, Forestry, Highway Dept., National Guard, State Docks, Inspectors, etc.)

4) Study of Patterns and Practices of Public Service on part of Federal Agencies, Departments, Services, and Commissions located in community: (e.g., Dept of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, Labor Dept Conciliation & Mediation Service, Social Security, &c)

II. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES:

1) Panel Discussions with Representatives from City, State, County & Federal Agencies centering on improved Public Service to all Americans

2) Cooperation with President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity for better observance of Non-Discriminatory clauses in government contracts

3) Filing of Cases with U.S. Civil Rights Commission involving denial of equal protection of the laws, and equal public service to all American citizens

4) Educational Programs, In-Service Training Sessions for improving professionalization of Public Servants, &c

5) Special Institutes on Specially Sensitive Problem Areas gravely affecting welfare and security of minorities

6) Liaison Work with Personnel Departments and Civil Service Commission for proper selection of candidates for Public Service positions.

7) Other:

8) Other:

MOBILE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Community Relations Committee

OFFICERS: Chairman: _____ Co-Chairman: _____

Secretary: _____ Consultant: _____

MEMBERS: _____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

FUNCTION: (General) "This group will be charged with the exploration of the facts about non-governmental agencies, civic associations, welfare institutions, and other social business or service institutions in the local community. It will also develop means for improving the community spirit of cooperation and service locally so that all American citizens will have free and equal access to community services and public accommodations."

FUNCTIONS: (Detailed):

I. RESEARCH AND FACT-EXPLORATION

1) Survey of Patterns and Practices of Minority Group representation on Boards of Agencies and Institutions serving both whites and Negroes in the community

2) Survey of Patterns and Practices of Family-Serving Agencies and Bureaus

3) Survey of Patterns and Practices of Group-Work Agencies for Recreation, Character-Building, Delinquency Prevention, Teenagers, etc.

4) Analysis of Patterns and Practices of Councils controlling access to the Communities Cultural Activities

5) Study of Patterns and Practices of Coordinating Agencies and Planning Boards dealing with problems common to whites and Negroes

6) Other: (Churches? Church Societies?&c)

7) Other:

II. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

1) Educational Peojects leading to peaceful and non-violent transitions in community patterns of public service by non-governmental agencies and institutions (e.g. the Lunch½ counter transition soon to come)

2) Mediation and Counselling Conferences with boards of Agencies serving Community needs, with a view to extending and expanding their services to meet minority needs as well.

3) Submitting Lists of Recommendations to Councils, Bureaus, Associations, and Agencies to aid in sensitizing them to wider opportunities of Community Service

4) Promotion of formerly common patterns of Cultural Exchange of Persons, Lectures, Concerts, Programs etc, between white and Negro sub-communities, with a view to improving climate of community tolerance and mutual understanding.

5) Mobilizing and Marshalling the Forces of good will on behalf of Law and Order, Progress and Community Betterment etc.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

COPY COPY COPY

CONSTITUTION OF THE BUTLER COUNTY CITIZENS COUNCIL (ALABAMA)

ARTICLE I - Name and Object:

The name of this association shall be the BUTLER COUNTY CITIZENS' COUNCIL

The Object of the association shall be:

1. To promote good will among the races.
2. To promote pride of race.
3. To teach that there are no benefits to either race from integration.
4. To promote public health for both races.
5. To promote equal public welfare benefits.
6. To promote better education advantages for both races.
7. To promote equal and separate facilities:
   in education
   in economic opportunities
   in hospitals
   in transportation
   in recreation
   in public toilets
8. To uphold and maintain racial segregation:
   in schools,
   in hospital service,
   in transportation facilities,
   in hotels and restaurants,
   in recreational facilities,
   in public toilet facilities,
   in places of worship,
   in political administration,
   in social activities,
   in public and private cemetery.
9. To foster equal and fair treatment for both races in the Courts.
10. To oppose the methods, activities and ultimate objectives of the NAACP because its activities and news releases are misleading to both races.
11. To teach the self-evident truth that enforced integration is not freedom.
12. To point up the fallacy of the Supreme Court decision on segregation.
13. To teach that racial integrity once lost is never regained.
14. To promote segregation only through economic, legal and educational activities among both races.
15. To engage in no unlawful secret activities with concealed purposes (but to reserve the right to have private meetings with executive sessions). Finally, it is our objective, united together, in a consecrated purpose, under the Constitution, within the law, without violence, under God-who set the pattern-to maintain freedom and segregation in Butler County.

ARTICLE II - Membership

Any White male citizen who is approved for membership by the Executive Committee shall be eligible for membership in the association other than such persons who are judicial or quasi judicial officials. Quasi judicial officials are defined as including members of the Jury Board, Board of Education, Board of Registers and County School Board.

A member may be dropped from the roll for cause after a hearing by the Executive Committee upon a three-fourths vote of the Executive Committee.

No member of the association shall be responsible for any act of the other members or of the officers and Executive Committee unless directly participating therein.

ARTICLE III - Dues:

Contributions and donations may be accepted from non-members. Every member may solicit other white male citizens to join, there shall not be any specific dues, but the council will operate with donations. Donations for expenses will be accepted at each county-wide meeting.

ARTICLE IV - Meetings:

Meetings of the association shall be held at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Such meetings shall be open or closed to non-members, and the press at the election of the Executive Committee. Notice of the meeting may be given by mail, word of mouth, publication, announcements over the radio or such other means as may be designated by the Executive Committee.

One annual meeting shall be held on the third Tuesday of September of each year, at which time officers and Executive Committee for the ensuing year shall be elected.

ARTICLE V - Officers:

Officers and Executive Committee heretofore elected shall serve until the next meeting of the membership of the council; thereafter the officers of the association shall consist of:

Chairman
Four Vice-Chairmen
Secretary and Treasurer
An Executive Committee composed of one representative residing in each Precinct and twelve (12) residing in the City of Greenville of its police jurisdiction.

Officers and members of the Executive Committee shall serve from the date of their election to the close of the annual year of the association which is September 5th, and until their successors are elected and qualified.

A majority of the Executive Committee, including the officers, shall constitute a quorum.

A majority of the members of the Executive Committee shall have authority to call a meeting in the event the Chairman refuses or neglects to do so. Notice of all meetings of the Executive Committee shall be given by the Secretary-Treasurer or such other person as said committee shall designated. These notices shall be in writing.

The Executive Committee shall meet not less than once in each calendar month. The Chairman may call other meetings when he deems it necessary or proper.

The members and particularly the chairman of each standing committee may, in the discretion of the Executive Committee, be invited to attend such meetings of the Executive Committee as may be designated by it. Such persons shall not be entitled to vote on any matter not directly concerning the committee of which they are members.

ARTICLE VI - Duties:

It shall be the duty of the Chairman to preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee and at all general meetings. The Chairman, in conjunction with the officers of the association and subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, shall appoint all committees.

Each Vice-Chairman shall have general supervision and responsibility for the membership in his district, including the activity of the members of the committees from said district.

Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all the records of the association, including finances and shall pay all expenses out of the funds of the Council. He shall make a financial report to the Executive Committee at each meeting. The expenditure of all funds must be approved by the Ex cutive Committee.

All officers, including members of the Executive Committee, shall at all times have access to the books of the association.

It shall be the duty of the Chairman and officers to appoint the following committees:

Membership,
Political and Investigating,
And other such committees as the Executive Committee may direct.

Speakers other than members of the Butler County Council must be screened and passed on by the Executive Committee.

The officers of the association, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee shall also annually appoint a nominating committee. The nominating committee shall be charged with the duty of making nomination for all officers to be voted on at the annual meeting of the association, which annual meeting shall be held in the month of September and nominations shall also be received from the floor.

The Executive Committee shall also designate an audit committee. It shall be the duty of the audit committee to at least annually, and as often, in their opinion, as may be necessary, to audit the books of the Council and to report their findings thereof to the Executive Committee.

The officers and Executive Committee shall be responsible for making the policy of the Council in compliance with the principles enunciated hereinabove. No person other than one designated shall have the authority to act for and in behalf of the Council in any mannerwhatsoever.

The Executive Committee is authorized to fill vacancies arising by any reason among its membership, including the right to declare a vacancy due to such member failing to regularly attend its meetings or such member engaging in the name of the Council, in any unauthorized act.

ACTICLE VII.

No motion, resolution or proposed action shall be voted on, in Executive Committee or in general meeting, at the same meeting at which such motion, resolution or proposed action is made, offered or introduced: but such motion, resolution or proposed action shall be referred by the Chairman to a proper committee for study, consideration and recommendation, such recommendation or report of the committee to be made to the next ensuing meeting. This rule is designed and intended to prevent hasty or ill-considered action and may be suspended as to any specific motion by a two-thirds (2/3) vote of the members present.

ARTICLE VIII - Amendments.

The constitution of the Council may be amended on the recommendation of the Executive Committee by the vote of the majority of the Council members at a regular or call meeting.

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS,

POLICY MANUAL

Preliminary Draft

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Alabama Council on Human Relations, Inc.

ROOM 1224 COMER BLDG. - - BIRMINGHAM 3, ALABAMA
PHONE AL 2-2722

"AN ORGANIZATION TO ATTAIN, THROUGH RESEARCH AND EDUCATION, EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL PEOPLE OF ALABAMA."

POLICY MANUAL

Preliminary Draft

I NATURE AND PURPOSES

In accordance with its constitution and by-law, the Alabama Council on Human Relations is, of its very nature, a private, civic, eleemosynary organization that is non-political, non-profit, non-governmental and non-sectarian, open to persons of different religious faiths and variant racial backgrounds, provided they are in accord with the basic patriotic and humanitarian and religiously motivated goals of the organization.

It is of the nature of the organization that it is a voluntary one, dedicated to the promotion of economic, civic and racial unity and development through the general means of educational programming, communication media and research investigation. It seeks, through education, to secure in principle and in practise, for all citizens of Alabama, the dignity, the rights, and the liberties inherent in the constitutional guarantees of the United States of America and in the Declaration of Rights of the constitution of the state of Alabama, as well as in the basically accepted moral law and religious faith on which both of these historic documents are based.

It is of the nature of the Alabama Council that it is an association of individuals and not of official representatives of churches, colleges, other associations or institutions in the state of Alabama. The Alabama Council on Human Relations does not officially represent other organizations or groupings, either voluntary groupings or racial groupings. It does not aim at any sort of amalgamation of either churches or educational organizations or racial groupings. Rather, it seeks to promote affirmative and cooperative action for its common goal. It does not function to influence the religious faiths of individuals, nor to engage in common worship, nor to teach ecclesiastical doctrines, nor to carry on other religious functions. It is engaged in, of and by its nature, a civic and educational program with a view to promoting ideals and practises which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the state, will reduce racial tensions, will eliminate the bases of racial tensions and racial misunderstandings and interracial distrust.

It is of the nature of the Alabama Council to cooperate with other local, state and regional agencies in the attainment of these objectives and also to work towards their achievement through their own programs, activities and projects. More specifically, the educational purpose of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will be to clarify, explain and spread broadly the ethical, democratic and religious principles that provide us with the undergirding of our democratic way of life.

It will, in pursuit of this educational objective, endeavour to cooperate with existing educational organizations and institutions on all levels and in all sections of the state where-ever feasible. It will cooperate with public and private educational institutions and associations, both for youth and for adults. It will endeavour to make use of publications, periodicals and other forms of literature which are recognised as educational vehicles.

On the communications level, it will be one of the major objectives of the Alabama Council to provide as many channels as possible for the interchange of information and understanding between peoples of different racial and religious backgrounds. It will also provide settings for a meeting of minds and an exchange of ideas through local and regional and state-wide convening of citizens of different racial and religious background who would like to promote the educational objectives of the organization. It will also endeavour to supplement the ordinary communications work performed by the standard media of communication such as the newspapers, the radio stations, the television stations, the periodicals and magazines as well as the informal media of communications, especially where the partial presentation of the facts and information in these controlled media leads to a distorting of the true picture of conditions and events within the boundaries of the state and across the region.

On the communications level, too, the Alabama Council on Human Relations endeavours to interpret racial and religious situations by acquainting local, county, state,regional and national agencies and media with the basic facts and verified happenings within the boundaries of the state. It will also communicate with and cooperate with those public and private agencies that are seeking to ameliorate conditions, especially those who are interested in forestalling, mitigating or lessening the incidence of interracial violence in our state.

On the third level of research, it is of the nature of the Alabama Council to promote the study of human relations within the state of Alabama by gathering factual information and documented material from local records, from interviews, from news sources, from witnesses, from other reliable and standard sources of information, in order to have a firm and solid basis for judgement and decision on the part of both the Alabama Council's members and officers themselves and on the part of those public and private officials who are interested in the well-being of our citizenry within the state.

II BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

1. There is a manifest need for the work of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The realities of contemporary life in Alabama, with its attendant human relations problems, present a picture that is of intense concern to all citizens who are deeply interested in the future of democracy in our region, in our country and in its historic conflict with communism. The damaging wounds that have been inflicted upon American democracy by interracial violence, hostility, discrimination and prejudice, have been exploited by the enemies of democracy and have injured the cause of democracy across the entire world. Locally and within the state, these waves of violence, hostility and intergroup prejudice are a major barrier to the full implementation of American democracy and of the ideals of our religious heritage. Current trends in the worsening of interracial relations indicate an urgent need for remedial action to arrest this worsening trend and to bring our civic and social practises more in line with the ideals of democracy and with the purposes of securing the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all our citizens and to protect the inherent dignity and worth of all individuals within our community.

2. The main business of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is its program of activities. The end result of our organization is not just to create another paper organization within the state. It is not just to keep an office or to employ a staff. The end result and the product anticipated by those who founded the Alabama Council on Human Relations and its parent organization, the Southern Regional Council and the Committee on Interracial Cooperation, was to launch an active and realistic program for the betterment of human relationships within the state and the region. It is impossible to conceive of the Alabama Council on Human Relations as not being concerned with activities that are directed towards the end of improving human relations within our area. All of our activities should be directed towards that end and the accomplishment of this, both by the staff members and by the lay participants, by the officers and the board members and by the sympathisers and supporters should be regarded as the main business of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

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3. The Alabama Council on Human Relations most important resources are the morally and religiously committed people associated with it. We assume that, since the Alabama Council is a voluntary association of concerned citizens, that the organization will be as strong or as weak as those individuals who join it, support it, cooperate in its activities, participate in its programs and promote its ideals. In order to do this, it is recognised that members must be morally and spiritually committed to waht is an unpopular cause at the present time but which is necessary, which is urgently demanded by the exigencies of our time and is, in point of fact, indispensable for our communities in the future.

Hence, the Alabama Council on Human Relations welcomes persons who are deeply committed to a belief in a personal God, to faith in the inherent dignity and worth of the individual human being and to an acceptance of the ideal of the brotherhood of men under the Fatherhood of God in the peace and security of His providential care.

4. The Alabama Council on Human Relations concerned with the reduction of intergroup prejudice. It is assumed as a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that it must be realistic in its approach to human affairs and the problems of human relations in our state. It cannot blind itself to the existence of a deep-seated, deeply rooted, culturally perpetuated interracial prejudice in our state. It must face this as one of the facts of life in the twentieth century, following, as it does, the ninteenth century with its tragic record of civil war, fratricide, interracial violence, lynching, racial riots and exploitation and' oppression of a helpless minority by a majority group, intent on whatever goals it was pursuing in its activity. A full understanding of the meaning of prejudice and of its manifestations, its origins and its transmission is assumed as a prerequisite for intelligent programming in the betterment of human relations generally.

5. The Alabama Council on Human Relations automatically assumes that it is treating the whole range of human relations in an ethical and a moral setting. The Alabama Council assumes as a policy and as a frank standard of judgement that there are certain higher norms for the judgement of human relations than the laws passed by frenzied legislators in the furty of a reconstruction period or under the impact of some ungovernable prejudice against a minority. Though it is, of its nature, prohibited from political activity,the Alabama Council on Human Relations cannot help but judge the rightness and wrongness of legislation in the light of the religious heritage of America and in the light of the broader principles of democracy that have been grossly violated in some of the punitive legislation passed by the majority in its historic past and recent legislative assemblies.

6. The majority of Alabamans find themselves caught in a dilema as far as interracial relations are concerned. Most of the citizens of Alabama, especially the white citizens, are Christians who believe strongly in the religious truth of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men and who, for themselves, are very strong in their belief in the basic principles of freedom, of justice, of equal treatment before the law, of non-discriminatory administration of justice and of equal opportunity for educational, social, seonomic and political advancement. Most of these Alabamans have strong impulses to the maintainance of their social status and gain of political and economic goals, often at the expense of other people or other groups of people. It is a fundamental assumption of the Alabama Council work that is activity should be geared toward strengthening the

religious and democratic principles and convictions and towards the weakening of the opposite drives towards selfish, unscrupulous and often anti-social activities that are opposed to the basic principles of brotherhood.

7. Alabama Council on Human Relations officials, both staff and board members and officers are, of necessity, obliged to be realistic in their approach to human relations and, while being sufficiently idealistic in their religious and democratic beliefs, they must recognize that the majority of their fellow Alabamans are quite ambivalent in both their feelings, their behaviour, their motivations and also in their emotional reactions to certain kinds of situations in the face of which they have been culturally conditioned to react in a hostile manner. This realism must, of course, make allowances for the difficulties in the attainment of our goals, but it should not be a source of either discouragement or anxiety, since it is assumed as one of the basic facts of life.

8. The Alabama Council on Human Relations, as an American organization, assumes that there is a characteristic American way of doing things in American communities. The basic principle involved in community social action in America is that Americans tend to act specifically and empirically and pragmatically, rather than on the basis of long drawn and intricate theoretical assumptions. Some lip service is traditionally given to the broad, idealistic principles, but most of the action occurs as a result of specific social problems tackled by definite individuals in given situations on a partial and less than long range basis. Hence the assumption that the Alabama Council on Human Relations should not put all of its efforts into the devising of fool-proof, long range and large scale theories and plans which would take centuries to implement, but should, actually, concern itself with short range tactics for the attainment of immediately and approximately visible goals. It is an imperfect world in which we live and, no matter how perfect may be the plans for the Utopis of the perfect world, the realistics assumption on which we must operate is that we will always have with us a certain number of problems and we should tackle and try to solve those that can be solved rather than wring our hands in futility over the parlous state of the universe in general.

9. As an assumption, the Alabama Council on Human Relations concentrates on the educational approach in building better human relations, but it also recognizes the value of direct and legislative social action by other organizations and agencies. The Alabama Council on Human Relations is prohibited by the requirements of its tax-exempt status from engaging in political activity and propoganda, but this does not mean that both propoganda and political action are not valuable.

10. The assumption that underlies some of our programs, namely that the record of racial violence is economically injurious to the state and to the local communities, is not to be taken as more than a useful sales arguement, it should not be mistaken for a universally valid moral principle, nor should it seem to indicate that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is just another arm of the Chamber of Commerce, trying to improve business conditions in the state. It is assumed that our motivation in the Alabama Council on Human Relations will be higher than this.

11. The Alabama Council on Human Relations assumes that persons with subversive tendencies, either of extreme left-wing variety or of extreme right-wing variety, will not be compatible with the middle of the road objectives and demands of the organization. We assume that sufficient care will be taken to screen out both left-wing and right-wing extremists and subversives and that, while recognising the deluded good faith of those who take either of these two extremes, we also assume that neither extreme is compatible with the democratic way of life and that the demands of a democratically oriented organization requires the acceptance of the democratic point of view and the abandonment of the subversive left-wing and right-wing points of view.

III PROCEDURAL ASSUMPTIONS FOR PROGRAM PLANNING

1. The Alabama Council on Human Relations must recognize the importance of creating a sensitivity to and an awareness of the social problems connected with race relations in the state. Prejudice is a psychological phenomenon but it is socially and culturally developed through the experiences of people who grow up in a segregated culture or in a segregated society. The resolution of intergroup prejudice and hostility lies in the changing of culture patterns and in the reorganization of social institutions in conformity with the basic demands of our democratic way of life. It should be an assumption of our whole approach for planning for better human relations that the Alabama Council on Human Relations will endeavour to create an awareness of and a climate for cultural and social and, consequently, psychological change by intensive use of all the means of education. This is a general overall assumption drawn from social and psychological science.

2. A single individual cannot be expected to carry the entire burden of the social changes necessary in our communities. Consequently, the Alabama Council on Human Relations should operate on the assumption that its entire program and its entire work cannot be done simply by one executive director or by one local chairman. Nor can the Alabama Council on Human Relations intelligently expect one type of person, limited by his own role in the community, to achieve the community wide programming and planning necessary for social change. Religious leaders alone cannot ameliorate conditions that need correction, nor can teachers just in their role as teacher, achieve this goal alone. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should, therefore, assume that its very goals require the involvement of community organization leaders, of communications leaders in the mass media, of governmental officials and governmental bodies, of economic leaders and labor leaders, of civically minded club women and church women as well as the standard rank and file membership drawn, as it had been, from the ranks of educators, teachers and religious church-goers.

3. Just as one individual alone cannot resolve all of the social problems, one organization alone cannot achieve adequate marshalling of forces for social change. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should assume that it must coordinate its plans with and through other organizations. It must develop team work in relationship with these organizations. It must stimulate the development of other like minded organizations. It must be content, in many instances, to allow other organizations to invade its field and do effective work when that organization, through its leadership and its membership can more effectively get the job done for the betterment of human relations in the state.

4. While the Alabama Council on Human Relations work is mostly educational, it should assume, in its program planning, that almost all the major social institutions have important educational by-products, even though their main function may not be educational. Hence, it is important for the Alabama Council on Human Relations to plan with and through other social institutions besides the formal educational organizations and the religious organizations in their educational arms. Much good work for the betterment of human relations in the state can be achieved by social welfare institutions and the organi - zations of social workers and those concerned for the promotion of social welfare. Much important work for the betterment of human relations can be expected to emerge from governmental organizations, especially those that are linked to the Federal Government, or linked to the department of labor in the state government. Much important work for the betterment of human relations can also be looked for from literary organizations which tend to draw the more educated and the more broadly experienced segments of the population, those who are more widely read and more broadly experienced in national and international affairs. Coordinating, therefore, the Alabama Council on Human Relations program with these kinds of organizations can be assumed as a valid and useful procedure in programming for better human relations in Alabama.

5. No effective work in the field of social change can be accomplished without some involvement of what are called the "power structure figures" in the state wide community and in the local community. That is, those people who are in a position to make powerful decisions and use powerful influences on lower echelon leaders. A careful assessment of the power structure of our state and of our communities is, therefore, a prerequisite for effective programming, and some effort at appealing to these prestiged personalities on the basis of their higher ideals, must be assumed as integral to the effectiveness of the Alabama Council on Human Relations' programming.

6. Educational programing to improve human relations must be based on adequate diagnosis of the social situation in the state wide community and of the emotional needs of the people. In any given situation good educational programs must start at a point where the participants are ready and willing to start and they must go on from there, even though, theoretically this may not be the most ideal point for beginning.

7. While the Alabama Council on Human Relations programming does involve the providing for adequate opportunities for people of diverse racial backgrounds to meet on a basis of equality in order to discuss commonly felt problems, it must be recognised that some preliminary work usually has to precede this stage of development. Therefore, the Alabama Council on Human Relations should, while not approving or condoning the injustices of the segregation system, encourage the formation by other organizations of study groups, discussion groups and similar idea

clinics with a view to getting a social awareness aroused in people and preparing them for interracial or coracial meetings with persons of the opposite racial group.

8. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should lean heavily on the experience of other groups operating in the field of human relations and draw on their experience wherever feasible. Special provision must be made for the exchange of ideas, program plans and of successfully operating procedures used by other organizations.

9. It is also assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations will take advantage of the contributions of social science and of social research in the field of betterment of human relations. Part of the job of the Alabama Council on Human Relations members and staff and especially of the higher officers and board members should be to endeavour to broaden their acquaintance with the field of human relations and with the contributions that sociological and psychological science has made to this field.

10. It is assumed that there is no one easy single solution to this problem of prejudice or to the bettering of human relations. It has been found that exhortation and appeals to conscience alone by religious leaders is not the full answer to all the emotional and cultural factors that operate in the production of prejudice. The causes of prejudice are multiple, manifold and complex. The method of combating prejudice must similarly be multiple, manifold and of a sufficiently broad design to touch upon a wide variety of factors that cause prejudice. Mere factual information is not enough to counteract prejudice; it must be accompanied by other types of communication and experience as well as other types of learning processes.

11. While leaning heavily on the experiences of the past, it is assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations will be ready to make use of whatever available new, imaginative and creative methods are developed either locally, regionally or nationally by other organizations and individuals. For this reason, Alabama Council on Human Relations personnel should constantly be on the lookout for these social inventions that other communities are consequently improvising to meet parallel situations elsewhere in the region or in the country. These methods should be welcomed and experimented with and tested before being used broadly, but the assumption should be that we will be willing to try programs in this area that have been effective elsewhere and should not assume automatically, that nothing can succeed in Alabama that has not been invented and made in Alabama or tested and tried by years of experience in the past. The field of human relations is such a fluid and fast moving one that those who try to operate in it must, of necessity, be on their toes and alert for the adoption of any new social invention that can possible resolve the impasses to which we have come.

IV ASSUMPTIONS FOR PROTECTION, SECURITY AND PRUDENCE

1. While not using prudence as an excuse for cowardice, or as a mask for fear, it is recognized and assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations personnel will exercise good judgment in selecting the kind of activity that the organization will engage in. The board of directors is charged with the responsibility for the organization and with the responsibility therefore, for the damage which may be done by ill-conceived and ill-advised programs or activities. Between the meetings of the board, the executive committee is charged with this responsibility and is burdened with this liability also. The elected officials as well as the executive director are likewise burdened with this correlative responsibility and liabiliyt. Prudence should counsel these responsible parties to be careful that no grave injury will be caused to members of the Alabama Council on Human Relations because of imprudent exposure to the homicidal tendencies or excessive and irrational outbursts of violence that have been characteristic of right-wing, terroristic, subversive organizations operating in the field of race relations in Alabama. Frequent precautions must, therefore, be taken to secure a prudent selection of places of meetings, kinds of meetings and a prudent care for the safety of those who participate in programs and meetings sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

2. In accordance with the experience drawn from the past five years, Alabama Council on Human Relations officials should be careful to protect from unfriendly hands and eyes any information or data about the membership or the officers that might be used to their detriment. Security provisions, therefore, are assumed to be necessary in protecting the membership lists, lists of officials and the other documents, such as lists of subscribers, donors, contributors and supporters.

3. Provision for this security must involve friendly liaison with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the United State Marshalls and those law enforcement officials on county and city levels who can be relied upon to be faithful to their oath of office to protect the basic rights of life and liberty as guaranteed to all American citizens and guaranteed, therefore, to Alabama Council on Human Relations members as well.

4. Since a considerable amount of protection can be given to American citizens by the exposure of the plans of those who are endeavouring to violate their constitutional rights, it is assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations will maintain friendly contact with those members of the press and of the news bureaus of the television and radio stations who are courageous enough to expose the right-wing subversives who may attack the individual members or groups or assemblies sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

5. On the other hand, prudence will dictate that the Alabama Council on Human Relations should not rashly schedule programs or activities in areas that are dominated by Klansmen or their sympathisers, or by similar organizations. It should not, therefore, dangle before the blindly prejudiced people in that area, those innocent and naive persons, such as college students or high school students, who might be induced to participate in our programs. Prudence seems to dictate that these young and inexperienced people must be protected for their own good by avoiding exposure to the lightening blows that can be expected to come from men of violent impulses.

6. Prudence would also seem to dictate that great care must be exercised in regard to the more vulnerable of our members, those who are in economically or professionally delicate positions, those who depend upon others for their livelihood who might be sorely disturbed by participation in Alabama Council on Human Relations programs on the part of any of their employees or dependents.

7. Generally speaking, public debates with the partisans of an opposing philosophy in the field of human relations, should be avoided both by the personnel of the staff and by members of the organization. Acrimonious and bitter debate cannot prudently be expected to produce any good. The experiences elsewhere have shown that the demagogue or the race baiter usually gets the better of those public debates and those who appeal to sanity and unimpassioned approaches to the problems of our region come off second best when they are up against those who make use of the traditionally rabble-rousing methods of the demagogic oratory characteristic of our political platforms, our legislative chambers and, in many cases, of our broadcast debates.

8. Generally speaking, in accordance with the principles enunciated by social scientists, overt and damaging conflict and demonstrations of hostility that leave lasting and almost ineradicable bad feeling between peoples, should be avoided at all costs. Violence, for its own sake or for its ameliorative aftermath, should not be sought. The ruthless destruction of goodwill by the precipitation of conflict for its own sake, should not be a part of the programming policy of the organization. The misguided principle of "things must get worse before they get better", cannot be assumed to have a wholesome place in human relations program planning. Ideological conflict is, of course, inevitable in the case of people who hold opposing points of view, but with prevailing tolerance and with the humanitarian spirit with which we should approach human relations, prudence would seem to dictate that we disarm oppositions rather than defeat them in open battle or in the clash of open and damaging conflict.

9. Prudence will also recognize that persons who are beyond the age of learning, who are,in a way, mental cases, or who have serious psychiatric disturbances, should not be among those that the Alabama Council on Human Relations endeavours to reach in its programs. These persons should be left to the psychiatrists for treatment. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should direct its programming rather to the education of the young, the education of the educable and to the provision of learning experiences for those who are amenable to goodwill and who are capable of learning, and of being influenced by the kinds of things that the Alabama Council on Human Relations can help people better to do.

10. Prudence will also recognize that Alabama Council on Human Relations functions, meetings and assemblies cannot be a forum for the resentful, the embittered and the psychologically damaged individuals of our community, who sound off against those who have been responsible for whatever damage has been done to them. It will serve no good purpose for the Alabama Council on Human Relations to become identified with an extreme and fanatical element, either of embittered Whites, or of embittered members of other groups, who, in the rash impulses produced by their embitterment, tend to lash out at all organized government, organized religion, organized social institutions because they, within the context of organized social life, have been victims of man's inhumanity to man.

V BOARD OF DIRECTORS' FUNCTIONS

1. Besides the overall responsibility for the affairs of the organization between the membership meetings, the board of directors is the principal policy making unit of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. The board of directors is responsible for the developing of policy and program, for the overseeing of the state office and the conduct of the financial and administrative affairs of the organization by the executive director and the other staff members, and also for the presentation to the general membership of any amendments to the Constitution or any specific changes of policy or any further developments of the policy as necessitated by the ever changing and ever developing problems of the state of Alabama

2. The board of directors, according to the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, is responsible for the financial well-being of the organization. It assumes the responsibility of raising sufficient funds to meet the budget each year and for maintaining sufficiently close relationships with the Southern Regional Council and, through it, with those foundations which have been the major source of its operating funds in the past. To this end, the board requires the observance of all of those prescriptions laid down by the Southern Regional Council for organizations which qualify for their funds. The board also assumes responsibility for the observance of the conditions on which these funds have been granted by the tax exempt foundations.

3. It is Alabama Council on Human Relations policy that the board, through its officers and executive director, should oversee the exact observance of our own tax exemption. Under the provisions of the internal revenue code of 154, it is assumed that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is an organization operated exclusively for charitable and educational purposes. Our tax exemption will be revoked if any substantial part of our activities consists of carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation, or participating in or intervening in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for office. This includes the publishing and distribution of statements pertaining to legislation. The board also oversees the filing of required information returns and the other provisions of section 6,033 of the internal revenue code.

4. In accordance with the practise of the board of directors in the recent past, the board shall also assume the responsibility for those fund raising activities which are necessary for the supplementing of our income from the grants accorded us by foundations. The chief responsibility for this fund raising activity is assigned by the constitution to a finance committee. But the only workable policy whereby the board can carry out this function is one that requires the president of the Alabama Council to be ex officio, a member and the head of this finance committee and to assume personal responsibility for the motivations and inspiration and productivity of the committee.

5. Among the things that the board must do in order to fulfill its responsibility for the affairs of the organization is the careful selection and appointment of the executive director and the approval of what office personnel he recruits for secretarial work as required. For this purpose, the board is, of necessity, required to accept applications, screen candidates and secure adequate assurances that the candidate for the sensitive office of executive director are, in all aspects, suitable for the job, both by prior training and experience and by moral integrity, emotional stability, and dedicated aspirations to meet the exacting demands of the position.

6. The board, as the chief policy making agency of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, is expected to incorporate within its membership persons who can be looked to for imaginative ideas and creative contributions to the board's deliberations, especially as regards the meeting of the challenges to democratic educational organizations in the recurring crises that characterise our region. For this purpose, the board should, in perpetuating itself and in choosing new members, have regard for a balanced constituency of both those who are conservative and cautious and those who are liberal and adventurous in the field of human relations. To overload the board with persons who are extremely conservative would be to place the organization in grave danger of falling far behind the times and the demands of the immediate present. To overload the board with persons who are extremely adventurous and extremely liberal would be to endanger the organization by reckless, ill-advised and, in many cases, overly idealistic programs, plans and projects. It is a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to expect that the board will be made up of a balance between those who are conservative and those who are liberal.

7. Among the things that the board must not and cannot legally do are those that are prohibited by the very constitution of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and are prohibited also by the demands of our tax exempt status. The board should not entertain motions for political activities or legislative programs to be presented to the state legislature or to city councils. The board can entertain motions concerning the endorsement of the principles behind certain kinds of legislation that are currently being discussed in the press or in the halls of the state house, but this is as far as the board can go. It may not, legally, by itself and of itself in the name of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, engage in that kind of political activity.

8. The board shall also be the decision making arm of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, especially as regards the appropriateness or inappropriateness of programs that are suggested by the members or by the executive director. It is the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that the prior approval

of the board must be secured for any new departures from the established policies and especially for the launching of any new and daring experiments in the field of human relations education.

9. The board also is, by policy, charged with the ultimate responsibility of the organization, for the safe deposit of its funds and for the auditing of the funds on a semi-annual basis in accordance with the demands of the Southern Regional Council and also the demands of prudence and justice in regard to the members and contributors to the organization.

10. The board shall also be the ultimate authority for the employment of legal counsel by the executive director. It shall authorise and approve whatever fees are paid to the legal counsel and shall require of the legal advisors a report on their activities undertaken on behalf of the Council or its representatives.

11. The policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations about the relationship between the board of directors and the executive committee is expressed in the constitution. The executive committee, appointed from the board of directors by the president, consisting of five to ten members and appointed for one year terms shall be charged with the affairs of the organization between membership meetings and the meetings of the board of directors. It is recognised that the executive committee is an emergency group and not by any means a device for circumventing the wishes of the majority of the board. It is a policy of the Alabama Council that the executive committee should be broadly representative of the board at large, even though its member shall be drawn principally from the Birmingham or Montgomery area. The president and the vice-presidents of the organization will usually be appointed to the executive committee and the president should adopt the policy of incorporating into the executive committee, those who are available and more immediately reachable members of the board of directors who can be convened at short notice, for the handling of emergency situations that may arise without warning.

12. It shall be the general policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations' board of directors to coordinate Alabama Council on Human Relations activities with those of other parallel organizations in the state in order to lessen the burdens of the executive director and also to involve more people in the broad assault on the inequities and injustices of the race relations system in Alabama. The board, through the research committee appointed by the president, should endeavour to marshall the resources of the research agencies connected with the Alabama Association of Sociologists and Anthropologists and with the public and private mental health associations as well as with the department of mental health in Montgomery. The board should also endeavour to set up coordination with organizations like the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Anti-Defamation League, as well as with the Montgomery

Improvement Association and with other organizations whose joint activity in other fields pertaining to the betterment of race relations is necessary for the successful amelioration of conditions in the state. In short, it should be a stated and implicit policy of the board to seek out and coordinate with and establish liaison, parallel activity and, in some cases, joint activity with other groups, whether they be public, private, church-linked or professional, that can be active in the field of race relations in Alabama.

13. It shall be within the competence of the board to explore ways and means of stimulating the formation of other organizations in the field that might conceivably be started on a small or large scale, or to help to promote the work of organizations already in the field but currently inactive or less active than they should be. This would include the stimulation of interest in the formation of municipal commissions on human relations, metropolitan commissions on human relations, county conferences on community relations, state commissions on human relations, advisory commissions for Federal agencies operating in the state of Alabama and especially race relations committees in each of the large national organizations that have branches in Alabama, such as the Red Cross, the National Chambers of Commerce, the Junior Chambers of Commerce, the National Probation and Parole Association, the Alabama Conference of Social Work, the Alabama Hospital Association, the Alabama Association of Juvenile Court Judges and the other association of Circuit Court Judges as well as the local and state wide bar associations. It will be the boards' policy too, to stimulate the formation of race relations committees in womens' organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the United Church Women as well as the board of Christian service and the Department of Social Relations in established church organizations. Generally speaking, therefore, it should be the policy of the board to take a broad view of the organizational approach to the bettering of race relations and not to believe that it is necessary for the Alabama Council on Human Relations to operate as a lone, unfriended and solitary organization, heroically holding the fort alone in the field of human relations.

14. It shall be the policy of the Alabama Council to bear the travel expenses of board members for those special meetings of the board which are not held at the time of the annual meeting. It is expected that board members, like other members, should attend the annual meeting at their own expense. However, overnight accommodations at the time of the annual meeting and of other board meetings shall be provided for board members at the Council's expense, whenever it is necessary for the members to stay overnight in order to attend a board meeting.

VI FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT

1. The president of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is not the chief executive or administrative officer of the organization. He is simply president of the corporation, chairman of the board of directors, presiding officer for the official meetings, both of the board, of the executive committee, and of the general membership. The board customarily assigns the carrying out of its decisions not to the president, but to the executive director.

2. As chairman of the board, the president is empowered to summon the board for its two regular semi-annual meetings, and for its necessary special meetings. Special meetings shall be called by the president also when he receives written requests for these from five members of the board. These special meetings, because of the expense involved, shall not be summoned save in grave emergencies and for important changes in policy. Ordinary business between board meetings should be conducted by the executive committee in accordance with board policy as laid down in this manual and as understood from the mind of the current board.

3. The president, as chairman of the board, has the responsibility for presenting the agenda to the board membership in advance of each board meeting. This should be done either through his own communications, or through the announcements sent out by the office. This provision will allow members of the board to prepare for the deliberations at the meeting.

4. The president is empowered to determine the existence of a quorum of the board at a meeting by recognising the fulfillment of the constitutional minimum of eight members present.

5. The president shall conduct board meetings in accordance with parliamentary proceedings and Roberts' Rules of Order, allowing time for a discussion of each motion before it is passed, and providing for the recording of the actions of the board, especially those needed for the valid and legal use of Alabama Council on Human Relations' funds.

6. The president is authorised to appoint the committees needed for the carrying out of the board's action as well as those provided for in the constitution: the finance committee, membership committee, community relations committee, research committee, and nominations committee. The president should, by policy, be ex officio head and member of the finance committee. He should, by policy also, be head of the executive committee. But he should not be expected to be a committee of one for the carrying out of an unmanageable amount of the board's action. It is the approved custom of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that board members volunteer for specific committees. The president should, in practise, allow

chance for volunteers to sign up for committee duties, before proceeding to appoint members to the committees. Save in rare cases, no committee work shall be assigned to board members in absentia. Those present and passing motions for action should assume prime and prior responsibility for carrying them out, if they involve board-committee work.

7. Ordinarily, the president as presiding officer of the board, shall not vote on specific measures proposed as motions at a board meeting. However, he is, by policy, empowered to cast a tie-breaking vote, in cases where the board is equally divided on a specific issue.

8. The president shall ordinarily select a relatively central place for board meetings rather than sites in the extreme north or the extreme south of the state.

9. The president, as the presiding officer at the annual membership meeting, shall act as a representative of the board in presenting, through the nominating committees report, the slate of officers to be elected by the membership. Wherever possible at least two candidates should be nominated for each office so that a genuinely competitive election may be held. However, where only one nominee can be found, by the nominating committee the president shall call for nominations from the floor. If none are forthcoming, he shall entertain a motion for the closing of nominations and the automatic election of the single nominee. If two or more are nominated, a simple plurality shall be deemed sufficient for election, that is, no candidate needs to be obliged to obtain 51% of the votes or a clear majority.

10. To aid in the orderly conducting of the business of the board and that of the annual meeting, the president shall be empowered to appoint a parliamentarian for questions of procedure, a legal counsel pro tem, for questions of legality, and a policy-judge for questions of constitutionality and policy concordance. If the legal counsel or the policy judge raise questions of constitutionality of legality, the matter shall be tabled until the legal or constitutional questions can be resolved. If, at a general membership meeting, there is a question of change of policy, it shall be referred to the board's next meeting for its exercise of its policy making and policy changing power.

11. The president, inconsultation with the executive director and with the executive committee, shall be responsible for the formulation of suggested lines of policy or for policy changes. He shall also entertain suggestions for changes in policy both from other board members and officers and from the general membership. The board of directors, however, as the main policy making arm of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, shall be empowered to give the final decision on policy making and policy changing.

12. In accordance with the constitution and by-laws, amendments to the constitution shall be made at the meetings of the general membership. Suggested amendments require a majority vote for passage, or 51% of those present and voting. Amendments shall be submitted to the president or the board in writing. The member, committee, or officers submitting the amendment shall present it to the general membership in the form of a motion made by the member, committee chairman or officer in question.

13. The president shall ordinarily appoint a resolutions committee at the annual meeting for the purpose of giving official recognition to those who have been deemed worthy of commendation for their contributions to the Alabama Council on Human Relations during the preceeding year, including those who have proffered hospitality, to the Alabama Council on Human Relations for its annual meeting and for its board meetings. Resolutions may be entertained on all subjects legitimately within the scope of the Alabama Council on Human Relations' educational work. Politically related resolutions shall not be entertained by the president as presiding officer. In consultation with the parliamentarian, the legal counsel and the policy judge, the president shall determine the appropriateness of the suggested resolutions.

14. As chief officer of the corporation, the president shall fulfill those duties legally encumbent on the responsible officer of an incorporated legal entity in the state of Alabama. He shall sign the leases for the rental of the office space for the state headquarters. He shall see to the observance of the legal requirements for paying state taxes for workers compensation as regards office personnel. He shall also check on the regular payment of the social security, insurance, and other corporate obligations usually assumed by corporations in this state.

15. The president, as chairman of the board, shall not entertain any motions for the use of Alabama Council on Human Relations funds in any way not compatible with the limitations placed on their disposal by state law and Federal tax exemption regulations. He shall declare out of order any motion destined to use Alabama Council on Human Relations funds as gifts to benefactors, officers, members or employees. He shall not allow any motions appropriating Alabama Council on Human Relations funds for strictly social events, such as parties, social hours, entertainment or amusements. He shall check with legal counsel for the legality of any doubtful motions in this matter.

VII EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S ORDINARY FUNCTIONS

1. The chief administrative officer of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is the executive director. He is constitutionally selected by the board of directors, armed with sufficient powers, by virtue of his office and by delegation from the board, to perform his functions supplied with the necessary funds for carrying out his activities and backed up by the board in the performance of his official duties since he acts in their name and with their authority.

2. It is the stated policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to employ as the executive director, not merely a job-holder, but a dedicated person with sufficient background and training in the field of organizational work to be able to carry out the exacting requirements of his position. If he comes to the position without professional human relations training, he will be expected to supply this deficiency by special efforts and extra attention to self improvement. This may be acquired in special summer institutes, in night courses at colleges, in professional membership in the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials or by extensive reading on his own time in lieu of a prior professional development. Intensive contact, also, with recognised authorities in the field and with those persons who are sources of knowledge and wisdom in this delicate area may also be expected of the executive director.

3. The executive director shall be responsible for the necessary research and investigation needed for keeping the Alabama Council on Human Relations board and membership abreast of developments across the state and for guiding them in their own planning and activities. He shall also be responsible for the preliminary staff work involved in planning suggested lines of activity to be presented for consideration by the board of directors and by the executive committee.

4. The executive director shall be responsible for the work of maintaining the central office (about which, more later) and for organising local chapters and affiliates of the Alabama Council on Human Relations in the ten major regions of the state and in the principle cities in those regions. He shall assist local groups with their organizational problems, provide them with sufficient literature for spreading to interested person the knowledge of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and carry out those standard organizational requirements necessary to help launch new groups, revive interest in older and inactive groups and help in intelligent and coordinated program planning for the local chapters. In reference to the local chapters, he shall assist them in maintaining membership lists, in helping them with the strategy and the tactics necessary for their own situations and assisting them by counsel and advice in their many problems.

5. As executive director, the chief administrative officer is expected to direct the affairs of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and excute the decisions of the board in carrying out the program of the Council. He shall not launch out on new and untried programs or courses of action without prior consultation, both legal and prudential, or without board authorization.

6. The executive director shall be empowered to disburse the funds of the organization for his travel expenses in pursuit of his authorised activities. He shall, however, expend his travel allowance with economy and circumspection, not seeking accommodations at expensive hotels when more reasonable hotels afford sufficiently satisfactory accommodations, or where local hospitality, offered by Alabama Council members as a contribution to the Alabama Council on Human Relations, can help save the Council from unnecessary hotel bills.

7. It is the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to demand periodical reports from the executive director to the president and vice-presidents and also to the treasurer and secretary. Summaries of these reports must be sent out to board members at least quarterly,if not more frequently on demand by either the members themselves, the officers of the organization or as necessitated by the crises and emergencies that may arise from time to time.

8. The coordinating function of the executive director is also recognised to be part of his official responsibility. He is the chief liaison officer of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, keeping communications open between chapters and the central office and also between the Alabama Council on Human Relations and its parent organization, the Southern Regional Council, as well as with his counterparts in other states, such as the Virginia Council, the Georgia Council, the Tennessee Council, the Florida Council, and the North Carolina Council.

9. In pursuit of his communications and coordinations function, the executive director is expected to employ a sufficient secretarial staff or to elicit volunteer help, to keep up with the correspondence of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, to provide for prompt acknowledgement of contributions and funds received and to perform other needed notifications such as those for meetings of the board of directors and for the annual meeting of the organization.

10. The communications function of the executive director shall also include the distribution of the Alabama Council on Human Relations News Letter which is to be issued at least bi-monthly, or as crises and emergencies necessitate quick dispatches of urgent news and background materials for the board and the membership. The planning and programming function of the executive director will be discussed under heading #IX, in relation to the decision making function of the board as well as to his own staff planning.

11. Other routine and ordinary office functions expected of and required from the executive director are the following:

a) Assisting the treasurer in drawing up the financial reports of the organization and projecting the budget for the coming months, quarters and year.

b) Reporting quarterly to the Southern Regional Council on the Alabama Council on Human Relations' fiscal standing, activities, developments and special problems, in order to enable the Alabama Council on Human Relations to remain eligible for the grants and aid given by the Southern Regional Council that are contingent on these quarterly reports.

c) Assisting the nominating committee with suggested names for board replacements when needed and for the slate of officers at the annual meeting.

d) Supervising the fund raising efforts of the Council and its chapters as well as initiating special appeals, fund letters and other methods to keep the organization solvent.

e) Keeping careful watch over the outgoing expenditures in order to operate with in the limits of the available budgets and the on-hand balance at the bank.

f) Making deposits in the Alabama Council on Human Relations bank accounts and savings accounts in accordance with board policies and the treasurer's authorization.

g) Signing checks for all disbursals except those directed to himself which shall be signed by the treasurer of the organization.

h) Keeping records and archives save those preserved elsewhere as a security measure.

VIII EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S EXTRAORDINARY FUNCTIONS

1. Although the Alabama Council on Human Relations cannot demand courageous activity above and beyond the call of duty, it will be expected that the executive director will be the representative of the corporate concern of the full membership and of the officers in bringing immediate and effective comfort and support to the victims of injustice, violence and discrimination in the state. In line with the splendid example set by its first executive director, the Alabama Council on Human Relations will look for conduct bordering on the heroic as appropriate for a dedicated workers in this field of challenging endeavor.

2. In fulfilling this extraordinary function the executive director will be expected to visit as quickly as possible, those victims of violence, whether this be jailhouse brutality, attempted bombings, floggins and pistol-whippings, sluggings and attempted arson or cross burning, brickbat throwing, harassment and the many other unpredictable manifestations of the diseased minds of the violent men of racial hatred. Though the visitation of these people,in the wake of this kind of violence, may involve a certain amount of personal risk, the cause of better human relations and lessening tensions has been gallantly served by the tradition established by our first executive director and is expected to be carried on as a part of the activity of the executive director.

3. This function is likewise fulfilled by giving counsel and emotional support to those of the membership and to non-members who may be victims of economic pressure of psychological harassment or social ostracism. It is expected that the members will notify the central office when crises like these arise and will thus alert the executive director, who is presumed to be freer to move around than those of the membership who are tied down by jobs or professional activities elsewhere. Thus this special service which the Alabama Council on Human Relations has been performing can continue to be rendered to the victims of the racial tensions and conflict.

4. If it is impossible for the executive director to reach the place where these unfortunate incidents have occured, it is the recognized policy of the organization to expect that he will write letters of comfort and support to those who have been the victims of this kinds of mistreatment. He shall also alert other officers and members of the organization to bring their moral support to bear as well.

5. The executive director, in this same line, shall write letters of encouragement and support to those who are outstanding in their achievement in behalf of justice, fair-play or interracial harmony and who have thus exposed themselves to thedanger of violence or intimidation.

6. It is also expected that the executive director, as well as other responsible officers, will be ready to follow the example of the first director in courageously protecting the innocent and the vulnerable from harassment and intimidation by the unruly forces of the right-wing subversive terroristic organizations still operating in the state and still infiltrating our grand juries and, unfortunately, still holding high offices in some county and city governments. While the board does not anticipate a repetition of the"Ordeal by Bessemer Process", to which our first executive director was subjected, in his courageous defense of the privacy of the organization, it does state the policy that would hold up for emulation this courageous and fearless behavior on the part of the executive director.

7. It will also be expected that the executive director will not yield to force and pressure, threats and harassment directed against him personally, as against our first executive director, in the form of cross burnings, telephone threats and even attempted grand jury entrapment. Details of these and other courageous demands on the executive director are, of course, above and beyond the line of duty, but are held up as worthy of a dedicated worker fighting like a faithful soldier in a battle for right and justice in a spirit of heroic dedication to a quite worthy cause.

IX APPROPRIATE HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAMS

1. In the light of past experience, systematic experimentation, and confirmed scientific hypotheses in the field of human relations, the following types of programs are deemed to be appropriate for sponsorship, promotion and encouragement by the Alabama Council on Human Relations board, staff and local chapters generally:

   a) Annual state wide general meetings of the organization, with appropriate speakers, discussions, workshops, clinics, informative reports and visual aids.

   b) Monthly or bi-montly local or district meetings of the local or district chapters, alone or in conjunction with other sympathetic organizations, for special programs as listed in "a" above.

   c) Educational institutes of one day, two day, three day, week-end or even week long duration, after the pattern of the three day Mobile Human Relations Institute, conducted at Spring Hill College, or the Race Relations Institute conducted at Birmingham Southern College in past years by the coordinating committee of Jefferson county.

   d) Forums of invited guest speakers who tour the state at the invitation of local chapters, discussing with them and judiciously invited guests pertinent aspects of current human relations problems, principles and programs.

   e) Ministerial convocations and clergy conferences on an interracial basis, summoning representative ministers and other clergy to day long conferences on the religious aspect of human relations in the state or section of the state.

   f) Special clinics on specific problems conducted by social scientists, intergroup relations officials or practitioners, psychiatrists or specialists in other organizational problems.

   g) Observance of Race Relations Sunday, Human Relations Day, Human Rights Week, United Nations Days and even intensive cooperation with Brotherhood Week, American Democracy Month and patriotic holidays such as Independence Day, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Emancipation Day and other public observances that have pertinence for human relations programs.

h) Teacher's Institutes and Administrator's Conferences on human relations, mental health, civic responsibilities, moral and spiritual values undergirding democracy, intergroup relations betterment and similar topics.

i) College seminars and conferences, where feasible, for the sane and dispassionate discussions of the principles of democracy and their implications for human relations. Programs like the well-known "Panel of Americans" presentation would be recommended in this context.

j) Child development clinics for mothers of young children along the lines of the "Rearing Children of Goodwill" programs sponsored by other organizations, could be appropriately sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

k) Seminars for police officers, social workers, welfare workers, labor union officials and other similar persons involved in one way or another with the field of human relations.

l) Short term institutes for community leaders, especially for club women, co-sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations and Federations of local clubs, or leagues of women voters or other similar organizations interested in the community aspect of human relations problems and in the preservation of law and order as well as in community progress generally.

m) Youth conferences, youth weeks, special intergroup youth activities, sponsored in conjunction with public and private schools where feasible, are also recognised as appropriate for Alabama Council on Human Relations Sponsorship.

n) tudy groups and adult education groups and special community workshops in community relations that could be suggested to those programming in this field of adult education in conjunction with the extension divisions of colleges and adult education programs sponsored by many of our high schools.

o) Leadership training courses for the officers and prospective officer candidates for the state board as well as for the local chapters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations can be deemed as appropriate for sponsorship by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

p) Special community building programs centered around the idea embodied in the planning commissions of our various cities and counties can conceivably be listed as compatible with the Alabama Council on Human Relations basic goals.

2. Inappropriate programs that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is, by policy, opposed to sponsoring would include all those programs which seem to confirm and re-enforce the unjust and discriminatory aspects of the segregation system. This norm would, therefore,

rule out from Alabama Council on Human Relations participation and co-sponsorship or promotion certain kinds of programs that are recognised as having segregational overtones. This would include the Constitution Day observances sponsored by the Chambers of Commerce with heavy overtones of rebellion against the organic development of our Constitution through its amendments and through its historic and authoritative interpretation by the Supreme Court of the United States. Though the Alabama Council on Human Relations is in favor of the United States constitution, it is recognised that the sponsors of Constitution Day and the observances that are usually held on that day, had in mind a pro-segregation, states rights emphasis in the whole observance.

3. The Alabama Council regards as inappropriate also, those programs which automatically exclude whole segments of its' membership from participation. It frowns on those programs which, of necessity, have to be held in places which exclude either Negroes or Catholics or Jews from participation. Unless it is absolutely impossible to hold useful and necessary meetings and programs in any other type of setting, the Alabama Council on Human Relations is committed, by policy, to the avoidance of exclusive sites for its meetings and programs.

4. Because of the participation in the Alabama Council on Human Relations of people of quite a wide variety of religious persuasions, it is deemed by policy, inappropriate for the Alabama Council on Human Relations to sponsor programs that are composed of religious elements that are incompatible with or offensive to the feelings, faiths and preferences of groups of its members. Generally speaking, the Alabama Council on Human Relations is, by policy, a religiously motivated organization, but it also respects the religious scruples of those of its members who cannot participate in the worship services of other religious groups. Hence, as a civic organization, the Alabama Council on Human Relations should avoid giving the appearance of a prayer meeting with all of the traditional religious accompaniments for that type of activity. A sufficient amount of widely acceptable and mutually agreeable religious activity such as an invocation for Divine Guidance at the beginning of a meeting and observances, and an appropriate benediction are recognised as acceptable but specific observances that are offensive to the religious sensibilities of minority groups within the Alabama Council on Human Relations should be avoided.

5. In social activities sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations, great care should be exercised that songs, jokes and expressions or epithets offensive to minority group members should be sedulously avoided.

6. By all means, no one connected with the Alabama Council on Human Relations would approve the sponsorship of fund raising events in the form of minstrel shows or concerts that present even classical southern music that have words or themes offensive to the Negro minortiy.

X FISCAL AND FINANCIAL POLICIES

1. The treasurer of the organization shall be the chief financial officer. He is charged with the supervision of the financial affairs of the organization, the procedures of the safe custody of the funds in checking and savings accounts, and the drafting and signing of checks for the disbursement and transfer of funds.

2. The treasurer shall be empowered to sign those check made payable to the other authorised signatories of the checks, for example, the executive director or the one deputised in an absence of the executive director to sign checks in the name of the organization. In general it is a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations not to allow officials to make checks out to themselves or to "cash" only. Each check must bear the exact designation of the person, company, bill or item that it is destined to pay.

3. In general it is a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations not to authorize the conducting of financial transactions by cash only. Any cash donated to the organization for the payment of memberships fees or for contributions must first be deposited in the account of the organization and them disbursed by check for the payment of bills. Similarly, no check shall be endorsed over to others without first being made payable to the Alabama Council on Human Relations and cleared through its checking account.

4. It is the current policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that the major portion of its on-hand funds should be held in a reserve account or savings account in order to accumulate income in the form of interest. The transfer of funds to this account and the removal of funds from this account to the checking account shall be the responsibility of the treasurer and the executive director working jointly with the advice and consent of the board or the executive committee as regards overall policy.

5. In emergencies, the executive director, working with the treasurer shall be authorised to make use of the funds in the savings account for such security measures as may be necessary--emergency legal fees, travel expenses, or similar crises expenses not foreseen or provided for in the ordinary budget. These expenditures are subject to review and confirmation by the board or the executive committee at their next meeting.

6. While the Alabama Council on Human Relations does not favor special "drives" each year, it is obvious that its policy encompasses some fund raising efforts to supplement its regular income each year. These fund raising drives shall be decided on by the board when necessary, but should not be the ordinary means of fiscal stability and solvency. Efforts should be made to secure

regular sources of income equivalent to the budget outgo each year. jThe regular sources of income shall be the membership dues and fees, the contributions spontaneously forthcoming from the friends of the Alabama Council on Human Relations and the special support given to the Alabama Council on Human Relations by other organizations interested in its work.

7. The policy of securing a considerable number of "under-writers" who agree to contribute at least $5.00 a month towards the support of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will be continued and developed. These underwriters may be secured both from within the state and from our sympathisers outside the state, especially former members who have moved away.

8. In the fund raising activities of the Council, no method shall be used which will have the appearance of lotteries or gambling devices. No contests shall be sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations with prizes awarded for contributions. No grants of promises of percentages of the funds raised shall be made to the fund raisers, except in the presently unlikely case that the board will see fit to employ a professional fund raising company to solicit funds for some special emergency.

9. If individual appeals are made for money in the name of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, the checks must be made payable to the Alabama Council on Human Relations and not to the individuals soliciting the money, save in the case of those donors who expressly do not want their names on record as supporters of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. This might be the case of certain persons who do not wish their partners to know of the donations to the Alabama Council on Human Relations .

10. In Alabama Council on Human Relations fund raising activities, no competitive devices shall be used which may seem to pit group against group, especially along racial lines, by way of stimulating emulation or interest in the drive. Sufficient commendation for and acknowledgement of the work of individuals or groups should be made by the office and also by the higher officers of the organization.

11. In accordance with current practise, an annual audit of the books of the organization shall be made by a firm of competent certified public accountants. This annual audit is necessary as a condition for grants from foundations and from the Southern Regional Council.

IX PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

1. Owing to the fact that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is an educational organization rather than an action group aiming at social reform through legislation or direct action, it is the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations not to participate in public controversies over current political issues, not to enter the field as a protagonist in favor of political candidates or office holders, or against them and their legislative programs and current political decision. This does not exclude the advocacy of principles that are obviously violated by current political practises but the advocacy of principles should be kept on an educational basis and not to take on the appearance of direct combating of legislation or political decisions in the arena of political activity.

2. It is the current policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations to pursue the study of ways and means of making use of the educational aspects of the vast networks of communication available for use in the state--newspaper ads and releases, radio programs, television programs, and even such things as billboards and direct mail advertising and similar outlets. In accordance with the practise of local groups, the use of one or other of these media of communication for educational purposes shall be construed as consonant with the overall policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations as long as this use is employed for an adult education purpose.

3. Generally speaking, the Alabama Council on Human Relations is not a "statement issuing" group. In those instances where the existence or welfare of the Alabama Council on Human Relations or the safety and security and proper understanding of its officials or members is involved, it may be necessary to issue public statements to correct misrepresentations and counteract slanders or neutralize attacking enemies. In these cases, the executive director, in consultation with legal counsel and upon advice and consent of a majority of the executive committee, including the president, shall be empowered to issue statements to the press, to the wire services, to the radio and television news outlets.

4. Local chapthers of the Alabama Council on Human Relations shall not issue statements on behalf of the state organization. They may, of course, issue statements in their own names after legal counsel and with due circumspection. In most cases, it will most probably serve the cause better if the local unit does not act alone, but enlists the collaboration and support of other like-minded organizations for the joint issuance of statements to the public. This policy would impel local chapters to secure more cooperation from ministerial associations or from Negro organizations such as lodges, fraternities and sororities and other similar grouping.

5. Pending the resolution of the question about the employment of a part time or full time communications arts expert, the function of providing explanatory, interpretive or recruitment materials and literature for Alabama Council on Human Relations membership drives or for fund raising activities, shall be the responsibility of the executive director for the state as a whole and of individual chapters for their own areas.

6. In the issuance of statements, or in the joint sponsorship of ads bearing on specific local issues, care should be taken that the Alabama Council on Human Relations and its local chapters do not co-sponsor statements or releases to the public along with questionable organizations of a left-wing variety. The Alabama Council on Human Relations should not become identified with any of the groups on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations. The state office and each chapter should have sufficient copies of the "GUIDE TO SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS" published by the United States Printing Office in order to be armed with sufficient information for checking these groups. It should also be the policy of AlabamaCouncil on Human Relations officers and local chapters to cehck with the F.B.I. for questionable organizations. The F.B.I. can, ordinarily, release information to the effect that this or that group is not on the subversive list.

7. It shall be the ordinary policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that there will be no press coverage of the meetings of the organization, either the annual state wide meeting or the local or district meetings. This is not to be construed as hostility to the press nor as an indication of a secret and underground organization. This policy represents the privilege of privacy that is a corollary of the right to free association, freedom of assembly and freedom from unreasonable search and invasion of privacy.

8. Under ordinary conditions, it is a policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that no pictures of officers or guests shall be taken at our meetings, nor shall press photographers or commerical photographers be admitted to them.

9. In order to safeguard our participants from possible reprisals or intimidations, it shall be the policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, until the climate of the state improves, that their officials and members shall not be identified as such at public introductions which they attend that are not sponsored by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

10. In general, the current policy of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is that no notices of its meetings or activities shall be given to the press or radio as regards to time or place of Alabama Council on Human Relations assemblies. This policy is a prudential and precautionary one in order to avoid giving easy targets to those hostile groups intent on disrupting our activities, or infiltrating our ranks with unfriendly intentions.

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POLICY MANUAL

Revised Draft

I. GENERAL PURPOSE AND NATURE

1. Purpose - The General Purpose of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is to endeavor to reduce tensions and to eliminate the basis of tension and of misunderstanding and distrust in a period when historic changes are taking place with regard to the legal, economic and civic effects and consequences of racial, ethnic, economic and religious differences between individual citizens of Alabama.

The Council is primarily concerned with the problems arising because of racial differences because, at the present, these problems are the more pressing. Emotional reactions in this area are more intense because both the old patterns and the new and growing ones have deep roots in historically prominent, basic, legal, religious, and governmental concepts which have firm, visible institutional manefestations. These are broadly adherred to by large numbers of worthy, respectable, civic-minded, and religiously motivated individuals, some of whom oppose and some of whom support, both in varying degrees, the necessity of such changes. The Council stands with those who feel that changes in legal and civil racial patterns are not only inevitable, but are necessary to the normal healthy growth and development of the basic concepts of individual freedom and responsibility as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, Bill of Rights and other Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and in the Declaration of Rights to the Constitution of Alabama, and in the basic Judeo-Christian concepts of the dignity and significance of each individual as a child of God, and as a brother of all men everywhere.

2. Nature of Organization and Membership - The Alabama Council on Human Relations is a non-profit corporation organized under the laws of Alabama. As such it has no stockholders, but is a voluntary membership organization open to all persons, without regard to race, creed, ethnic origin, or economic condition, who are in accord with its basic purposes and are willing to work and study to advance the accomplishment of its general purpose.

The Council is governed by a Board of Directors elected by its membership. The policies of the Council are executed and administered by officers elected by its membership and by an Executive Director and other employees selected by the Board. It maintains regional affiliates throughout the state through which its members seek to work and study toward the achievement of the Council's general purpose in their local areas.

Membership is voluntary and purely individual in nature. Members do not represent any of the churches, colleges, companies, firms or other institutions with whom they may also be affiliated. Although many of its members are religiously motivated, the Council does not endeavor to influence religious faiths, engage in common worship, or teach ecclesiastical doctrines. It maintains the position that the fundamental principles of Freedom of Religion, and of Separation of Church and State extend to all matters of civic as well as governmental concern.

3. Basic Method of Achieving Council's Purpose - The Alabama Council is a communications agency, not an action agency. It cannot and will not engage in political or propaganda activity.

The Council seeks therefore to achieve its basic purpose of reducing tension and eliminating the bases of tension and misunderstanding through education and research dealing with areas of misunderstanding and factual distortion and by fostering increased communication of ideas among persons of all races, religious and persuasions.

The Council seeks to cooperate and maintain liason with all local, state and regional agencies, public and private, concerned with explaining and educating the public with the basic ethical, democratic and religious principals undergirding its fundamental faith in the worth and

dignity of all men, and with all public and private agencies who are concerned with any aspect the racial problems of Alabama, civic, economic, educational, legal, religious, or otherwise, and, to the extent wise, feasible and practical, to interchange information with such agencies.

The Council seeks to provide as many channels of communication as possible for the healthy interchange of ideas. It encourages the normal existing news media to present accurate reports of events and situations which are significant concerning the changes that are occurring within Alabama and the South. Where necessary, the Council seeks to suppliment regular news channels to insure that its officers and members, and especially persons affiliated with local, state, county, regional, and national agencies and media who bear the responsibility for making decisions which affect the Alabama situation, will be as fully informed as possible under the circumstances. And the Council endeavors to interpret racial and religious situations to such agencies, wherever located, who are seeking to ameliorate, forestall, mitigate or lessen the incidence of violence in Alabama attributable to racial tension and misunderstanding.

In order to perform and augment the Council's basic task of communications it seeks to maintain a constant study of the racial situation within the state by gathering factual information and documented material from local records, interviews, news sources, witnesses, and other reliable and standard sources of information, insuring and protecting the sources of such information to the extent possible and necessary.

II. BASIC POLICY ASSUMPTIONS

1. There is a manifest need for the work of the Council - The realities of contemporary make human relations problems in Alabama of intense concern to all citizens who are deeply interested in the future of our region and in our country's historic with communism.

2. The Most Vital Basic Human Relations Problem in Alabama is a Failure of Communications. Most racial tension grows out of a lack of information, the circulation of distorted information, and the general breakdown and lack of communication between thoughtful persons of different races and between persons of varying persuasions concerning racial problems.

3. The main business of the Council is its program of activities - The Council seeks to present an active and realistic program for the betterment of human relationships within the state and the region. All of its activities should be directed towards the accomplishment of such by its staff, members, officers, Board members, and its sympathisers and supporters.

4. The Council's most important resources are the morally and religiously committed people associated with it - The Council will be as strong or as weak as those individuals who join it, support it, cooperate in its activities, participate in its programs and promote its ideals.

5. The majority of Alabamans find themselves caught in a dilema as far as interracial relations are concerned - Most of the citizens of Alabama of both major races believe strongly in the religious truth of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men and, for themselves, are very strong in their belief in the basic principles of freedom, of justice, of equal treatment before the law, of non-discriminatory administration of justice and of equal opportunity for educational, social, economic and political advancement.

6. Council members and officials are, of necessity, obliged to be realistic in their approach to human relations - While being sufficiently idealistic in their religious and democratic beliefs, Council members and officials must recognize that the majority of their fellow Alabamans have been culturally conditioned to react in a hostile manner to suggestions of change in racial relationships.

7. The Council must concentrate on those aspects of the problem which can be solved or improved on a short range basis - Most social action occurs as a result of specific social problems tackled by definite individuals in given situations on a partial and less than long range basis. Hence the Council should not put all of its efforts into the devising of fool-proof, long range theories and plans, but should concern itself primarily with short range attainment of immediately and approximately visible goals.

8. Persons with subversive tendencies will not be compatible with the program of the Council - Neither extreme right-wing or left-wing dictatorial theory and practice, including the use of violence as a tool of social action, is compatible with the democratic way of life or the realistic and practical objectives of the Council.

III. PROCEDURAL ASSUMPTIONS FOR PROGRAM PLANNING

1. The Council cannot expect any one type of person, limited by his own role in the community, to achieve the community wide programming and planning necessary. The Council's purpose require the involvement of community organization leaders, of communications leaders in the mass media, of governmental officials and governmental bodies, of economic leaders and labor leaders, of civically minded club women and church women as well as educators, teachers and religious church-goers.

2. The Council cannot achieve its purposes alone. It must coordinate its plans with and through other organizations. It must recognize that in many instances other organizations can do more effective work in various areas of a very complex problem and it must stimulate the development of such organizations to better human relations in the state.

3. Almost all the major social institutions have by-products important to the improvement of human relations. Much good work for the betterment of human relations in the state can be achieved by social welfare institutions and the organizations not directly concerned with racial problems. Much that is important can be expected to emerge from both Federal and state Welfare and Labor organizations. Literary organizations which tend to draw the more educated and the more broadly experienced segments of the population can also be expected to contribute significantly to this problem area.

4. All social change involves those state and community leaders who are in a position to make decisions and use influence on lower echelon leaders. A careful assessment of the power structure of our state and of our communities is, therefore, a prerequisite for effective programming, and some effort at appealing to these personalities on the basis of their higher ideals, must be an integral part of the Council program.

5. Any educational program to improve human relations must be based on adequate diagnosis of the social situation in the community and of the emotional needs of the people. Good programs must start at a point where the participants are ready and willing to start, and they must go on from there, even though, theoretically this may not be the most ideal point for beginning.

6. While Council program does provide opportunities for people of diverse racial backgrounds to meet on a basis of equality in order to discuss commonly felt problems, it must be recognized that some preliminary work usually has to precede this state of development. Therefore, the Council while not approving or condoning the segregation system, should encourage the formation by other organizations of study groups, discussion groups and similar idea clinics to promote increased realistic and education discussion of racial problems.

7. The Council should lean heavily on the experience of other groups operating in the field of human relations a social research and draw on their experience and research wherever feasible. Part of the job of the Alabama Council on Human Relations members and staff and especially of the higher officers and board members should be to endeavor to broaden their acquaintance with the activities and research of other agencies.

8. There is no one easy solution to the problems of prejudice. The causes and cultural factors which produce prejudice are multiple, manifold and complex. The method of combating prejudice must similarly be multiple, manifold and of a sufficiently broad design to touch upon a wide variety of such factors and causes. Mere factual information and appeals to conscience are not enough to counteract prejudice; there must be other types of communication and experience, as well as other types of learning processes.

9. The Council must be ready to make use of whatever available new methods are developed either locally, regionally or nationally by other organiza-

tions and individuals. Council personnel should constantly be on the lookout for social inventions that other communities are constantly improvising to meet parallel situations. These methods should be welcomed and experimented with and tested before being used broadly, but the Council must be willing to try programs in this area that have been effective elsewhere and should not assume automatically, that nothing can succeed in Alabama that has not been invented and made in Alabama or tested and tried by years of experience in the past.

IV. PROTECTION, SECURITY AND PRUDENCE

1. Prudence is not an excuse for cowardice, nor a mask for fear, but Council personnel must exercise good judgment in selecting the kind of activity that the organization will engage in. The board of directors and officers of the Council are charged with the responsibility for the organization and with the responsibility therefore, for the damage which may be done by ill-conceived and ill-advised programs or activities. Frequent precautions must, therefore, be taken to secure a prudent selection of places of meetings, kinds of meetings and a prudent care for the safety of those who participate in programs and meetings sponsored by the Council.

2. In accordance with the experience drawn from the past five years, Alabama Council on Human Relations officials should be careful to protect from unfriendly hands and eyes any information or data about the membership or the officers that might be used to their detriment. Security provisions, therefore, are assumed to be necessary in protecting the membership lists, lists of officials and the other documents, such as lists of subscribers, donors, contributors and supporters.

3. Provision for this security must involve friendly liaison with those law enforcement officials on state, county, city and federal levels who can be relied upon to be faithful to their oath of office to protect the basic rights of life and liberty as guaranteed to all American citizens and guaranteed, therefore, to Council members as well.

4. Since a considerable amount of protection can be given to American citizens by the exposure of the plans of those who are endeavoring to violate their constitutional rights, the Council should maintain friendly contact with those members of the press and of the news bureaus of the television and radio stations who are courageous enough to expose those who may attack the individual members or groups or assemblies sponsored by the Council.

5. The Council should not rashly schedule programs or activities in areas that are dominated by Klansmen or their sympathisers, or by similar organizations. It should not expose to such persons, innocent or immature persons, such as college students or high school students, who might otherwise be induced to participate in its programs.

6. Prudence would also seem to dictate that great care must be exercised in regard to the more vulnerable of our members, those who are in economically or professionally delicate positions, those who depend for their livelihood upon persons who might be sorely disturbed by participation in Council programs on the part of any of their employees or dependents.

7. Generally speaking, public debates with the partisans of extreme philosophers in the field of human relations, should be avoided both by the personnel of the staff and by members of the organization. Acrimonious and bitter debate cannot prudently be expected to produce any good.

8. Generally speaking, overt and damaging conflict and demonstrations of hostility that leave lasting and almost ineradicable bad feeling between peoples, should be avoided at all costs. Violence, for its own sake or for its ameliorative aftermath, should not be sought. The ruthless destruction of goodwill by the precipitation of conflict for its own sake, has no place in the program policy of the organization. The principle of "things must get worse before they get better", has no wholesome place in a human relations program. Ideological conflict is, of course, inevitable in the case of people who hold opposing points of view, but with prevailing tolerance and with the humanitarian spirit with which the Council should approach human relations. Prudence would seem to dictate that the Council disarm opponents rather than attempt to defeat them in open battle or in the clash of open and damaging conflict.

9. Prudence will also recognize that persons who are beyond the age of

learning, or who have serious psychiatric disturbances, should not be among those that the Council endeavors to reach in its programs. The Council should direct its programming rather to the education of the educable and to the provision of learning experiences for those who are amenable to goodwill and who are capable of learning, and of being influenced by the kinds of things that the Council can help people better to do.

10. Prudence will also recognize that Alabama Council on Human Relations functions, meetings and assemblies cannot be a forum for the resentful and embittered individuals of our community, who constantly attack those who they conceive to have been responsible for whatever damage has been done to them. It will serve no good purpose for the Council to become identified with an extreme and fanatical element, either of embittered Whites, or of embittered members of other groups, who, in the rash impulses produced by their embitterment, tend to lash out at all organized government, organized religion, organized social institutions.

V. BOARD OF DIRECTORS' FUNCTIONS

1. Policy - The Board of Directors is responsible for the developing of policy and program, for the overseeing of the state office and the conduct of the financial and administrative affairs of the organization by the executive director and the other staff members. Prior approval of Board must be secured for any departure from established policy.

2. Finance - The Board of Directors is responsible for the financial well-being of the organization, the safekeeping of funds and a semi-annual audit the Council's financial records. It assumes the responsibility of raising sufficient funds to meet the budget each year. Be cause the Southern Reional Council has been the major source of its operating funds in the past, the Board required the observance of all of those prescriptions laid down by the Southern Regional Council for organizations which qualify for their funds. The chief responsibility for this fund raising activity is assigned by the constitution to a Finance Committee. But the only workable policy whereby the board can carry out this function is one that requires the President to be ex officio, a member and the head of the Finance Committee and to assume personal responsibility for the motivations and inspiration and productivity of the committee.

3. Tax Exemption - The Board must oversee the exact observance of the Council's tax exemption and the tax exempt status of the Southern Regional Council through whom part of its funds are secured, and is responsible for the filing of required information returns with the Internal Revenue Service to maintain such status.

4. Executive Director - The Board selects and appoints the Executive Director and approves the office personnel he recruits for secretarial work as required. The board is, required to accept applications, screen candidates and secure adequate assurances that the candidate for the office of Executive Director are suitable for the job, both by prior training and experience and by moral integrity, emotional stability, and dedicated aspirations to meet the exacting demands of the position.

5. Membership - The Board is expected to incorporate within its membership persons who can be looked to for imaginative ideas and creative contributions to the board's deliberations. For this purpose, the Board should, in perpetuating itself and in choosing new members, have regard for a balanced constituency of both those who are conservative and cautious and those who are liberal and adventurous in the field of human relations.

The Board can entertain motions concerning the endorsement of the general principles behind certain kinds of legislation that are currently being discussed in the press or in the halls of the state house, but this is as far as the board can go. It may not, legally, by itself and of itself in the name of the Council engage in political activity.

Under its constitution and the demands of its tax exempt status recognized by the United States Treasury Department, the Board cannot entertain motions calling for political activities or propaganda, endorsement of candidates, or support specific legislation.

6. Legal Counsel - The Board shall also be the ultimate authority for the employment compensation of legal counsel by the Executive Director. It shall require of the legal advisors a report on their activities under-

taken on behalf of the Council or its representatives.

7. Executive Committee - The policy of the Council about the relationship between the Board of Directors and the Executive Committee is expressed in the Constitution. The Executive Committee, appointed from the Board of Directors by the President, consisting of five to ten members and appointed for one year terms shall be charged with the affairs of the organization between membership meetings and the meetings of the board of directors. It is recognized that the executive committee is an emergency group and not by any means a device for circumventing the wishes of the majority of the board. It is a policy of the Council that the Executive Committee should be broadly representative of the board at large, even though its member may be drawn principally from a single area for convenience. The President and the Vice-Presidents of the organization will usually be appointed to the Executive Committee and the President should adopt the policy of incorporating into the Executive Committee, those who are available and more immediately reachable members of the Board of Directors who can be convened at short notice, for the handling of emergency situations that may arise without warning.

8. Board Expenses - The Council will bear the travel expenses of Board members for those special meetings of the Board which are not held at the time of the annual meeting. It is expected that Board members, like other members, should attend the annual meeting at their own expense. However, overnight accommodations at the time of the annual meeting and of other Board meetings shall be provided for Board members at the Council's expense, whenever it is necessary for the members to stay overnight in order to attend a board meeting.

VI. FUNCTIONS OF THE PRESIDENT

1. While the President of the Council is the chief executive officer of the organization, Chairman of the Board of Directors, presiding officer for the official meetings, both of the Board, of the Executive Committee, and of the general membership, the Board customarily assigns the carrying out of its decisions not to the President, but to the Executive Director.

2. As Chairman of the Board, the President is empowered to summon the Board for its two regular semi-annual meetings, and for its necessary special meetings. Special meetings shall be called by the President also when he receives written requests for these from five members of the Board. These special meetings, because of the expense involved, shall not be summoned save in grave emergencies and for important changes in policy. Ordinary business between Board meetings should be conducted by the executive committee to the maximum extent possible.

3. The President, as Chairman of the Board, has the responsibility for presenting the agenda to the Board membership in advance of each board meeting. This should be done either through his own communications, or through the announcements sent out by the office.

4. The President is empowered to determine the existence of a quorum of the board at a meeting by recognizing the fulfillment of the constitutional minimum of eight members present.

5. The President shall conduct board meetings in accordance with parliamentary proceedings and Roberts' Rules of Order, allowing time for a discussion of each motion before it is passed, and providing for the recording of the actions of the board, especially those needed for the valid and legal use of Council funds.

6. The President is authorized to appoint the committees needed for the carrying out of the board's action as well as those provided for in the constitution: the Finance Committee, Membership Committee, Community Relations Committee, Research Committee, and Nominations Committee. The President should, by policy, be ex-officio head and member of the Finance Committee. But he should not be expected to be a committee of one for the carrying out of an unmanageable amount of the board's action. It is the approved custom of the Alabama Council on Human Relations that Board members volunteer for specific committees. The President should, in practice allow chance for volunteers to sign up for committee duties, before proceeding to appoint members to the committees. Save in rare cases, no committee work shall be assigned to Board members in absentia. Those present and passing motions for action should assume prime and prior

responsibility for carrying them out, if they involve Board-committee work.

7. Ordinarily, the President as presiding officer of the Board, shall not vote on specific measures proposed as motions at a board meeting. However, he is, by policy, empowered to cast a tie-breaking vote, in cases where the board is equally divided on a specific issue.

8. The President shall ordinarily select a relatively central place for Board meetings rather than sites in the extreme north or the extreme south of the state.

9. The President, as the presiding officer at the annual membership meeting, shall act as a representative of the Board in presenting, through the Nominating Committee's report, the slate of officers to be elected by the membership. Wherever possible at least two candidates should be nominated for each office so that a genuinely competitive election may be held. However, where only one nominee can be found, by the nominating committee the president shall call for nominations from the floor. If none are forthcoming, he shall entertain a motion for the closing of nominations and the automatic election of the single nominee. If two or more are nominated, a simple plurality shall be deemed sufficient for election, that is, no candidate needs to be obliged to obtain 51% of the votes or a clear majority.

10. To aid in the orderly conducting of the business of the Board and that of the annual meeting, the President shall be empowered to appoint a parliamentarian for questions of procedure, a legal counsel pro tem, for questions of legality, and a policy-judge for questions of constitutionality and policy concordance. If the legal counsel or the policy judge raise questions of constitutionality of legality, the matter shall be tabled until the legal or constitutional questions can be resolved. If, at a general membership meeting, there is a question of change of policy, it shall be referred to the Board's next meeting for its exercise of its policy making and policy changing power.

11. The President, in consultation with the Executive Director and with the Executive Committee, shall be responsible for the formulation of suggested lines of policy or for policy changes. He shall also entertain suggestions for changes in policy both from other Board members and officers and from the general membership. The Board of Directors, however, as the main policy making arm of the Council, shall be empowered to give the final decision on policy making and policy changing.

12. In accordance with the Constitution and By-Laws, amendments to the Constitution shall be made at the meetings of the general membership. Suggested amendments require a majority vote for passage, or 51% of those present and voting. Amendments shall be submitted to the president or the board in writing. The member, committee, or officers submitting the amendment shall present it to the general membership in the form of a motion made by the member, committee chairman or officer in question.

13. The President shall ordinarily appoint a Resolutions Committee at the annual meeting for the purpose of giving official recognition to those who have been deemed worthy of commendation for their contributions to the Council during the preceeding year, including those who have proffered hospitality to the Council for its annual meeting and for its board meetings. Resolutions may be entertained on all subjects legitimately within the scope of the Council's work. Politically related resolutions shall not be entertained by the President as presiding officer. In consultation with the Parliamentarian, the Legal Counsel and the Policy Judge, the President shall determine the appropriateness of the suggested resolutions.

14. As chief officer of the corporation, the President shall fulfill those duties legally encumbent on the responsible officer of an incorporated legal entity in the state of Alabama. He shall sign the leases for the rental of the office space for the state headquarters. He shall see to the observance of the legal requirements for paying state taxes for workers compensation as regards office personnel. He shall also check on the regular payment of the social security, insurance, and other corporate obligations usually assumed by corporations in this state.

15. The President, as Chairman of the Board, shall not entertain any motions for the use of Council funds in any way not compatible with the limitations placed on their disposal by state law and Federal tax exemption regulations. He shall declare out of order any motion destined to use Council funds as gifts to benefactors, officers, members or employees. He shall not allow any motions appropriating Council funds for strictly social events, such as parties, social hours, entertainment or amusements. He shall check with legal counsel for the legality of any doubtful motions in this matter.

VII. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S ORDINARY FUNCTIONS

1. The chief administrative officer of the Council is the Executive Director. He is constitutionally selected by the board of directors, armed with sufficient powers, by virtue of his office and by delegation from the board, to direct the program of the Council under the policies of the Board.

2. It is the stated policy of the Council to employ as the Executive Director, not merely a job-holder, but a dedicated person with sufficient background and training in the field of organizational work to be able to carry out the exacting requirements of his position. If he comes to the position without professional human relations training, he will be expected to supply this deficiency by special efforts and extra attention to self improvement. This may be acquired in special summer institutes, in night courses at colleges, in professional membership in the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials or by extensive reading on his own time in lieu of a prior professional development. Intensive contact, also, with recognized authorities in the field and with those persons who are sources of knowledge and wisdom in this delicate area may also be expected of the Executive Director.

3. The Executive Director shall be responsible for the necessary research and investigation needed for keeping the Board and membership abreast of developments across the state and for guiding them in their own planning and activities. He shall also be responsible for the preliminary staff work involved in planning suggested lines of activity to be presented for consideration by the Board of Directors and by the Executive Committee.

4. The Executive Director shall be responsible for organizing local chapters and affiliates of the Council in the major regions and principle cities of the state. He shall assist local groups with their organizational problems, provide them with sufficient literature and carry out those standard organizational requirements necessary to help launch new groups, revive interest in older and inactive groups and help in intelligent and coordinated program planning for the local chapters. In reference to the local chapters, he shall assist them in maintaining membership lists, in helping them with the strategy and the tactics necessary for their own situations and assisting them by counsel and advice in their many problems.

5. The Executive Director shall not launch out on new and untried programs or courses of action without prior consultation, both legal and prudential, or without board authorization.

6. The Executive Director shall be empowered to disburse the funds of the organization for his travel expenses in pursuit of his authorized activities. He shall, however, expend his travel allowance with economy and circumspection, employing local hospitality, offered by Council members where possible.

7. The Executive Director shall make periodical reports to the President and Vice-Presidents and also to the Treasurer and Secretary. Summaries of these reports must be sent out to Board members at least quarterly, if not more frequently on demand by either the members themselves, the officers of the organization or as necessitated by the crises and emergencies that may arise from time to time.

8. The Executive Director is also the chief liaison officer of the Council keeping communications open between other organizations in accordance with the Council's policy and between chapters and the central office and also between the Alabama Council on Human Relations and its parent organization, the Southern Regional Council, as well as with his counterparts in other states, such as the Virginia Council, the Georgia Council, the Tennessee Council, the Florida Council, and the North Carolina Council.

9. The Executive Director is expected to employ a sufficient secretarial staff or to elicit volunteer help, to keep up with the correspondence of the Council, to provide for prompt acknowledgement of contributions and funds received, and to perform other needed notifications such as those for meetings of the Board and of the organization.

10. The Executive Director shall also prepare and distribute the Alabama Council on Human Relations Newsletter at least bi-monthly, and as crises and emergencies necessitate, and send quick dispatches of urgent news and background materials for the Board and the membership.

11. The Executive Director shall work with the Board and officers of the Council in planning and preparing programs for the Council in accordance with this policy manual.

12. Other routine and ordinary office functions expected of and required from the executive director are the following:

    a) Assisting the Treasurer in drawing up the financial reports of the organization and projecting the budget for the coming months, quarters and year.

    b) Reporting quarterly to the Southern Regional Council on the Council's fiscal standing, activities, developments and special problems, in order to enable the Council to remain eligible for the grants and aid given by the Southern Regional Council that are contingent on these quarterly reports.

    c) Assisting the Nominating Committee with suggested names for board replacements when needed and for the slate of officers at the annual meeting.

    d) Supervising the fund raising efforts of the Council and its chapters as well as initiating special appeals, fund letters and other methods to keep the organization solvent.

    e) Keeping careful watch over the outgoing expenditures in order to operate with in the limits of the available budgets and the on-hand balance at the bank.

    f) Making deposits in the Council bank accounts and savings accounts in accordance with board policies and the treasurer's authorization.

    g) Signing checks for all disbursals except those directed to himself which shall be signed by the treasurer of the organization.

    h) Keeping and safeguarding the records and archives of the Council.

VIII. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR'S EXTRAORDINARY FUNCTIONS

1. Although the Alabama Council on Human Relations cannot demand courageous activity above and beyond the call of duty, it will be expected that the executive director will be the representative of the corporate concern of the full membership and of the officers in bringing immediate and effective comfort and support to the victims of injustice, violence and discrimination in the state.

2. The Executive Director will be expected to visit as quickly as possible, those victims of racially related violence, though the visitation of these people, in the wake of this kind of violence may involve a certain amount of personal risk. Past experience has proved this to be one of the Council's most effective contributions to the cause of better human relations and lessening tensions.

3. The Executive Director will also be expected to give counsel and emotional support to those of the membership and to non-members who may be victims of economic pressure of psychological harassment or social ostracism. It is expected that the members will notify the central office when crises like these arise and will thus alert the executive director, who is presumed to be freer to move around than those of the membership who are tied down by jobs or professional activities elsewhere.

4. If it is impossible for the Executive Director to reach the place where

these unfortunate incidents have occurred, it is the recognized policy of the organization to expect that he will write letters of comfort and support to those who have been the victims of this kind of mistreatment. He shall also alert other officers and members of the organization to bring their moral support to bear as well.

5. The Executive Director should likewise write letters of encouragement and support to those who are outstanding in their achievement in behalf of justice, fair-play or interracial harmony and who have thus exposed themselves to the danger of violence or intimidation.

6. It is also expected that the Executive Director will be ready to act to protect the innocent and the vulnerable from harassment and intimidation.

IX. APPROPRIATE HUMAN RELATIOSN PROGRAMS

1. The following types of programs are deemed to be appropriate for sponsorship, promotion and encouragement by the Council, its Board, staff and local chapters generally:

   a) Annual state wide general meetings of the organization, with appropriate speakers, discussions, workshops, clinics, informative reports and visual aids.

   b) Monthly or bi-monthly local or district meetings of the local or district chapters.

   c) Forums of invited guest speakers who tour the state at the invitation of local chapters, discussing with them and judiciously invited guests pertinent aspects of current human relations problems, principles and programs.

   d) Ministerial convocations and clergy conferences on the religious aspect of human relations in the state or section of the state.

   e) Special clinics on specific problems conducted by specialists in other organizational and human relations problems.

   f) Observance of Race Relations Sunday, Human Relations Day, Human Rights Week, United Nations Days and even intensive cooperation with Brotherhood Week, American Democracy Month and patriotic holidays such as Independence Day, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Emancipation Day and other public observances that have pertinence for human relations programs.

   g) Seminars for police officers, social workers, welfare workers, labor union officials and other similar persons involved in one way or another with the field of human relations.

   h) Short term institutes for community leaders, especially for club women, co-sponsored with federations of local clubs, or leagues of women voters or other similar organizations interested in the community aspect of human relations problems and in the preservation of law and order as well as in community progress generally.

   i) Leadership training courses for the officers and prospective officer candidates for the state board as well as for the local chapters of the Council.

2. Inappropriate programs that the Council is opposed to sponsoring would include all those programs which seem to confirm and re-enforce the unjust and discriminatory aspects of the segregation system. This norm would, therefore, rule out participation and co-sponsorship or promotion certain kinds of programs that are recognized as having segregational overtones or which exclude whole segments of its membership or which are incompatible with, or offensive to the feelings, faiths and religious preferences of its members.

X. FISCAL AND FINANCIAL POLICIES

1. The Treasurer shall be the chief financial officer. He is charged with the supervision of the financial affairs of the organization, the procedures of the safe custody of the funds in checking and saving accounts.

2. The Treasurer shall be empowered to sign those checks made payable to the other authorized signatories of the checks, for example, the executive director or the one deputized in an absence of the Executive Director to sign checks in the name of the organization. Each check must bear the exact designation of the person, company, bill or time that it is destined to pay. Officials should not make out checks to themselves or to cash.

3. Financial transactions by cash only are not authorized nor shall checks be endorsed over to another. Any cash or check donated to the organization for the payment of memberships fees or for contributions must first be deposited in the account of the organization and then disbursed by check for the payment of bills.

4. The major portion of on-hand funds should be held in a reserve account or savings account in order to accumulate income in the form of interest. The transfer of funds to this account and the removal of funds from this account to the checking account shall be the responsibility of the Treasurer and the Executive Director working jointly with the advice and consent of the Board or the Executive Committee as regards overall policy.

5. In emergencies, the Executive Director, working with the Treasurer shall be authorized to make use of the funds in the savings account for such security measures as may be necessary--emergency legal fees, travel expenses, or similar crises expenses not forseen or provided for in the ordinary budget. These expenditures are subject to review and confirmation by the Board or the Executive Committee at their next meeting.

6. While the Council does not favor special "drives" each year, it is obvious that its policy encompasses some fund raising efforts to supplement its regular income each year. These fund raising drives shall be decided on by the Board when necessary, but should not be the ordinary means of fiscal stability and solvency. Efforts should be made to secure regular sources of income equivalent to the budget outgo each year. The regular sources of income shall be the membership dues and fees, the contributions spontaneously forthcoming from the friends of the Council and the special support given to the Council by other organizations interested in its work.

7. The policy of securing a considerable number of "underwriters" who agree to contribute at least $5.00 a month towards the support of the Council will be continued and developed.

8. If individuals appeals are made for money in the name of the Council, the checks must be made payable to the Alabama Council on Human Relations and not to the individuals soliciting the money, save in the case of those donors who expressly do not want their names on record as supporters of the Council.

9. In Council fund raising activities, no competitive devices shall be used which may seem to pit group against group, especially along racial lines, by way of stimulating emulation or interest in the drive. Sufficient commendation for and acknowledgement of the work of individuals or groups should be made by the office and also by the higher officers of the organization.

10. In accordance with current practice, an annual audit of the books of the organization shall be made by a firm of competent certified public accountants.

IX. PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

1. Owing to the fact that the Council is an educational organization rather than an action group aiming at social reform through legislation or direct action, it is the policy of the Council not to participate in public controversies over current political issues, not to enter the field as a protagonist in favor of political candidates or office holders, or against them and their legislative programs and current political decision. This does not exclude the advocacy of principles but the advocacy of principles should be kept on an educational basis and not to take on the appearance of direct combating of legislation or political decisions in the arena of political activity.

2. It is the current policy of the Council to pursue the study of ways and

means of making use of the educational aspects of the vast networks of communication available for use in the state--newspaper ads and releases, radio programs, television programs, and even such things as billboards, and direct mail advertising and similar outlets.

3. Generally speaking, the Council is not a "statement issuing" group. In those instances where the existence or welfare of the Council or the safety and security and proper understanding of its officials or members is involved, it may be necessary to issue public statements to correct misrepresentations and counteract slanders or neutralize attacking enemies. In these cases, the Executive Director, in consultation with Legal Counsel and upon advice and consent of a majority of the Executive Committee, including the President, shall be empowered to issue statements to the press, to the wire services, to the radio and television new outlets.

4. Local chapters of the Council shall not issue statements on behalf of the state organization. They may, of course, issue statements in their own names after legal counsel and with due circumspection and approval of the Executive Director. In most cases, it will most probably serve the cause better if the local unit does not act alone, but enlists the collaboration and support of other like-minded organizations for the joint issuance of statements to the public.

Finances Feb Mar Apr. — $1,670.25 Cert.
772.00 Salary
34.00
279.09
235.50
3.04
58.04
91.05
204.00 NS.
265.00 Misc.

1949.37

5843
16702
7513.87
1943.37
5570.50
68
5638.50
4800.00
838.50
9438.50

$11,990.00

$4,100.00

500- Mary E H.

100
110
110
140
140
1540

1800
22
3600
60
3960.00

6200
900
$7200
110
7310
40
$7354

Comments on POLICY MANUAL

Sections I, II & V

I am using David Vann's version as a basis for my comments as I am in general agreement with his revision, at least for these three sections.

I. GENERAL PURPOSE AND NATURE

1. I do not agree with the first paragraph. I agree that it is our purpose to reduce tensions, but I don't think this is the basic one. I think we have a larger purpose than that. I offer the same sentence that the Constitution Committee suggested as a possible revision:

"The General Purpose of the Alabama Council on Human Relations is to endeavor to promote equal civil, economic, and democratic rights and opportunities for all persons, regardless of their race or creed."

3. Take out "achieve its basic purpose of." Change "reducing" to "reduce", "eliminating" to "eliminate"

II. BASIC POLICY ASSUMPTIONS

1. Insert "life" after "contemporary" and "conflict" after "historic".

5. I think the reference to the Fatherhood of God might be taken out in deference to Paul Rilling. The assumption is stated that Alabamans are caught in a dilemma but the dilemma is not clearly stated. Suggest the following revision:

"Most of the citizens of Alabama of both major races believe strongly in the brotherhood of men. For themselves, they are very strong in their belief in the basic principles of freedom, of justice, of equal treatment before the law, of non-discriminatory administration of justice and of equal opportunity for educational, social, economic and political advancement. For persons of other races and beliefs, they find it difficult, because of their inherited attitudes, to accord them these same rights, even though conscious of their inconsistency."

6. Take out "being sufficiently." Might change "religious" to "moral"

7. The 2nd sentence is rather negatively stated. Suggest the following:

"Hence the Council should concern itself primarily with short range attainment of immediately and approximately visible goals rather than putting its efforts into devising fool-proof, long-range theories and plans."

8

8. As per Paul Rilling I think this statement is very misleading. Suggest you put "extremist" rather than "subversive" in the assumption. Suggest you revise the paragraph as follows:

"Since both ultra-liberals and ultra-conservatives are dictatorial in theory and practice, including the use of violence as a tool of social action, neither extreme is compatible with the democratic way of life or the realistic and practical objectives of the Council."

V. BOARD OF DIRECTORS' FUNCTIONS

4. Revise the 2nd sentence as follows:

"The Board is required to accept applications, screen candidates and secure adequate assurances that the candidate for the office of Executive Director is suitable in terms of prior training and experience and of moral integrity, emotional stability, and dedicated aspirations."

5. Change "conservative" to"practical" and "liberal" to "idealistic".

7. Take out "it is recognized" in 3rd sentence. Take out "without warning" in last sentence. Capitalization.

8. Take out "in order" in last sentence.